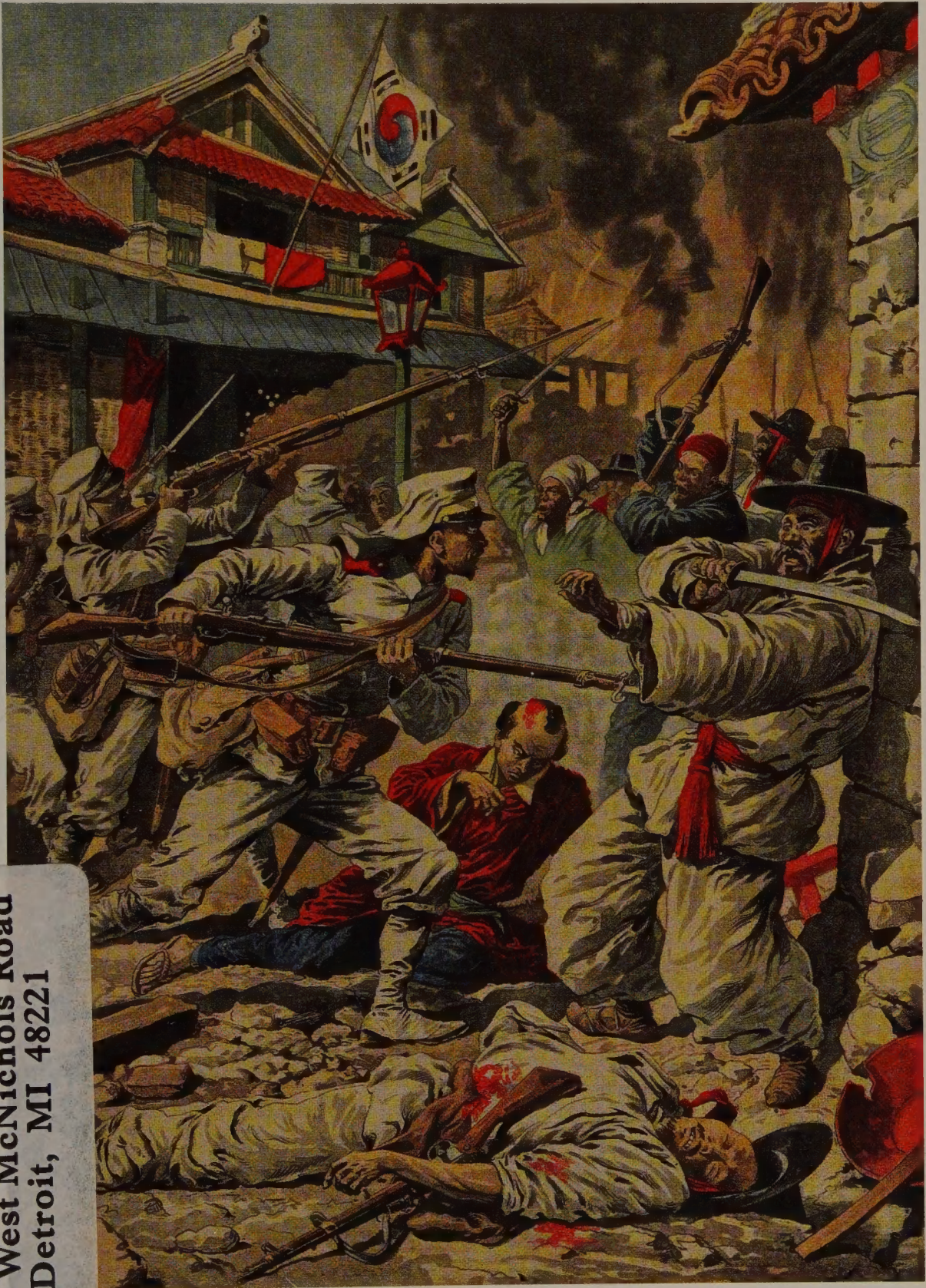


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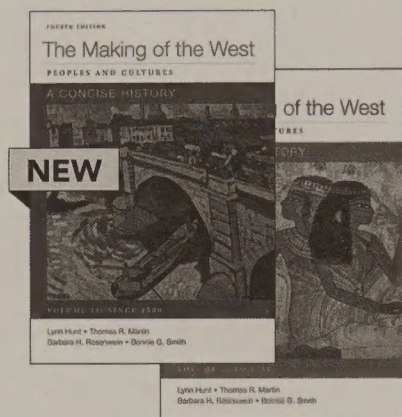
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
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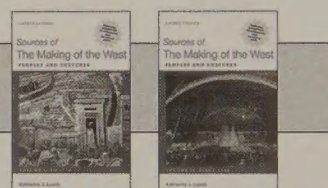
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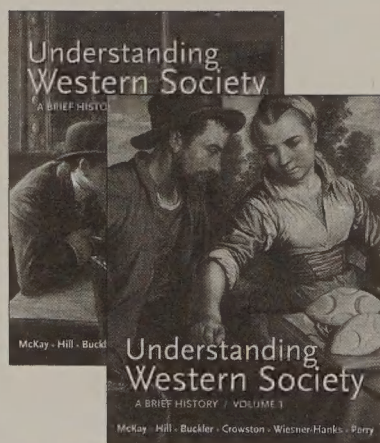
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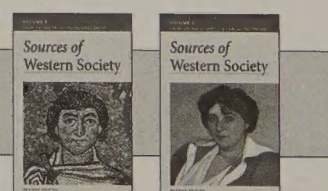
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Cover Illustration: “Les troubles de Corée: La garde japonaise aux prises avec les émeutiers à Séoul,” *Le Petit Journal* illustré, August 4, 1907. Following Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese government imposed protectorate rule in Korea in 1905, the first step toward formal annexation in 1910. When the Korean emperor, Kojong, sent a secret delegation to the Hague Peace Conference in 1907 to protest this occupation of his country, he was forced by Japan to relinquish the throne. In the wake of his abdication, armed resistance by Koreans swept the country. *Le Petit Journal* illustrates a battle scene in Seoul between Japanese troops and the Korean resisters. In the midst of this turmoil was the Ilchinhoe (Advance in Unity Society), a large local group whose members viewed Japan as a “civilizing empire” and were willing to sacrifice Korea’s sovereignty in the name of “representing the people.” In “Immoral Rights: Korean Populist Collaborators and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1904–1910,” Yumi Moon examines the vexed position of these populists, who were trapped between their original agenda and their commitment to support the Japanese Empire. Moon uses this case study to historicize the moral dimensions of local collaboration in colonial situations and defends the validity of using the concept of collaboration in historical analysis.

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In This Issue

The February issue opens with the 2013 AHA Presidential Address, followed by an article on the question of collaboration in Japan-occupied Korea and an *AHR* Forum on “Transnational Lives in the Twentieth Century.” There are also three featured reviews, along with our usual extensive book review section. “In Back Issues” draws attention to articles and features in the *AHR* from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago.

Presidential Address

In “Storytelling,” outgoing AHA president **William Cronon** offers us an extended meditation on the writing and teaching of history in the face of contemporary challenges only partially described by the much-mooted “digital age.” For historians—and anyone interested in the value of thinking about the past—the obstacles are daunting indeed, hardly limited to the shortage of funding from our institutions, the short attention spans of our students, the lack of interest on the part of the public, or the distractions from a plethora of social media. The problem often lies, he asserts, with our own inability to speak to those outside our profession, to a larger public that both craves and needs what we know. Referring to Carl Becker’s oft-cited AHA Presidential Address of 1931, “Everyman His Own Historian,” he writes, “keeping the past alive for the wider public is the essential mission of our discipline, on which all our other activities ultimately depend.” Cronon’s answer to the question he poses, “what is the future of history?,” brings him ultimately to the title of his address. It is in rediscovering the virtues of writing and teaching history as storytelling that we might recapture a wider audience for the extraordinary storehouse of knowledge and expertise we have accumulated. To illustrate his case, he ends with an evocation of his undergraduate teacher Richard Ringler, an English professor specializing in Anglo-Saxon literature, who combined deep erudition with a commitment to teaching, and especially undergraduate teaching, in ways that sent at least one student, William Cronon, into a lifetime of storytelling as history.

Article

In recent decades, many scholars have cast doubt on the analytical usefulness of the concept of collaboration, and have tended to avoid interrogating the moral dimensions of local collaboration in colonial situations. In “Immoral Rights: Korean Populist Collaborators and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1904–1910,” **Yumi Moon** pursues this critique by historicizing the moral crises of local collaborators in the changing normative and material context of Korea under the Japanese colonial conquest. Her focus is on the Ilchinhoe, an organization of Korean collaborators who were active during Japanese protectorate rule in Korea (1905–1910). The Ilchinhoe regarded Japan as a “civilizing empire,” and thus were willing to sacrifice the sovereignty of the Korean monarchy on the premise that the empire would guarantee the people’s rights and welfare. Most Koreans, however, felt very differently, viewing the movement’s embrace of Japanese rule as fostering only “immoral rights.” This moment of conflict thus signifies a global ideological juncture at which the morality of “civilizing empires” was decisively rejected by colonial “subjects” who refused to accept notions of rights and freedom that undermined national legitimacy and collective rights.

AHR Forum

The *AHR* Forum, “Transnational Lives in the Twentieth Century,” offers three sets of portraits of individuals whose travels and experiences bring interesting and important features of their worlds to light, features that might very well have remained hidden or obscured without the individual trajectories reconstructed by these historians. These are not biographies, and in some cases the focus strays from the subjects to the social and cultural contexts they encountered. These are, rather, “lives”—slices of life experiences that serve as tracers for the many, and often unexpected, connections and cross-currents that, in retrospect, fashioned more of twentieth-century history than we have realized.

In “Revisiting the Transatlantic 1920s: Vincent Sheean vs. Malcolm Cowley,” **Nancy F. Cott** compares the content and the reception of two autobiographical accounts of Americans abroad in the 1920s, with an eye toward their influence on the later historical understanding of their generation. Each intended to convey the zeitgeist of those coming of age after World War I. Each, however, offered a very different view of this cohort of writers and intellectuals. Malcolm Cowley’s account told of literary “exiles” seeking solace in Europe’s cultural capitals through the pursuit of art for art’s sake, but ultimately doomed by their own rootlessness to a failed quest, and destined to rediscover purpose only on native soil. Vincent Sheean’s account, which became a bestseller, evoked an ongoing global pilgrimage of youth in search of self-definition. Cott’s article weighs the consequences of Cowley’s outsized influence and suggests that taking Sheean’s book as a guide instead of Cowley’s would lead toward revising views of Americans as internationalists in that era.

From these literary figures, **Stephen Tuck** takes us to a somewhat later time, a very different context, and a much better-known individual. In “Malcolm X’s Visit to Oxford University: U.S. Civil Rights, Black Britain, and the Special Relationship on Race,” he goes beyond that visit on December 3, 1964, when Malcolm X delivered what many historians consider to be his finest speech. His brief stay allowed him to make connections with black Britons and radical students from the Caribbean, Africa, and Pakistan; and his subsequent European travels gave him a new perspective on the global struggle for racial equality. In turn, his visit hastened the success of local Oxford student protesters, and radicalized a new generation of black British activists. More broadly, Tuck argues, Malcolm X’s journey points to widespread connections between British and U.S.-based activists at the height of anti-racist protests in both countries, connections that were strengthened by the growing presumption of a shared trajectory in so-called race relations. A closer look at this rather different special relationship reveals the ways in which British and American activists sought to use transnational links for their own domestic purposes, even as these connections changed them, often in unexpected ways.

In “Phantoms of the Archive: Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the Contingencies of Postcolonial History-Writing,” **Jean Allman** reconstructs the encounter between Ghana’s first president, Kwame Nkrumah, and a Nazi test pilot, Hanna Reitsch, and the establishment of a flight school in Ghana in the early 1960s. The story is a strange one, but she uses it in order to expose the dispersed, fragmented, and accidental nature of the postcolonial archive. Other scholars have debated the nature of the “archive,” but their focus has largely been on colonial archives as constituted by Europeans. Do postcolonial archives, Allman asks, simply reproduce the potentialities and limitations of these, or are they of a very different order, presenting both new possibilities and challenges for the writing of African history? By bringing this encounter of these two figures to light, she argues that evidentiary fragments—either buried in mislabeled files in Ghana’s national repository or dispersed in a vast transnational “shadow archive”—not only trouble the notion of a “national archive,” but point toward new history-writing possibilities, which are far less anchored in, far less dependent upon, and thus less determined by the archiving apparatus of a postcolonial nation-state.

In a comment on the forum, “The Futures of Transnational History,” **Matthew Pratt Guterl** offers both an appreciative reading of these three pieces and a challenging critique. He notes that the focus on lives, and especially on snippets of biographies as telling indicators of global stories, is an important part of the transnational approach to history, which can serve to humanize processes that otherwise might seem too abstract or difficult to trace. Each of these essays, indeed, tells us something new and important about its particular subject, about the larger context, and about the way we connect biographical, national, and international plotlines. But Guterl notes as well that the authors tend to affirm “nation time,” the already agreed-upon “eras” and “periods” that structure conventional history. The challenge of the future for transnational history, he suggests, is to break free of this commitment to national

chronologies—to rebuild our larger, still nation-based assumptions into new synthetic shapes and forms.

April's issue will include two articles relating to animals and humans in history: one on beasts of burden in the Ottoman economy, the other on whales in the North Pacific; as well as pieces on encounters between Jews and Christians in the early modern period, Muslim travelers to the West in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, and erotic photography in postwar Germany.

In Back Issues

In the hope of encouraging readers to dip into the long history of scholarship contained in the pages of the *American Historical Review* (now in the 118th year of its publishing history), and to take advantage of the digital availability of this archive to most readers, the *AHR* editors offer a look back at issues from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago. What follows is not a comprehensive survey of the contents of those issues, but rather a glance at some of the articles and other features that might be of interest, or even of use, today.

Volume 18, Number 2 (January 1913)

The January 1913 issue contains several articles that certainly should still be of interest to historians: pieces on Roman foreign policy, eighteenth-century British politics, U.S.-Mexican relations in the nineteenth century, and the question of arming the slaves under the Confederacy during the Civil War. But the one most likely to attract the attention of today's readers is "Changes of Climate and History," by Ellsworth Huntington. Huntington was not a historian but a geographer, who taught at Yale and participated in several expeditions to Turkey, the Middle East, and Central Asia. In his *AHR* article, he alludes to the findings from these travels, comparing them with research carried out in New Mexico, Arizona, California, and the Yucatan region of Mexico. The aim of his piece is to present evidence proving the sustained influence on history not simply of geography but specifically of climate change across the ages. And here he aims a critique at A. T. Olmstead, quoting at length from an article in which Olmstead argued against the view that human civilizations were fundamentally influenced by "the theory of cyclic [pulsatory] climate changes." In response to such skepticism, Huntington first offers empirical data that, he asserts, demonstrate an increase in aridity across several vast regions of the world in the previous two millennia. The findings he presents derive from an examination of the growth rings of 450 giant sequoia—"the Big Trees, or *sequoia gigantea*, of California"—ranging in age from 230 to 3,200 years, with 83 of them being more than 2,000 years old. (Huntington is careful to note that these trees were not sacrificed for his research; they had already been felled to make fences and shingles.) The variation in the size of the rings enabled him to conclude that "at the time of Christ the average *sequoia* tree grew at least thirty per cent faster than in 1500 A. D.," leading him to the further conclusion that "during the last three thousand years . . . the climate in

general [has] become drier.” This trend matches his findings for the Middle East, published in *Palestine and Its Transformation*; together they support his view that unfavorable climate change had been a feature of world history for at least the last millennium.

That Huntington was a pioneer in the field of environmental history and clearly was among the first to see the promise of tree ring growth in yielding insights on climate change cannot be doubted. Indeed, this method has become a staple among historians and others interested in the role of climate in history, most notably Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (*Times of Feast, Times of Famine*). To be sure, more recent investigators go well beyond simply measuring ring size; they incorporate a whole range of other environmental factors into their analyses, and have, of course, high-powered computing techniques at their disposal as well. But it is in Huntington’s linkage of his findings to historical change where his interpretation seems most dated. Here he reveals himself to be an environmental determinist, in general governed by the assumption that because aridity leads to disease, crop failure, population decline, and general economic contraction, it in turn breeds social discontent, with the attendant negative consequences of “war, migration, the overthrow of dynasties, and the decay of civilization.” His causal reasoning extends to explaining the greatness of Rome on the basis of his longitudinal curves, which indicate favorable climate conditions between about 100 B.C.E. and 75 C.E. His interpretation also evinces racist views concerning the innate capacity of different peoples to withstand changes in climate, as well as the assumed superiority of peoples from northern climes. “It is well known that races are very sensitive to climatic environment,” he asserts. “The negro would apparently die out in the northern United States were he not replenished from the South.”

Volume 43, Number 2 (January 1938)

For many years, the *AHR* routinely published documents along with scholarly articles and book reviews. In a time when travel was more difficult than it is today, especially to libraries and archives outside the U.S., this was a helpful way to expose readers to interesting or new material. The January 1938 issue contains a document that is rather unique in comparison to others in this rubric. “‘War Guilt’ in France and Germany,” presented (and presumably translated) by Bernadotte E. Schmitt, a European historian who was the first editor of the *Journal of Modern History* and president of the AHA in 1960, contains the text of a series of “Resolutions Adopted by a Committee of French and German Historians for the Improvement of Textbooks in Both Countries.” As Schmitt notes in his introduction, the document was only the latest in a series of attempts by German and French historians to confront the historical record of relations between their countries. Different organizations, including a committee created by the League of Nations, had taken up the matter in 1925, 1932, and 1934, but those efforts had led to naught. Finally, in 1935, a meeting in Paris between leading historians in the two countries yielded the present report, which

contains thirty-nine resolutions pertaining to French-German relations from as far back as the eighteenth century to the Great War and its aftermath.

The resolutions address a wide range of historically disputable issues, from the question of “natural frontiers,” eighteenth-century diplomacy, the status of Alsace-Lorraine, the intentions and outlook of both Napoleon III and Bismarck, and the events before and after the Franco-Prussian War to more recent questions stemming from the origins and outcome of the Great War. In thinking about what it must have been like to discuss and debate these issues in 1935 across a highly fraught national divide, even for these academics who were clearly invested in the writing and teaching of history as a dispassionate, document-based discipline, one cannot fail to be impressed by how much energy was expended on negotiating over eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history. But here the document itself reveals a timeliness that grows more urgent as more recent issues come to the table. For the historically earlier periods, agreement, with some demurrals from either side, came rather easily. The French historians, for example, did not dispute that Napoleon’s policy represented a departure from the venerable tradition of seeking “natural frontiers.” Even regarding the long-contested territory of Alsace-Lorraine, the delegates reached a balanced view that each country had legitimate historical claims, depending upon the period in question. For the period after 1870, it was jointly conceded that French textbooks often exaggerated the importance of the Pan-German movement, while German ones tended to inflate the power of the “idea of revenge” in France. Here, however, the meeting of the minds seemed to stall. A series of “Reservations,” for example, is appended to the eighth resolution regarding Napoleon III’s and Bismarck’s policies, with each side offering justifications for branding the leader of the other country as provocative. And in general, the reservations and objections pile up as the report moves into the twentieth century and the Great War, so much so that they begin to outweigh and undermine the content and spirit of the carefully crafted resolutions. Still, the delegates persist in their attempt to treat these vexed issues with evenhandedness, dispassion, and objectivity. With regard to the lead-up to the war, the document states: “The Committee desires that the writers of textbooks should treat this question with all necessary restraint . . . , without stirring up passions through polemical formulas, and that they should avoid hurling serious . . . accusations against governments and peoples.”

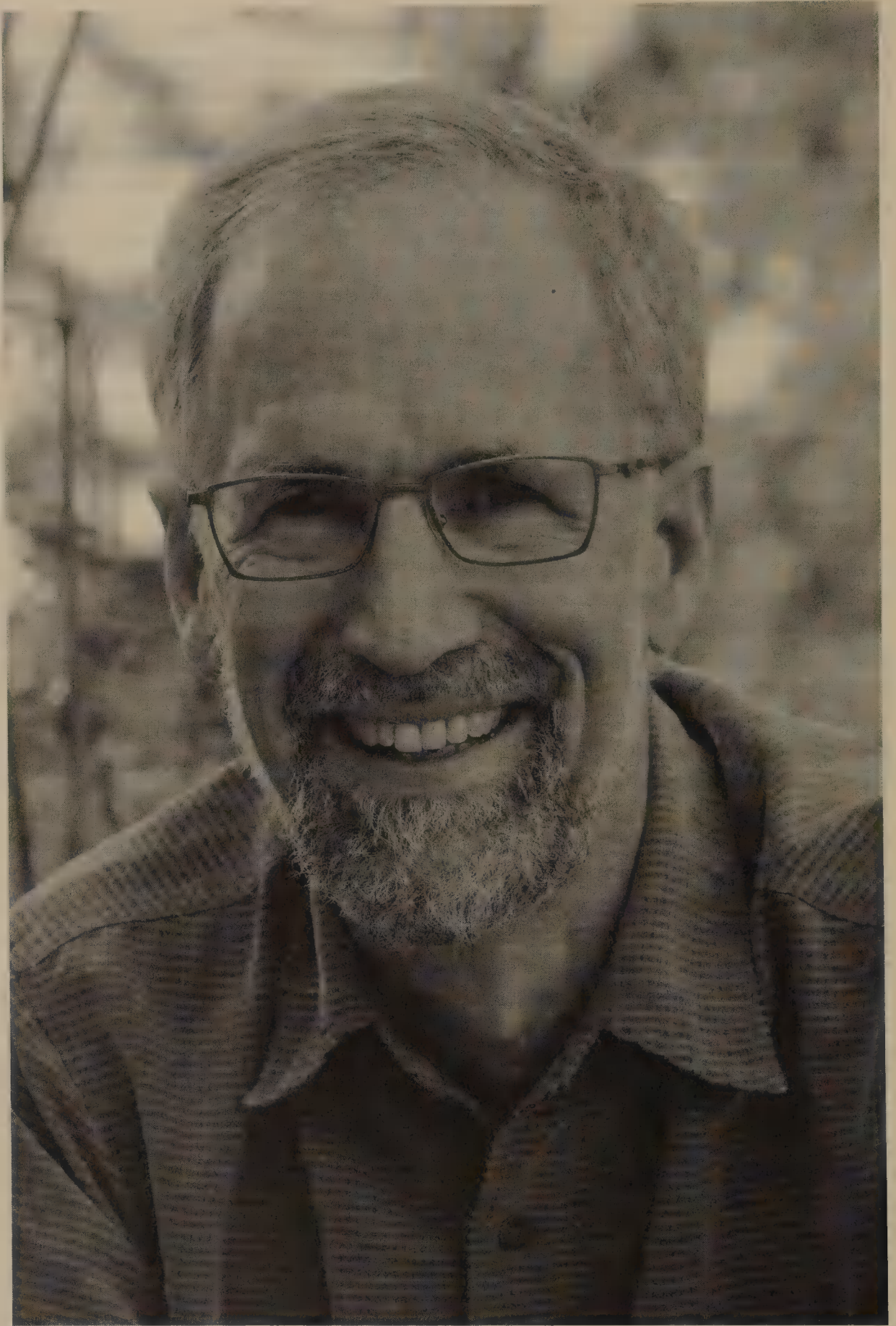
As Schmitt notes, the fate of this document was not entirely a happy one. Its publication was first delayed because of the Rhineland crisis in 1936. The following year it was published in several French outlets; and while it appeared in one German publication in 1937, other publishers that had been expected to disseminate it now decided that they could not or should not honor their agreement. And later that year, the German organ that had published it undermined its legitimacy by questioning the authority of the German delegates and asserting the document’s provisional nature. “This is interpreted in France as a disavowal of the German delegation by their government,” comments Schmitt. Despite this, he seems optimistic, and one reads his concluding remark with a retrospective sense of sadness: “An important step in the right direction has surely been taken.”

Volume 68, Number 2 (January 1963)

Carl Bridenbaugh's AHA Presidential Address, "The Great Mutation," is by now notorious, often cited as an example of the narrow-minded, smug, and prejudiced attitudes that were once widespread in academia. It is indeed a remarkably revealing statement, a dyspeptic jeremiad all the more striking because it was precisely at the moment of its delivery, and largely because of the social changes within the profession he was explicitly lamenting, that the study and writing of history was taking a new direction that would entirely transform and enlarge our view of the past. Perhaps the most stunning passage in the address—certainly the one that has been most quoted—is his assertion that the social origins of many younger historians were to blame for the current impoverished, unedifying state of historical writing. "Today imaginations have become starved or stunted, and wit and humor, let alone laughter and a healthy frivolity, are seldom encountered," he writes. "Furthermore," he continues, clearly wanting us to associate the malady with the diagnosis that follows, "many of the younger practitioners of our craft, and those who are still apprentices, are products of lower middle-class or foreign origins, and their emotions not infrequently get in the way of historical reconstructions. They find themselves in a very real sense outsiders on our past and feel themselves shut out . . . They have no experience to assist them, and the chasm between them and the Remote Past widens every hour." That the new social history, which did so much to rejuvenate the writing and teaching of history, and indeed to bring this "Remote Past" truly to life—and which was just emerging circa 1963—was the work of precisely those "products of lower middle-class or foreign origins" is one of the delicious ironies that perhaps a few in attendance at that year's AHA meeting, or at least some of the readers of that issue of the *AHR*, might have appreciated.

Bridenbaugh's smugness and prejudice tend to obscure everything else he says. But there are other aspects of his address deserving of attention. He does in fact make claims about the study and writing of history that are legitimate, if also certainly contestable. Some of them have become perennial complaints both from within and outside our profession. For example, he bemoans the lack of general cultural knowledge among students and the reading public, the widespread ignorance of theology and of the Bible, the drive toward ever-increasing specialization, and the "cult of the contemporary," which he says has sacrificed knowledge of distant times for the sake of relevance. He has no time for the social sciences and offers this measured critique of the use of statistics: "Nor will the historian worship at the shrine of that Bitch-goddess, QUANTIFICATION." But his screed is also inflected with a concern that in studying, for example, "peasants in the mass," we lose sight of the individual character of our subjects. Tellingly, he wants history to provide "a sound knowledge of how people lived, acted, and thought, of the economy, and of social and cultural developments." Somewhat paradoxically, then, Bridenbaugh's wholesale critique, despite its cranky tone and hidebound traditionalism, amounts to a brief for social history. In his last lines he quotes Marc Bloch: "Trop d'institutions, pas assez des réalités humaines." Even more striking in this respect is his utter impatience with political history. Instead of trying to understand people in the past as they really

thought and acted, he claims that there has been a “retreat to politics, a flight back to the old-line political history.” He asks, “Is there any demand from today’s reading public for the old-fashioned kind of political history sufficient to warrant the vast amount of professional time devoted to it?” It would be interesting to know whether those “younger practitioners of our craft,” still smarting from his condescending insults, could possibly have heard these remarks as those of an unwanted fellow traveler.



William Cronon

Presidential Address

Storytelling

WILLIAM CRONON

THERE CAN BE FEW MORE DAUNTING assignments in our profession than the one that lies before me. Like every other AHA president, I have struggled with the question of how best to address the membership of the American Historical Association as the culminating act of my presidential duties. Because you are among my most learned colleagues, because no one knows more about our shared discipline than you do, because you represent so many different subfields and specialties and periods and places, and because your ability to criticize whatever I may say is unmatched, the challenge of saying something that you will find interesting and worthy is formidable indeed.

AHA presidents have met this challenge in quite different ways. One of the rituals of the presidency is to peruse all the past addresses that have been delivered since Andrew Dickson White first did so (twice!) in 1884 and 1885. As others have noted before me, these addresses tend to cluster into certain recurring genres. AHA presidents have sometimes sought to offer the broadest of philosophical statements about what history is, how it should be done, and what its role in the life of the present should be. A closely related subgenre makes the case for particular emerging subfields that a particular president believes to be vital to the future of the discipline. (Not too surprisingly, the chosen subfield in such cases is almost always the president's own.) Gordon Wright labeled this first genre of presidential addresses the "manifestoes," and they are easily the most numerous among all the talks that have been delivered on this ritual occasion.¹

A second major genre that has been present almost from the outset but that seems to have become increasingly popular in the past three decades consists of what we might call the monographic addresses, in which presidents read tightly focused essays drawn from their own work. These histories-in-miniature arguably do a better job than the manifestoes of honoring the rhetorical maxim "show, don't tell" to exemplify rather than describe best historical practice. Laurel Ulrich's lovely essay exploring the history of a single Mormon quilt from 1857 and Tony Grafton's astonishingly wide-ranging explication last year of an obscure notebook from the colonial frontier of Pennsylvania show what can be accomplished when this genre is executed with real mastery.²

¹ Gordon Wright, "History as a Moral Science," *American Historical Review* 81, no. 1 (February 1976): 1-11, here 2.

² Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "An American Album, 1857," *American Historical Review* 115, no. 1 (Feb-

The manifestoes and the monographs account for the lion's share of all AHA presidential addresses. But there are scarcer genres also worth noticing. Although the vast majority of all the addresses focus in one way or another on original historical research, a small handful explore the role of history in public life, and a still smaller handful (the fingers of one hand are probably sufficient to count them) discuss the *teaching* of history.³ Finally, there are a few presidential addresses—rather fewer than I initially imagined, but I guess ours is not the most confessional of disciplines—that are explicitly autobiographical, reminiscing about the journey that a particular scholar made to reach this podium. The outstanding example of this last genre is Walter Prescott Webb's "History as High Adventure," which is unique in its plainspokenness, its sly humor, and its outsider's devil-may-care attitude toward the discipline of history and even the AHA itself.⁴

What then should I offer as my own contribution to this distinguished collection? I was elected two years ago as the first self-described environmental historian ever to serve as president of the AHA (though some of my predecessors—I think especially of William H. McNeill, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Walter Prescott Webb himself—were certainly asking environmental questions about the past long before this newly named subfield came into being). I would be delighted to persuade all of you that the study of history should pay close attention not just to human beings but to all our companions on this planet—animals and plants and microorganisms—to say nothing of the ecosystems and climates and geophysical processes without which we cannot hope to understand the wider contexts within which human history unfolds. Nothing would please me more than to explicate for you Raymond Williams's profound observation in 1971 that "The idea of nature contains, though often unnoticed, an extraordinary amount of human history."⁵ I am sorely tempted, in other words, to deliver a manifesto prophesying environmental history as the next new new thing in the future of our discipline—or at least to express the pious hope that my colleagues in other fields should include its questions and methods in their own historical toolkits.

But I have chosen not to do this for reasons that will lead via a circuitous path to my actual topic, which will commit me to one of the more hybrid of these presidential addresses: part manifesto, part state of the field, part autobiography, and

ruary 2010): 1–25; Anthony Grafton, "The Republic of Letters in the American Colonies: Francis Daniel Pastorius Makes a Notebook," *American Historical Review* 117, no. 1 (February 2012): 1–39.

³ On history in public life, see especially Theodore Roosevelt, "History as Literature," *American Historical Review* 18, no. 3 (April 1913): 473–489; Henry Osborn Taylor, "A Layman's View of History," *American Historical Review* 33, no. 2 (January 1928): 247–256; Allan Nevins, "Not Capulets, Not Montagus," *American Historical Review* 65, no. 2 (January 1960): 253–270; William E. Leuchtenburg, "The Historian and the Public Realm," *American Historical Review* 97, no. 1 (February 1992): 1–18; and the incomparable Carl Lotus Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review* 37, no. 2 (January 1932): 221–236. On teaching, see Charles Kendall Adams, "Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America," *Papers of the American Historical Association* 4, no. 1 (1890): 39–65; Louis Gottschalk, "A Professor of History in a Quandary," *American Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (January 1954): 273–286; and Dexter Perkins, "We Shall Gladly Teach," *American Historical Review* 62, no. 2 (January 1957): 291–309.

⁴ Walter Prescott Webb, "History as High Adventure," *American Historical Review* 64, no. 2 (January 1959): 265–281.

⁵ Raymond Williams, "Ideas of Nature," in Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays* (London, 1980), 67–85, here 67.

most of all a meditation on teaching and storytelling as essential activities of our discipline. The American Historical Association exists to support and promote *all* history, not just particular subfields: *all* places, *all* periods, *all* themes, *all* methods, in *all* the professional and institutional settings where historians practice their craft. Much as I care about environmental history, I feel even more strongly that the discipline as a whole is facing greater threats and challenges than at any time in the past half-century.

There are myriad explanations for this that I can only gesture at here. Far more than most people seem to recognize, the end of the Cold War brought an end to the political alignments, funding dynamics, and national policy agendas that helped motivate the immense investments in higher education, K-12 teaching, and public history that sustained the institutional infrastructure for historical practice in the United States and elsewhere in the decades following the Second World War. It has taken a long time for these Cold War alignments to erode, but now, more than two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, we can clearly see some of the consequences. Public support and funding for history and other forms of academic inquiry are in decline, especially in the humanities and especially in public institutions.

Other national and geopolitical trends add to and amplify these threats. Among them are secular shifts in long-term patterns of economic growth and social mobility; fears about the sustainability of public and private indebtedness that call into question twentieth-century assumptions about the welfare state; the declining status of education in competing for public resources; widespread concerns about the costs and effectiveness of education, whether in K-12 or baccalaureate or postgraduate settings; the rise of political movements aggressively seeking to diminish the role of government, with partisan gridlock and policy stalemate among their most important consequences; contestations over race, gender, class, religion, social justice, and state power that have made majoritarian policymaking increasingly difficult; and even environmental fears about energy costs, resource scarcities, and climate change. The list goes on and on.

Make no mistake: very few of the infrastructures supporting the work of historians during the second half of the twentieth century have been unaffected by these trends, and we desperately need the intellectual community and institutional resources represented by the AHA if we hope to navigate such shoal waters successfully. This organization has never needed the support of all historians more than it does right now.

AND THEN THERE IS THE INTERNET. My columns in *AHA Perspectives* this past year were organized around the theme of “The Public Practice of History in and for a Digital Age.”⁶ I will not try to repeat here all of the arguments I made in those columns about the ways in which the digital revolution is transforming literally everything about the way historians work. The printed books and articles on which we have long relied to communicate our findings are yet another example of the “old media” that—like CDs, encyclopedias, and newspapers—have proven extraordinarily vulnerable to the

⁶ William Cronon, “The Public Practice of History in and for a Digital Age,” *AHA Perspectives* 50, no. 1 (January 2012): 5–7.

liberation of content from its physical containers that digitization has made possible. Some argue that colleges and universities themselves are old-media containers of much the same sort, with scholarly knowledge impatiently awaiting its liberation from the ivory-walled towers that have so long guarded it. Organizations like the AHA traditionally supported themselves by publishing journals and newsletters, holding conferences, and overseeing job markets, which were among the chief reasons why historians chose to become dues-paying members. All these activities are being called into question as scholars access digital copies of journals through their institutions and forgo personal subscriptions, as travel subsidies diminish, and as electronic alternatives for meetings and job markets become more attractively cost-effective compared with traditional face-to-face gatherings. Rethinking the role of professional organizations such as the AHA in this digital age is vital if we are to sustain the essential functions they have long provided.

One of my deepest fears about this brave new digital world has to do with reading itself. As I wrote in my October and November columns, it seems to me that the book-length monograph on which our discipline has long relied is very much at risk as texts migrate from paper to screens.⁷ It is not just that libraries are reducing purchases, that university presses are facing cutbacks, or that declining print runs and rising per-unit costs are pricing many specialized monographs beyond the reach of ordinary buyers. My deeper fear comes from watching my own students, many of whom no longer read books for pleasure. If they have any prior experience doing research, almost all of it is online. If a piece of information cannot be Googled, it effectively does not exist for them. More than a few of my students have never actually been inside the stacks of a library. To the extent that good writing is predicated on frequent skilled reading, the ability of such students to recognize and construct grammatical sentences and paragraphs—let alone graceful or elegant ones—is plummeting.

In a manically multitasking world where even e-mail takes too long to read, where texts and tweets and Facebook postings have become dominant forms of communication, reading itself is more at risk than many of us realize. Or, to be more precise, *long-form* reading is at risk: the ability to concentrate and sustain one's attention on arguments and narratives for many hours and many thousands of words. I have come to think of this as the *Anna Karenina* problem: will students twenty years from now be able to read novels like Tolstoy's that are among the greatest works of world literature but that require dozens of hours to be meaningfully experienced? And if a novel as potent as *Anna* lies beyond reach, what does that imply for complex historical monographs that are in many ways even more challenging in the demands they make on readers?

Two anecdotes from my own classroom experience will suggest the depth of the challenge we face here. Ever since I began teaching, I have circulated outline notes before each of my undergraduate lectures so that students can concentrate on what I am saying and on the images I typically project on a screen as I talk. At the top of these outlines is a small section called "Suggested Readings," listing a few books

⁷ William Cronon, "How Long Will People Read History Books?" *AHA Perspectives* 50, no. 7 (October 2012): 5–6; Cronon, "Recollecting My Library . . . and My Self," *AHA Perspectives* 50, no. 8 (November 2012): 5–6.

about that day's topic that might be interesting to read. In the past few years, I have had maybe half a dozen earnest students come up to me after class to say that they have searched for the websites I have listed on these note sheets, but could not find them anywhere. I have to explain as patiently as I can that these suggested readings are *books*, not websites. That's a thought that no longer occurs to some students even as a possibility, and many of them would not know how to find such books, let alone the libraries that house them, even if they wanted to.

Still more poignant and worrisome was the young man who came up to me after a lecture I had just given at another university introducing the major themes of the very long book about Portage, Wisconsin, on which I have been working for longer than I care to admit. I sometimes describe that book as "Michener-length," though that is a reference few students born in the past thirty years would recognize. So I usually add that I expect the final book to be at least five or six hundred pages long, covering as it does the history of this small Midwestern town from the glacier to now. The illustrated talk I give about Portage is intended to be a crowd-pleaser, with lots of engaging images and stories, and at the end of this particular lecture, a shy young man came up to say how much he had enjoyed it. I thanked him for his praise, but was then mystified when he added that he was very sorry he would never be able to read the book on which my talk was based. I sheepishly told him that although I was taking a long time to finish it, it *would* eventually be published, and he would certainly be able to read it then. He shook his head and said that was not what he meant. He reminded me that I had described the book as being more than five hundred pages long. Then, with a sad and embarrassed look on his face, he said he was simply incapable of reading such a book, that he had never in his life read anything so long. I was taken aback, but I am quite certain he was speaking in earnest, and that his regret was quite real.

SO HERE, FINALLY, IS THE THEME I want to explore in this address. In a distracted world where even undergraduates at top universities are increasingly challenged to read the kinds of books we have traditionally written, and at a moment when there seems to be widespread public doubt about whether to continue supporting the study of the past as this organization has traditionally understood that activity, what is the future of history? There are many answers to this question, of course, and it is the job of the American Historical Association—and all of us—to offer those answers as effectively as we can to defend in public the continuing importance of history both in the United States and in the wider world. But for me, there is one answer that is arguably the most basic of all, and that is, simply: *storytelling*. We need to remember the roots of our discipline and be sure to *keep telling stories* that matter as much to our students and to the public as they do to us. Although the shape and form of our stories will surely change to meet the expectations of this digital age, the human need for storytelling is not likely ever to go away. It is far too basic to the way people make sense of their lives—and among the most important stories they tell are those that seek to understand the past. Hang on to this truth, and there is no reason to fear

that history will be any less important to the human future than it has been to the human past.

I wrote a presidential column in March 2012 on what I called “professional boredom.”⁸ What I meant by this was the tendency of professionals, when talking mainly with each other, to adopt vocabularies and ways of speaking that have the effect of excluding outsiders who do not belong to that profession. When we stumble into one of these professional circles—as all of us do when we enter a hospital, talk with a lawyer, or try to decipher the writings of colleagues in other disciplines—our initial reaction more often than not is bewilderment or bemusement, but this soon becomes boredom if we linger long. Unless we have a compelling need to understand what these alien professionals are saying to each other, our eyes glaze over, our ears tune out, and our minds head off toward more intriguing thoughts or daydreams.

As I said back in March, there are many reasons, good and bad, for this tendency of professionals to generate boredom among outsiders. Some serve to defend professional monopolies so as to make it harder for outsiders to compete in offering the services sold by members of that guild. Some involve complex insider hierarchies whereby members of a small community jostle for recognition and status, a process requiring such intense scrutiny to be understood that few outsiders have the patience even to notice, let alone decode, the resulting communications. Others have legitimately to do with the specialized techniques of that profession, which encourage shared vocabularies for the sake of clarity and concision. All of these help explain why professionals talk with each other as they do, but they also explain why professional talk is so opaque—so boring—to outsiders.

We historians face especially difficult challenges in this domain of professional boredom. Although we favor ordinary language more than most of our academic colleagues, we nonetheless experience precisely the same temptations toward self-referential insider language whenever we communicate mainly with each other. More importantly, the heart of our enterprise is to immerse ourselves in the arcane events and contexts of vanished times and places that most other people have long since forgotten. This means that most of what we study is by definition unknown and unfamiliar to most outsiders who encounter our work. We learn to read languages that are not merely foreign but antiquated; we study documents so seemingly unimportant that no one else has bothered to look at them in years; and we seek to reconstruct past milieus that few outside our profession even remember existed. What could be more boring than that?

We all know the answer: there is nothing remotely boring about history if only one gives it the time and attention it deserves. The longer and harder one looks at almost anything in the past—the more one appreciates its subtleties and contradictions—the more richly and endlessly fascinating it becomes. The chief reason we do this work, after all, is to pursue such fascination so as to understand ever more deeply both the worlds we have lost and the worlds they became. Our own love for the past must be pretty robust to keep us going amid the dusty archives and the unread books, but our ultimate reason for doing so must always be to pass that love on to others who do not yet share it. Nothing we do is more important. Our core

⁸ William Cronon, “Professional Boredom,” *AHA Perspectives* 50, no. 3 (March 2012): 5–6.

business is resurrection: helping the dead past live again. We forget this most basic task at our peril, for there is no deeper betrayal of the historical imagination than to leave the past inertly, boringly forgettable. For historians, the peril of antiquarianism has always been to assume that everyone else in the world loves our subject as much as we do, when very nearly the opposite is true. It is our job, not theirs, to persuade them of its importance and teach them its fascinations. Other professionals can perhaps afford to be boring, but not us.

No one has made this case more eloquently than Carl Becker in “Everyman His Own Historian,” delivered way back in 1931 and still arguably the greatest of all AHA presidential addresses. In it, he posited in the gendered language of his day a character called “Mr. Everyman”: an ordinary citizen, distant from the concerns of professional historians, who nonetheless used historical reasoning in nearly every waking instant of his life. The job of historians, Becker argued, was to place the past in dialogue with the present, restoring it to living memory so as to render it useful to Mr. Everyman. Toward the end of his talk, he declared quite categorically that popular understandings of the past were ultimately more important than professional ones, and so much more powerful that they would ultimately triumph over any scholar who ignored them. Let me quote at length from Becker’s peroration:

Berate him as we will for not reading our books, Mr. Everyman is stronger than we are, and sooner or later we must adapt our knowledge to his necessities . . . The history that lies inert in unread books does no work in the world. The history that does work in the world, the history that influences the course of history, is living history, that pattern of remembered events, whether true or false, that enlarges and enriches the collective specious present, the specious present of Mr. Everyman . . . We do not impose our version of the human story on Mr. Everyman; in the end it is rather Mr. Everyman who imposes his version on us . . . If we remain too long recalcitrant Mr. Everyman will ignore us, shelving our recondite works behind glass doors rarely opened. Our proper function is not to repeat the past but to make use of it, to correct and rationalize for common use Mr. Everyman’s mythological adaptation of what actually happened.⁹

We can argue with each other later about whether Becker struck the right balance between what we might today call history versus memory, but for now I will let his argument stand in support of my own assertion that keeping the past alive for the wider public is the essential mission of our discipline, on which all our other activities ultimately depend.

HOW DO WE MAKE THE PAST COME ALIVE? By telling stories about it. Unfortunately, the craft of storytelling too often gets short shrift in the training of professional historians. We are often so busy introducing students to the challenges of framing research questions, locating documents, performing analyses, positioning our interpretations in larger historiographies, and constructing persuasive arguments that we forget to ask how all these pieces might fit together to create a good story. Even that phrase “a good story” feels a little unprofessional, doesn’t it? It seems to imply that the aesthetics of storytelling might so take over our work as to trump critical rigor

⁹ Becker, “Everyman His Own Historian,” 235.

or scholarly analysis. Worse still, many of us fear that the desire to tell “a good story” might tempt us past the limits of our evidence to assert as certainties claims about the past that our discipline tells us can never be known with confidence, if they can be known at all. In graduate seminars we witness the withering criticism to which scholars are subjected when they build arguments with insufficient documentary support, and so we adopt a whole series of defensive rhetorical behaviors to protect ourselves from this kind of attack. Usually these involve piling up documents, caveats, and buttressing claims to such an extent that any sense of narrative momentum is buried beneath the defensive fortifications. In such seminars, we also learn to practice history mainly for the audience of our professional peers, for whom cutting-edge scholarship, innovative techniques, and the latest academic fashions all combine to push our work into intellectual territory that, however exciting to us, is likely to feel obscure or even opaque to audiences beyond the academy.

At the AHA meeting in New Orleans, we were lucky to have in our midst some of the finest and most creative storytellers currently producing historical narratives for large popular audiences. My friend Michael Pollan has spent the past quarter-century exploring the history of modern American attitudes and behaviors toward food and agriculture. Steeped in the literature of environmental history, he has deployed his literary and journalistic skills to synthesize findings from across a wide array of scientific and scholarly disciplines. To tie them all together, he has deployed narrative techniques drawn from the journalistic tradition pioneered most notably by George Plimpton, in which the journalist attempts to enter and master an alien profession (in Plimpton’s case, professional sports) and winds up telling a comic tale in which his own bumbling incompetence becomes not just the thread that carries the plot forward, but the journey toward understanding in which the narrator’s education also becomes the reader’s.

Pollan has applied this literary device to the histories of gardening, architecture, agriculture, and nutrition, and in so doing has made these topics more engagingly available to more readers than ever before, so much so that he has become the most widely read commentator on contemporary food policy in the United States. His book *The Omnivore’s Dilemma*, narratively constructed around a series of meals that he himself prepares after following his food from field to stove to table, manages along the way to introduce readers to the histories of such arcane topics as corn hybridization, food supplements, organic farming, and even the farm bill. For most of his readers, much of what he writes about would have been so mind-numbingly boring in the hands of a different author that they would not even pick up such a book, let alone be riveted by what it has to say. But because Pollan is such an amiable narrator, because he can be hilariously funny at his own expense when this serves his rhetorical purposes, and because he is above all else a brilliant storyteller, his readers will follow him almost anywhere. I have been assigning his essay “Nature Abhors a Garden” to my graduate students for more than twenty years, and it is still one of the best and most provocative introductions I know to the kinds of questions environmental historians ask.¹⁰ Regardless of whether you agree or disagree with

¹⁰ Michael Pollan, “Nature Abhors a Garden,” in Pollan, *Second Nature: A Gardener’s Education* (New York, 1991), 37–53.

Pollan's arguments, he has much to teach historians about making the past come alive through storytelling.

We were equally fortunate to have had the writer and director John Sayles on hand in New Orleans to comment and answer questions about six of his most important historical films, discussing the ways in which cinema and fiction draw on the work of historians to construct their very different kinds of narratives. Few filmmakers have sought more consistently than Sayles to depict far-flung episodes in the American past in ways that try to do justice to historical complexity while also meeting the needs of cinematic storytelling. I have admired his work for many years, and two of his films in particular—*Lone Star* and *The Secret of Roan Inish*—are among the most powerful narratives I know depicting the continuing presence of the past in the lives of characters who are haunted by history even when they are unaware of the effects it has on them.

In *Lone Star*, multiple sets of parents and children from very different generations and backgrounds—Anglo, Mexican, and African American—struggle with each other over historical legacies that some seek to forget and others to remember. The unfolding plot involves a murder mystery that can only be solved by multiple layers of historical excavation. The lead character—a sheriff named Sam Deeds, played by Chris Cooper—essentially becomes a historian, sifting through documents trying to interpret his own past and that of every other character. As he does so, he gradually discovers that almost nothing about his town's past is what it appears, and that racial communities that seemed entirely separate from each other share histories that could not be more deeply entangled.

The film is full of evocative moments, including a famous brief scene in which teachers at the local high school try to defend their new multicultural interpretation of Texas history to angry Anglo parents who see it as a violation of their ancestors' heroic past and as propaganda corrupting their children's present. In a narrative segment that lasts just a minute and a half, Sayles manages to convey both the complexity of contemporary historical debates and the angry emotions they evoke.¹¹ The last spoken line of dialogue in *Lone Star*—"Forget the Alamo"—seems to echo James Joyce's Stephen Dedalus in implying that "history . . . is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake," but this is surely not the moral that Sayles wants us to draw from his story. For him as for most historians, there is no exorcising the past by forgetting it. Only by remembering and confronting its real and imagined legacies in all their contradictions can we live in the presence of history without being its victims.

Michael Pollan and John Sayles are two extraordinarily talented examples of the kinds of storytellers who share with professional historians the task of interpreting the past so as to create Carl Becker's "living history": "the history that does work in the world, the history that influences the course of history."¹² But in celebrating their achievements as I have just done, I must hasten to recognize the narrative techniques available to them that are not permitted to us as professional historians. Aside from scholars who do oral historical work on the recent past, the interviews

¹¹ The original script for this scene (which occurs about sixteen minutes into the theatrical release) can be found in John Sayles, *"Men with Guns" and "Lone Star"* (London, 1998), 128–130.

¹² Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," 235.

that enable Michael Pollan to construct such intriguing protagonists to populate his narratives and illustrate his arguments are impossible—to state the obvious—when the subjects of one’s work are all dead. For that matter, the literary technique of organizing an entire book around a carefully fabricated narrator named “Michael Pollan” would undoubtedly leave many historians queasy about calling too much anachronistic attention to themselves as opposed to their historical subjects. Pollan’s example reminds us that one of the most important characters in any story is in fact the narrator. Our available choices for shaping that character are more constrained than for a journalist like Pollan, in part because of our discipline’s longstanding (and too long unquestioned) commitment to the omniscient third-person voice of the nineteenth-century era when modern professional history was born. We can learn from Pollan the importance of taking more explicit responsibility for the narrator’s voice and rhetorical roles, but the moves that are so successful for him are unlikely to work in quite the same way for us. Our narrative chops must necessarily be different from his.

As for John Sayles and all other creators of historical fiction, whether in film or on the printed page, they have the power to invent scenes and episodes and characters, to put words in people’s mouths and thoughts in their heads, and to present such fabrications as real within the suspended disbelief of their narrative frame. No historian can ever do likewise. For us, the deepest challenge of our discipline—the maddening constraint that is also the wellspring of our creativity—is that we are not permitted to argue or narrate beyond the limits of our evidence. We cannot even begin to imagine a story without first having spent enormous amounts of time answering the question that arguably defines our discipline more deeply than any other, a question so seemingly simple that few who are not historians recognize its profundity: “*What are the documents?*” It is our devotion to documents, our awareness that without them the past lies forever beyond the reach of our inquiry, that supplies the epistemological foundation on which all our professional practice is built.

That we are so often willing to sacrifice narrative elegance and momentum as we puzzle over the gaps in our evidence reflects our commitment to the authority of our sources. When we compare our work with that of a creator of historical fiction like John Sayles, we may be tempted simply to say that he makes things up and we do not. But that gets nowhere near the heart of the matter. Anyone who has tried their hand at historical fiction (or fiction of any kind, for that matter) will know that it too has rules of verisimilitude and facticity that are far subtler and much easier to violate than most people realize. Especially when fictions are set in real places and real times and involve real people, and when the authors of those fictions aspire to say something profound and true about the lives they depict, they are hemmed in by history almost as much as we are, albeit in quite different ways because fidelity to the documents is not so high a priority for them as it must be for us.

Steven Spielberg did a nice job of describing this difference between historians and creators of historical fiction in a speech he gave at Gettysburg this past November on the 149th anniversary of Lincoln’s famous address, just a few days after the opening of the film *Lincoln*:

History forces us to acknowledge the limits of memory. It keeps track of memory's victories, it keeps track of memory's defeats. It tells us that memory is imperfect, that no matter how much of the past we've recovered, much that once was or has been now is lost to us. It's simply not the job—and in fact, I believe it's the betrayal of the job—of the historian to promise perfect and complete recall of the past . . . One of the jobs of art is to go to the impossible places that other disciplines like history must avoid. Through art we enlist the imagination to bring what's lost back to us, to bring the dead back to life. This resurrection is of course just an illusion, it's a fantasy, and it's a dream, but dreams matter somehow to us.¹³

Given their different goals and emphases, historians and creators of historical fiction will always argue with each other about whether a proper balance has been struck between historical facticity and the fictional dreaming that aspires to bring the dead back to life. The resulting debates are presumably what Carl Becker had in mind when he encouraged his scholarly colleagues to “correct and rationalize for common use Mr. Everyman's mythological adaptation of what actually happened.” But we do ourselves and history a disservice if we fail to recognize how the imagined pasts of history and fiction complement each other. To say that historians hold true to the facts while fiction-makers do not obscures the extent to which they both contribute to the shared project of keeping the past alive for members of the public who otherwise might not care about it at all. The deeper truth is that the two value different kinds of facts differently, and so are willing to make different kinds of compromises with historical reality in order to tell the kinds of stories that matter most to them. This in turn means that the narrative options available to each differ quite radically in ways that historians should try to understand more generously.

To name just one of the most important differences between historians and those who create fictions about the past, our rules of evidence build a high wall between us and the inner emotional lives of the human beings about whom we write. Perhaps partly for this reason, the questions we ask are biased toward people in groups as opposed to people as individuals. Even when we do concentrate our attention on a single human being, our disciplinary conventions permit us to talk only about those actions and feelings of the person that have somehow been recorded in documents. This creates a bias toward public as opposed to private life that is still present in our discipline despite decades of creative work by scholars seeking to give the history of private life its proper due. For the novelist or the filmmaker, the historian's definition of “private life” is still not private enough, since the one aspect of human reality for which our documents are most limited—the inner stream-of-consciousness that we each experience uniquely inside ourselves in ways we can never fully render for anyone else—is often what the fiction-maker is most eager to tell stories about. The narrative representations of a person's innermost thoughts that are among the greatest achievements of the modernist novel by authors such as Joyce, Woolf, Proust, and Faulkner are not available for us to emulate. Even when historians are lucky enough to work on individuals who left behind copious letters and diaries, these are still ultimately public representations of an inner life that we can never quite touch or recover. When even the most basic of human experiences fail to register in the

¹³ Steven Spielberg, Remarks at Gettysburg National Cemetery, November 19, 2012, as recorded by Jake Boritt and posted on YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_uZM1HxInJg. Thanks to my assistant Adam Mandelman for transcribing this for me.

sources available to us, our disciplinary conventions leave us little choice but to follow the famous final admonition of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus*: "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent."¹⁴

I share all this because I want us to recognize that history is just as committed to a set of representational conventions and compromises as these other narrative forms.¹⁵ Filmmakers construct stories that represent the past by having actors depict characters moving and speaking before a camera to create narratives that are more visual than verbal, gliding across spatial and temporal scales with extraordinary ease. Dramatists, on the other hand, must put their actors on a fixed stage before audiences who will observe and listen to them from relatively large distances with much less spatial and temporal freedom than is true of film. Onstage, the power of the close-up and the tracking camera must be replaced by characters speaking their minds in artificial conversations and soliloquies in which they describe their thoughts and feelings more explicitly than would ever happen in real life. Novelists may have almost limitless freedom to move in and out of their characters' heads and build plots that leap effortlessly across space and time, yet they, like us, are bound to verbal representations of thought and talk and action that must still meet myriad subtle rules for plausibility if readers are to suspend their disbelief.

Each storytelling form, in other words, has its own peculiar narrative possibilities and constraints.¹⁶ Historians choose not to represent aspects of the past about which our documents are silent, but some of these—stream-of-consciousness and informal conversation most obviously—are so fundamental to so much of life that it is a little hard to say which depiction of the past is more distorting: a history that says nothing about them, or a fiction that in the absence of authoritative evidence tries to represent them as responsibly as possible. If we were more open to recognizing the legitimate trade-offs involved in such choices, we might have a little more professional sympathy for the narratives that our fiction-making colleagues create in the service of Carl Becker's "living history."

AS FOR US, WHAT STORYTELLING OPTIONS are available to us within the limitations that our rules of evidence impose? In a discipline as vast as history, the number of narratives we have to tell is quite literally infinite, and even to catalogue their principal genres would double or triple the length of this essay. So let me instead tell a story

¹⁴ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1922), 7. ("Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muss man schweigen.")

¹⁵ I of course follow in the footsteps of Hayden White in making this assertion, but I do so for rather more pragmatic reasons. White sought to demonstrate the extent to which historians more or less unself-consciously emplot their work by deploying metahistorical tropes and narrative structures. My own purpose is to invite them to be more explicit about their own literary choices as they do their work, which is one reason I have tended to favor the word "storytelling" over "narrative" in this essay. My purpose here is less to criticize the contradictions of narrative than to invite all of us to become better and more explicit storytellers. See White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1975). For additional thoughts on this theoretical background, see William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (March, 1992): 1347–1376.

¹⁶ Robert McKee, *Story: Substance, Structure, Style, and the Principles of Screenwriting* (New York, 1997), offers useful discussions of these representational differences between film and other forms of fictional narrative.

about storytelling to illustrate the kinds of stories that I myself most love to tell about the past. It is also a story about a particular storyteller: the teacher who more than anyone other than my father helped me fall in love with history.

At the start of the second semester of my first year as an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, I was looking for one more course to fill out my list of classes. My father, who was on the faculty at Wisconsin, suggested that I consider studying with an English professor named Richard Ringler, who taught a course, English 360, called “The Anglo-Saxons.” Although I had no prior knowledge of medieval literature or history, my dad knew that I had long been a fan of J. R. R. Tolkien’s *Lord of the Rings*, and he thought I might be interested in learning more about the medieval sources on which Tolkien had drawn in writing that book. It was a brilliant suggestion, for no other course and no other teacher ever made a greater impact on me. Dick Ringler changed my life forever, and may well be the reason I am delivering a presidential address to the American Historical Association.

Ringler had had quite an unusual career. Having earned his Harvard Ph.D. with a dissertation on Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queen*, he had joined the Wisconsin faculty as a scholar of Elizabethan literature. But when an opportunity arose to teach a course on *Beowulf*, he decided to add it to his curricular offerings, and he was drawn into the literature and history of early medieval England as a result. He steeped himself in Anglo-Saxon, so much so that he eventually co-edited one of the leading textbooks on the language, and then decided that he could not really do justice to Old English literature without also studying the Icelandic sagas. He taught himself Old Norse in order to read the sagas in their original language, and became so fascinated by them that he wound up spending a year in Iceland learning modern Icelandic. He soon gained fluency in that difficult language as well, and wound up splitting his academic appointment between English and Scandinavian studies in order to teach courses in Icelandic. Along the way, he also became a serious student and practitioner of Zen Buddhism, and was fascinated by parallels between the monastic traditions of Zen and medieval Catholicism.

I knew none of this when I walked into Ringler’s classroom, but I realized in the first ten minutes of his first lecture that I was experiencing one of the most brilliant and unusual minds I had ever encountered. He spoke with machine-gun rapidity, as if his mouth could barely keep up with how quickly his thoughts were moving. More often than not, he used projected images from a Kodak Carousel projector to illustrate the maps or medieval manuscripts or archaeological artifacts or works of art or jewelry that he happened to be discussing at a particular moment. He lectured from a deck of 3 x 5 cards that he shuffled as he moved from topic to topic, and one of his strangest and most endearing habits was his willingness to interrupt his own presentation if a sudden thought occurred to him that seemed worth exploring at length. He signaled this in an almost comic way by pausing for a long moment, often with a quiet groan of frustration at his own inability to keep the lecture on track, then announcing “Digression!” before starting his detour. These sidebar engagements with loosely related themes typically proved so fascinating that we sometimes came to the end of the hour without reaching the end of the digression. But no one cared. Ringler’s narrative detours were just as fascinating as his main topics, and it was often difficult to tell which was which.

Ringler may have been trained as a literary scholar, but he was really a cultural historian, and there seemed to be literally no subject he was not willing to engage in his efforts to help us understand medieval England between the fall of Rome and the Norman Invasion. Like Tolkien, he was a philologist fascinated by the history of the English language and the ways words themselves can be treated as historical documents if only one knows how to decode their phonological and etymological pasts. My lifelong love affair with the *Oxford English Dictionary* began in that class. To understand the written documents of the Anglo-Saxon period, we had to learn enough of the language to understand the subtleties of their meanings. (In subsequent semesters, I would go on to take courses in Old English and Old Norse from Ringler, having by my sophomore year concluded that I was going to be a medievalist like him.) But he did not stop with mere words. He taught the history of medieval calligraphy, and explored the evolution of the scriptoria where monastic scribes copied manuscripts. He gave a lecture on the manufacture of vellum, the slaughter and processing of the animal skins on which the scribes worked, and the reasons why the two sides of a sheet of vellum—the inside and outside of the animal, the side with the flesh and the side with the hair—responded differently enough to ink and pen strokes that they subtly affected the calligraphy that appeared on them. He explained the geometrical underpinnings of the great illuminated carpet pages of the *Book of Kells* and the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. We read the Anglo-Saxon chronicles and traced changing conceptions of history by comparing them to the work of the Venerable Bede, and then contrasted these in turn with the epic narratives of the Beowulf poet. We studied the Sutton Hoo ship burial in order to see what its treasures could teach us about Anglo-Saxon poetry, warrior society, and pagan religious beliefs. We then turned to the missionaries who brought Christianity to England, and watched the transmission of Catholic doctrine and institutions to the British Isles up through the Viking raids on Lindisfarne and beyond: the development of Romanesque architecture and monophonic Gregorian chant, the relationship of Rome to the courts of Alfred and Charlemagne, and so on and on and on.

Scribbling as furiously as I could, I filled a green notebook with the facts and insights that Ringler poured forth. That notebook is still among my most prized possessions. The best way I can describe what he accomplished in that course was that it was the richest, most interconnected and multilayered representation of a long-vanished historical universe that I had ever experienced. It was as if Ringler could begin a story about any particular aspect of the Anglo-Saxon past and by a series of sideways moves repeatedly demonstrate the unexpected connections among aspects of that society that no one else would have brought together in quite that way. It felt as if we were watching the turning of a kaleidoscope, with endlessly shifting patterns combining and recombining in a never-ending series of stories, each deepening and enriching and adding layers of new meaning to the ones that had come before.

It was some of the most brilliant storytelling I have ever witnessed—and, crucially, it was storytelling of the kind that historians do so well, honoring all the rules of evidence that govern historical as opposed to fictional narrative. Indeed, among the master tropes that ran through almost all of Ringler's stories was the one at the core of our discipline that begins with the question "How do we know what we



Richard N. Ringler, Departments of English and Scandinavian Studies, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1974.

know?” and then answers “Let me show you . . .” We did not need fictional stream-of-consciousness or made-up conversations to feel that we were gaining ever greater insight into past ways of being human that were wondrously rich and complicated. By the time the semester was over, I was sure I wanted to be a scholar like Dick Ringler. I spent two and a half years preparing to become a student of the early medieval Germanic North, and in fact I won a Rhodes Scholarship with the intention of pursuing that subject at Oxford. Only an equally accidental course on the history of the American West, taken with Allan Bogue during my senior year at Wisconsin, redirected me to the western and environmental history of the United States, which eventually became my life-long objects of study. But there is no question in my mind that I am still trying to practice history and tell stories about the past in the kaleidoscopic, multidimensional way that Dick Ringler exemplified so superlatively in that class on the Anglo-Saxons.

Let me pause here for a moment. I said that I was going to tell a story about storytelling. To do so, I had to create a narrator that was a version of my former self,

a young undergraduate steeped in the fictional world of J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*, who had no way of knowing how much that novel had prepared him to become excited by the scholarly specialty that was Tolkien's own. That narrator told you the story of his encounter with a very unusual, even eccentric, teacher, whose multidisciplinary way of thinking and talking about the past—even though as a professor of English he was not officially a member of our guild—was held up to you as the narrator's ideal of what brilliant history can look like.

Although I am only now calling attention to it, one of the morals of this story is that some of the most important historical storytelling we do happens not in our books and articles but in our classrooms. Ringler in fact poured the same scholarly rigor and intensity into his teaching that most scholars reserve for their monographs, persuading at least one of his students to try to do the same. Each of his lectures was a brilliantly crafted narrative journey steeped with anecdotes and arguments and documents and insights that were not just about Anglo-Saxon England, but about the practice of history itself. And not just history, but all the other disciplines that in truth were every bit as important to history as history itself: archaeology and philology and literature and art history and architecture and theology and folklore and so on and on. Nothing in the past was irrelevant. We needed all of these disciplines if we wished to understand the fragments that had survived from that long-ago time. All of them were connected. We had simply to follow the threads in whatever directions our curiosity suggested in order to discover their meanings.

One moral of this autobiographical narrative, then, is that we should all aspire to bring the same passion and intellectual engagement to our historical storytelling that Dick Ringler brought to English 360, whether in our books or our classes or in public. There is no reason why the work we do cannot have the same qualities that Ringler exemplified with such passion. We just need to keep looking for the best and most engaging ways to tell our stories, and to remember always to be on guard against boredom. We need also to resist the research university's habit of privileging the latest and most cutting-edge scholarship over older and more familiar topics, since both are equally essential to the syntheses that not just undergraduates but the public and even we ourselves need if we are to understand the past in its myriad interlocking complexities. Ringler's course was utterly the creature of an R-1 research university, and he regularly had us engage the latest scholarly findings and interpretations; but he was no less careful to place that new work in a larger frame that also included older approaches like philology, as well as the broader thematic syntheses that occur more often in textbooks than in monographs.

I HAVE TWO MORE BRIEF STORIES to share about Ringler's class, with two additional lessons that have stayed with me ever since.

It should be obvious that I was very much under the spell of this teacher, and I went out of my way to talk with him during office hours about all the exciting stuff we were studying in his class. One day I made the mistake of stopping by his office outside the regular time—in fact, just half an hour before the class was scheduled to begin. I found his door ajar, suggesting that he was probably inside, and when I

tentatively knocked on it, not knowing whether I should interrupt whatever he was doing, it swung open to reveal him sitting at his desk, with his Kodak Carousel projecting onto the wall in front of him, his little deck of 3 x 5 cards in his hands . . . and I suddenly realized that he was actually delivering the lecture that we were about to hear. His performances in class had always seemed so extemporaneous, so stream-of-consciousness, so thinking-out-loud in their brilliance, that it had never occurred to me how much they might be scripted; indeed, how much he might have polished and rehearsed them to produce the rhetorical and interpretive effects—maybe even some of those famous and beloved digressions—that he seemed to generate so effortlessly in the magical space of his classroom.

I apologized for interrupting him, asked my question, listened as he patiently gave me the answer, and then scurried off, not wanting to intrude on his rehearsal time. But I have never forgotten that moment, since it taught me one of the most important lessons I have ever learned about teaching: when magic happens in a classroom, it is because someone worked hard to create it. When, years later, I finally began teaching myself, I began the practice of delivering my own lectures in their entirety the hour before I actually shared them with my students in class. Not only did this pour their contents into my short-term memory, so that I had far less need of notes, but it also helped me more clearly anticipate the narrative moves and hooks and segues that kept the lecture flowing and helped me remember the storytelling signposts that would keep my students from getting lost even as I guided them through complicated arguments on my way to the end of the story. This same skill has served me equally well as a writer, since the signposts needed by listeners in a classroom, although subtly different in form and execution because a book and a lecture have such different narrators, are no less helpful to the readers of a book.

I have one last little story about Dick Ringler's office hours that remains for me perhaps the most important life lesson he ever taught me. In the middle of one of his lectures, a minor question occurred to me that seemed quite interesting, though not important enough for me to raise my hand about it during class. I happened to be near his building the next day during his office hours, so I dropped by, thinking that this little question of mine was something he could answer in a couple of minutes. I walked in, sat down, and asked it. He paused for a long moment in silence, staring at the wall in front of him. Then he leaned back in his chair for a full fifteen seconds and gazed at the ceiling, concentrating with great intensity. Finally, he sat back up, looked at me, and said: "I don't know." This was not at all what I had expected, since I had thought my question quite trivial. There was another pause, and then he said, "If I were going to try to figure it out, I think this is where I'd start." He pulled an etymological dictionary and several other books from his shelves, and began showing me the evidence we would need in order to grapple with the puzzle I had posed. A full thirty minutes later, we had both gained more insights than I would have thought possible when I entered his office.

I do not remember what that question was. I do not even remember whether we actually answered it. What I do remember was that Dick Ringler—whom I regarded as the most brilliant and learned teacher I had ever known—had responded to a casual undergraduate question by saying "I don't know." He had then taken that question seriously enough to spend half an hour in my company puzzling through

the process of figuring out what its answer might be. I will never forget that moment as long as I live. There are so many morals to this story: No matter how expert you are, never be afraid to admit when you do not know something. No matter how much you know, remember that knowing how to figure something out is far more valuable than just knowing a particular piece of information. No matter how naïve a student's question might be, treat it (and the student) with the same respect you would give to the erudite questions of your most distinguished colleagues, because in fact that respect is the foundation for all learning, including your own. And finally, no matter what question you think you are hoping to answer, always be prepared to learn a completely different lesson from the one you were expecting. In that one seamless moment, Dick Ringler showed me what it meant to be a scholar . . . and what it meant to be a teacher as well. He showed me a way of being in the world, an example of what a fully engaged adult life could look like. Nothing he ever taught me about Anglo-Saxon England mattered nearly as much as that way of being—though of course that way of being required Anglo-Saxon England as its expression and embodiment.

Ringler persuaded me that the undergraduate classroom, far more than the graduate seminar, is where we take the results of our monographic research and place them in a much larger interpretive frame where we can show our students—and, by extension, our non-professional readers and ourselves—the larger meanings of our work. Original research is of course indispensable and lies at the cutting edge of disciplinary growth and transformation. But no one else will ever know this if we fail to come back from the cutting edge to integrate what we have learned into the older and more familiar stories that non-historians already think they know and care about. This is where we join other historical storytellers—journalists, novelists, dramatists, and filmmakers, as well as our academic colleagues in all the other historical disciplines—to keep asking what the past means and why ordinary people should care about it. Carl Becker was right: our ultimate responsibility is to living history, which withers into professional boredom if we speak only with each other or with our graduate students. The digital revolution has created endless opportunities via blogs, websites, YouTube, and social media to connect our professional stories with the concerns of the wider public, making it possible for pithier, more visual, and more topical narrative strategies to find audiences as never before. But they will do so only if we remember the lessons of the classrooms where our specialized work reconnects with those who do not yet share our passion for the past.

THAT IS WHY WE KEEP REVISITING the most basic and powerful stories even though their particular content is always changing, along with the moral lessons we draw from them. There is the story of where we came from and how the world got to be this way that is the great engine of public curiosity, especially for young people who have little direct personal experience of the past. Much as our discipline may fear the teleological dangers of presentism, we cannot live without it, since it is the doorway opening out onto the backward path by which we guide students and readers and members of the public toward a past that initially seems completely irrelevant and

disconnected from the concerns of the present. Once we have reconnected that past with the present and established just how relevant it continues to be, we can start telling that other great story, the one about the past as a foreign country whose inhabitants are so different from us that we barely recognize them. And yet because their world ultimately became our own—and because their struggles with each other to decide what they did and did not want their future to be continue to shape our own lives today—these two sets of stories turn out to be far more intimately linked to us than we first imagined. Together, they combine to create a third story about the world as given and the world as made, inviting us to reconsider a taken-for-granted present that can seem timeless and unchanging until we begin to view it historically. Only then do we recognize how much our present world reflects the choices of those who came before; only then do we see how different it could have been had those choices been made differently.

From these most basic of all stories about the past flow myriad others. They are part of the common heritage of humanity, which is why we share their telling with everyone else who narrates the past. That is what makes them so powerful and why it is so crucial that historians never tire of telling them, no matter how familiar they may seem to us the more professional we become. Only by looking into the eyes of our youngest students—and the eyes of our own children—do we remember how strange and fresh these stories were when we first encountered them ourselves. Stories of people struggling for justice or democracy or freedom or progress. Stories of oppression, endurance, liberation. Stories of people seeking to understand the meaning of their relationship to God or nature or the state or each other. Stories in which very small events or objects or ideas turn out to have much larger consequences than anyone would have thought possible. Stories that explore the intended and unintended consequences of the choices people make. Stories in which things we thought we knew about the past turn out to be unexpectedly and importantly different than we thought. Stories about how we know what we know—and how hard we have to work to earn such knowing. And stories of why different people understand the past so differently, and why seemingly contradictory historical narratives can yield truths that are all the more profound when juxtaposed against each other.

More than anything else, though, we need to keep telling stories about why the past matters and why all of us should care about it. Nothing is more important, for only by the neverending telling of such stories is the dead past reborn into memory to become living history, over and over and over again.

William Cronon served as President of the American Historical Association in 2012. He earned his baccalaureate from the University of Wisconsin–Madison with a double major in history and English in 1976, and holds doctorates in history from Oxford and Yale. He is the author of *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (Hill and Wang, 1983) and *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (W. W. Norton, 1991). Cronon is currently the Frederick Jackson Turner and Vilas Research Professor of History, Geography, and Environmental Studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

Immoral Rights: Korean Populist Collaborators and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1904–1910

YUMI MOON

ON JUNE 10, 1905, AS JAPAN strove for victory in the Russo-Japanese War, Yi Yong-gu and Song Pyŏng-jun visited the Seoul residence of Hasegawa Yoshimichi, the commander of the Japanese army in Korea. The two Koreans were there to make a secret agreement with Hasegawa to assist Japanese soldiers on the northern battlegrounds. Yi and Song were the leaders of a pro-Japanese organization called the Ilchinhoe (Advance in Unity Society). The majority of its members were followers of the Korean religion Tonghak (Eastern Learning), founded in the 1860s. After the meeting with Hasegawa, Yi organized the Transportation Unit for Northern Progress (Pukchin Susongdae) to deliver supplies to Japanese soldiers in Manchuria and to spy on the Russian army. According to the Ilchinhoe's official history, he and the members of the unit were devoted to this mission. When dispatching an agent to conduct espionage in the Tuman River area, Yi told him, "Our fellow Koreans are being crushed at the brutal hands of the Russians, and we do not have the luxury of caring [only] for ourselves. Even if your life is endangered by Russian soldiers, be heroic, and thoroughly monitor and report their secrets and weaknesses." The two men said their farewells through tears.¹

In Korean history, the Ilchinhoe members who took part in this mission are remembered as "notorious collaborators."² In addition to creating the Transportation

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¹ Yi In-sŏp, *Wŏnhan'guk Ilchinhoe Yŏksa* [*The Original History of the Ilchinhoe in Korea*], 4 vols. (Seoul, 1911) [hereafter *IH*], 2: 123–129. *IH* is a day-by-day account of the Ilchinhoe's activities in 1904–1910, along with a compilation of the group's public statements and official letters. Although it was published only a year after the annexation, some of the included letters and statements are identical to the records found in contemporary daily newspapers and Japanese documents. Thus *IH* is valuable as a historical source.

² An influential textbook on Korean history characterizes the Ilchinhoe as a "front organization" for Japan, created to broadcast the need for the protectorate treaty and to promote the impression that it was signed in response to the "wishes" of the Korean people. Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 309–310. Yet several scholars have acknowledged the Ilchinhoe's reformist characteristics. The earliest was Vipin Chandra, "An

Unit, the organization voluntarily mobilized 149,114 of its members to construct a railway from the northwestern provinces of Korea to Manchuria—a railway built to transport Japanese soldiers to the battlegrounds there.³ Ilchinhoe leaders also helped Japan depose the Korean emperor Kojong in mid-1907, organized voluntary guards to quell the activities of anti-Japanese Korean guerrillas in the months that followed, and issued a statement in 1909 urging Japan to annex Korea. In 2004, the South Korean government belatedly launched an investigation into pro-Japanese collaboration during the colonial period. The conclusion was that the Ilchinhoe's acts constituted "treason," "voluntary aid to Japan's colonization of Korea," and "the active destruction of Korean resistance for independence."⁴

This verdict of "treason" in response to acts that took place almost a hundred years ago reveals that a poignant moral contempt for pro-Japanese collaboration still exists in Korea, which Japan occupied as a protectorate from 1905 to 1910 and then as a formal colony from 1910 to 1945. But the verdict itself does not explicate the complex history of the Ilchinhoe. It was the largest political group active in the protectorate, but was dissolved by the first Japanese governor-general of Korea, Terauchi Masadake, on September 26, 1910, a month after Japan formally declared Korea a colony. Despite its members' pro-Japanese collaboration, the colonial authority considered the Ilchinhoe a security concern. This organization's paradoxical trajectory raises some conceptual questions regarding how we should understand collaboration in colonial situations or popular sovereignty in colonial empires. Ilchinhoe members claimed to represent the "people's rights" and "welfare" and opted to compromise the sovereignty of the Korean state for that claim. This populist surge outpaced the "civilizing mission" of the Japanese Empire, yet soon was confronted with charges of "immorality" within Korean society under the Japanese.

THE NOTION OF "IMMORAL RIGHTS" signifies a global ideological juncture at which the morality of "civilizing empires" was not sanctioned by their colonial "subjects," and anticolonial resisters rejected freedom that was not bound to the rights of collectives.

Outline Study of the Ilchin-hoe (Advancement Society) of Korea," *Occasional Papers on Korea* 2 (March 1974): 43–72. More recent works on the Ilchinhoe include Stewart Lone, "Of 'Collaborators' and Kings: The Ilchinhoe, Korean Court, and Japanese Agricultural-Political Demands during the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 38 (September 1988): 103–124; Yi Ŭn-hŭi, "Tonghak kyodan ŭi 'kapchin kaehwa undong (1904–1906)' e taehan yŏn'gu" (M.A. thesis, Yŏnsei University, 1990); Hayashi Yūsuke, "Isshinkai no kohanki ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū," *Tōyō bunka kenkyū* 1 (March 1999): 265–296; Hayashi, "Undō dantai toshite no Isshinkai: Minshū tonō sesshoku yōsō o chūshin ni," *Chōsen gakuho* 172 (July 1999): 43–65; Kim Tong-myŏng, "Isshinkai to nihon: Seigappo to heigo," *Chōsenshi kenkyukai ronbunshū* 31 (October 1993): 97–126; Nagashima Hiroki, "Isshinkai no katsudō to sono tenkai," *Nenpō Chōsengaku*, no. 5 (July 1995): 61–86; Han Myŏng-gŭn, *Hanmal hanil happyŏngnon yŏn'gu* (Seoul, 2002); Yi Yong-ch'ang, "Hanmal son pyŏng-hŭi ŭi tonghyang kwa 'ch'ōndo kyodan chaegŏn undong,'" *Chungang Saron* 15 (December 2001): 55–80; Yi Yong-ch'ang, "Tonghak kyodan ŭi minhoe sŏllip undong kwa chinbohoe," *Chungang Saron* 21 (June 2005): 354–393; Kim Chong-jun, "Ilchinhoe chihoe ŭi hwaltong kwa hyangch'on sahoe ŭi tonghyang" (M.A. thesis, Seoul National University, 2001); Kim Chong-jun, *Ilchinhoe ŭi munmyŏnghwaron kwa ch'inil hwaltong* (Seoul, 2010).

³ *IH*, 2: 16–17.

⁴ Ch'inil panminok haengwi chinsang kyumyŏng wiwŏnhoe chosa sam kwa, "Che il ch'a chosa taesangja (yejŏng) simŭi charyo," May 19, 2006, 1–3. This document is an internal report produced by the South Korean government committee tasked with investigating pro-Japanese acts during the colonial period. Professor Chŏng Kŭn-sik at Seoul National University helped me copy this report.

Many historians have viewed moral judgments as a major hindrance to the historicization of collaboration in colonial empires or in wartime Europe. Timothy Brook, in his book on Chinese wartime collaboration, says that historians need to “ask how the moral subject that collaboration presupposes was fashioned, not retrospectively judge that subject’s acts.”⁵ This causation for judgment is valid in principle and has been supported by many East Asian historians.⁶ But it should not be used to circumvent moral questions regarding collaboration or to argue that public denunciations of collaboration are largely contingent upon political expediency or the hegemony of postcolonial nationalism. John Whittier Treat has criticized historians’ reluctance in this respect and suggests that a “posterior ethical review” of collaborators be undertaken, informed by the “contemporary moral philosophy [that] continues to ponder the ethical choice of complicity versus resistance” as it relates to “Europe’s own history of wartime collaboration” with the Nazis.⁷ Such retrospection is insightful, but it runs the risk of anachronism. By more deeply historicizing moral questions within the broader normative and material contexts of an occupied society, we can bring them back to studies of collaboration.

In parallel with this East Asian debate, many historians who work in colonial studies or on wartime Europe have questioned the analytical use of the concept of collaboration. Frederick Cooper argues that the binary of collaboration and resistance is an inadequate framework for the multiple interactions that occurred within and across empires. Empire, he suggests, offers a stage for local actors to use in pursuing opportunity, wealth, or even freedom, and the assumption that there is a linear connection between freedom and nation is inaccurate.⁸ While Cooper’s comprehensive registry of empires illuminates the “tensions of empires,” it insufficiently interrogates the dilemmas of those local actors who actually pursued opportunities within empire and the meanings of the profound “moral tensions” that they confronted in at least some colonial situations.⁹ Collaboration can take numerous forms

⁵ Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 5.

⁶ For recent studies on collaboration in East Asia, see Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000); John M. Carroll, *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Brook, *Collaboration*; Margherita Zanasi, “Globalizing Hanjian: The Suzhou Trials and the Post-World War II Discourse on Collaboration,” *American Historical Review* 113, no. 3 (June 2008): 731–751; Marjorie Dryburgh, “Rewriting Collaboration: China, Japan, and the Self in the Diaries of Bai Jianwu,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 68, no. 3 (August 2009): 689–714; and Jun Uchida, “‘A Scramble for Freight’: The Politics of Collaboration along and across the Railway Tracks of Korea under Japanese Rule,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (2009): 117–150.

⁷ John Whittier Treat, “Choosing to Collaborate: Yi Kwang-su and the Moral Subject in Colonial Korea,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 1 (February 2012): 81–102, quotations from 81, 82; Timothy Brook, “Hesitating before the Judgment of History,” *ibid.*, 103–114; and Michael D. Shin, “Yi Kwang-su: The Collaborator as Modernist against Modernity,” *ibid.*, 115–120.

⁸ Frederick Cooper, “Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History,” *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1516–1545; Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2010), 2–21, 219–229.

⁹ Cooper’s position is shared in many studies on local collaboration with empires, and moral questions of collaboration are obscure or nonexistent in those cases. See Ivor Wilks, “Dissidence in Asante Politics,” in Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens, Ohio, 1993), 169–188; David Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880–1920* (Athens, Ohio, 2001); Colin Newbury, “Patrons, Clients, and Empire: The Subordination of Indigenous Hierarchies in Asia and Africa,” *Journal of World History* 11, no. 2 (2000): 227–263; Keith David Watenpaugh, “Not Quite Syrians: Aleppo’s Communities of Col-

and be defined in different ways.¹⁰ For the Ilchinhoe it entailed “political engagements” to support Japan’s occupation of Korea and to justify the continuation of that rule. Distinct from the broader “connections and conflicts” that were pervasive and inevitable in colonial encounters, collaboration by this definition involves the use of political and normative suasion to legitimize local subordination to empire, and often elicits moral implications. Collaborators make their choices on the basis of diverse and in some cases even “ethical” motives, but they face a political and moral crisis if they are unable to justify the validity of those choices to the conquered society more broadly.

The word “collaboration” has strong negative connotations. In *France under the Germans*, Philippe Burrin argues that its use provokes polemics and makes it difficult to explore the diverse ways in which people adapt to the structural constraints of being occupied. Limiting the meaning of the term to “accommodation raised to the level of politics,” Burrin divides such accommodation into structural and deliberate forms.¹¹ Structural accommodation refers to the kinds of inevitable adjustments that make the economy, public services, and everyday life flow even under occupation. Deliberate accommodation includes opportunist and political adjustments that go “beyond a minimal adaptation” and “provid[e], directly or indirectly, material or moral assistance for the occupier’s policies.”¹² Arguing that accommodation is “a regular phenomenon in almost any foreign occupation,” Burrin associates no moral connotations with the term.¹³

But not all occupations cause intense moral controversies about such human adjustments, and without the normative context of an occupation, it is not analytically clear how to differentiate the structural from the deliberate.¹⁴ When the subjects of an occupation approve the occupiers’ goals and values, they deliberately make structural adjustments without moral liability. Political power requires moral discourse to justify its existence, and collaborators also seek “normative justifica-

laboration,” in Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton, N.J., 2006), 279–298; and Benjamin N. Lawrance, Emily Lynn Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts, eds., *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* (Madison, Wis., 2006).

¹⁰ On the various definitions of collaboration, see Stanley Hoffmann, *Decline or Renewal? France since the 1930s* (New York, 1974); Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944* (New York, 1972); Ronald Robinson, “Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration,” in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London, 1972), 117–142; Brook, *Collaboration*, chap. 1; Philippe Burrin, *France under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise* (New York, 1996); István Deák, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt, eds., *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); and James Mace Ward, “Legitimate Collaboration: The Administration of Santo Tomás Internment Camp and Its Histories, 1942–2003,” *Pacific Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (2008): 159–201. Jan T. Gross defines collaboration as “a set of relationships between the occupiers and the occupied mediated by a set of officially existing institutions” through which the occupiers can acquire authority in the occupied region. Gross, “Themes for a Social History of War Experience and Collaboration,” in Deák, Gross, and Judt, *The Politics of Retribution in Europe*, 15–35, here 24–25.

¹¹ Burrin, *France under the Germans*, 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, 460–463.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 460.

¹⁴ If the occupied accept the values and objectives of an occupying regime, there is no clear separation between the structural and deliberate forms of accommodation. The structural needs of the occupied—the maintenance of public services or the economy—are mixed with their financial or ideological motives in facilitating political engagements with occupiers.

tions" for their conduct.¹⁵ The term "collaboration" and its moral connotations epitomize the specific historical moments when "assistance to an occupying power" had extraordinary moral ramifications and ultimately failed to legitimize its relevance among the occupied.

In contrast to wartime Europe, collaboration may have been deemed more acceptable in colonial situations, where diverse ethnic or religious communities had not already been subsumed under the rubric of a nation and thus found their identities blurred by competing cultural discourses forged under long foreign domination.¹⁶ In such circumstances, compliance with foreign powers has historically been tolerated, and some local actors indeed accommodated empire as a viable framework within which to obtain power, profits, or safety. Ronald Robinson regards this kind of compliance as requisite for European expansion. He defines collaboration in terms of arrangements of mutual cooperation and bargaining between Europeans and their local agents in the context of an expanding free-trade regime.¹⁷ When empires could establish collaborative regimes with reliable non-European actors, Robinson argues, direct imperial conquests were neither imperative nor desirable. Discounting metropolitan initiatives for colonial expansion, he attributes the shift from empire to formal colony primarily to a peripheral crisis—namely, "local disorder" and a surge in nationalism, which threaten an empire's security interests on an international scale. His theory treats collaboration mainly from the standpoint of an empire's "rational" calculations of costs and benefits, and does not provide an adequate framework for examining the normative ramifications of European imperialism and the crises of local collaborative regimes once they were established.

Studying collaboration is not a matter of retrospectively imposing an ethical framework onto the experiences of the past; it requires an understanding of the choices and consequences of local actors in the changing political and moral geography of a conquered society.¹⁸ The story of the Ilchinhoe reveals both the moral appeal and the limitations of a colonial empire and its "civilizing mission" at a time

¹⁵ Gross, "Themes for a Social History of War Experience and Collaboration," 35. For an overview of politics and morality, see Peter Fabienne, "Political Legitimacy," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2010 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2010/entries/legitimacy/>. I also consulted Jürgen Habermas, *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Habermas, *Justification and Application: Remarks on Discourse Ethics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Habermas, "Deliberative Politics: A Procedural Concept of Democracy," in Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 287–328; Joseph Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (New York, 1986); Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1998); Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1: *Regarding Method* (Cambridge, 2002); and Faisal Devji, "Morality in the Shadow of Politics," *Modern Intellectual History* 7, no. 2 (2010): 373–390.

¹⁶ As C. A. Bayly noted, in many parts of the world before 1850, nations were not dominant actors and the modern notion of sovereignty was not a familiar one. C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1441–1464, here 1442, 1449.

¹⁷ Robinson, "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism," 120. See also Ronald E. Robinson and John Gallagher, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, n.s., 6, no. 1 (1953): 1–15; Ronald E. Robinson, John Gallagher, and Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London, 1961); and William Roger Louis, ed., *Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy* (New York, 1976).

¹⁸ Political engagements with empire (i.e., collaboration) were morally stigmatized in some regions but not in others. It is crucial to place the choices of collaborators in their proper historical context and to evaluate how their choices were perceived and debated among their contemporaries over the course of time.

when the discourse of Enlightenment was attracting global interest and the idea of freedom had motivated a popular surge in Korea. The discourse of “civilizing missions,” according to Alice Conklin, gained wider currency at the end of the nineteenth century, when a democratic empire needed to “reconcile its aggressive imperialism with its republican ideals.”¹⁹ It was also adopted by Meiji Japan, which justified its intervention in Korea as “guidance” meant to improve “backward” Koreans.²⁰ This universal language of “reform and progress” influenced the Korean reformist elites called the “Enlightenment School” and led them to engage with Japan in their successive movements to reform the Korean monarchy.

Equipped with dense ideological and institutional networks, the Korean monarchy was resilient, if not strong, in coping with these internal challenges. This delayed a fundamental resolution of the dynasty’s problems and led to the 1894 Tonghak Rebellion, a national-scale uprising led by the Tonghak movement that rallied the peasantry against the government. Shocked by the force of this popular rebellion, the Korean monarch called on the Chinese for military assistance. Japan responded by dispatching one of its own armies to Korea, which created fierce international rivalries on the Korean Peninsula and soon triggered the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). During the war, the Korean reformers formed a pro-Japanese cabinet and promulgated a comprehensive reform program. This cabinet was soon dissolved, however, when Russia, France, and Germany reversed China’s cession of the Liaodong Peninsula, as demanded by Japan in the peace settlement. After this 1895 Triple Intervention, Kojong sought an alliance with Russia, which lasted until Japan started the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. Korean reformers were opposed to Russia’s intervention in Korea’s affairs and took a more democratic stance in countering the monarchy. The reformist movements during this period were characterized by a vigorous emphasis on the people, which was a consequence of the Tonghak Rebellion. Mark Setton, a historian of Korean philosophy, has written that it was in the Tonghaks’ humanist ideology “that traditional Korean populism took its most elaborate and sophisticated form.”²¹ The Tonghak religion preached that “Men are Heaven” and should be treated as such. Its founders cultivated a social vision premised on the “moral equality of human beings” and proposed “equal treatment of all persons as

¹⁹ Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 1; Conklin, “Colonialism and Human Rights, a Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895–1914,” *American Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (April 1998): 419–442.

²⁰ On Japan’s discourse of the “civilizing mission,” see Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires, 1895–1919* (New York, 2002); Robert Eskildsen, “Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan,” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 2 (April 2002): 388–418; Alexis Dudden, *Japan’s Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power* (Honolulu, 2005); Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011).

²¹ On the Tonghaks, see Susan S. Shin, “The Tonghak Movement: From Enlightenment to Revolution,” *Korean Studies Forum* 5 (Winter–Spring 1978–1979): 1–79; Shin Yong-ha, “Establishment of Tonghak and Ch’oe Che-u,” *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 3 (December 1990): 83–102; Shin, “Conjunction of Tonghak and the Peasant War of 1894,” *Korea Journal* 34, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 59–75; Suh Young-hee, “Tracing the Course of the Peasant War of 1894,” *Korea Journal* 34, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 17–30; Young Ick Lew, “The Conservative Character of the 1894 Tonghak Peasant Uprising: A Reappraisal with Emphasis on Chŏn Pong-jun’s Background and Motivation,” *Journal of Korean Studies* 7 (1990): 149–180; and Mark Setton, “Confucian Populism and Egalitarian Tendencies in Tonghak Thought,” *East Asian History* 20 (December 2000): 121–144, quotation from 123.

a foundational ideal.”²² Setton associates such egalitarian tenets with “Confucian populism,” in which “the will of the people is closely identified with the will of Heaven” and “the Mandate of Heaven confers upon a ruler not only ruling authority, but also an inescapable responsibility to look after the welfare of his subjects.”²³

While the Korean elite reformers were influenced by the Meiji discourse of civilization and enlightenment, they were also exposed to American ideological influences through education or exile in the United States, or by American missionaries and their schools in Korea. They organized an Independence Club and published a daily newspaper, the *Independent*, in both Korean vernacular and English. They advocated ideas of popular rights, enlightenment, and constitutional monarchy through the *Independent* and in their numerous public assemblies until the Korean monarch disbanded the club, suspecting it of involvement in a conspiracy to form a republic. The Ilchinhoe movement absorbed the club’s democratic orientation and deemed Japan a “civilizing” empire.²⁴ The organization’s members welcomed Japanese intervention in Korea, demanding that the government be run for protecting the people’s property and life.

The Ilchinhoe movement was populist in character.²⁵ Late-nineteenth-century populism in the United States and Russia had grown out of those countries’ mature democratic cultures or radical intellectual currents and reflected the anxiety of the agrarian class and the small producers whose livelihoods were endangered by capitalism or monopolistic industrialism.²⁶ Some theorists of populism, however, do not associate the concept with specific ideologies or a particular class but rather define

²² Setton, “Confucian Populism and Egalitarian Tendencies in Tonghak Thought,” 123.

²³ Ibid., 122–125, quotations from 124, 125.

²⁴ In the 1990s, Korean historians such as Pak Ch’an-sŭng, Chu Chin-o, and Kim To-hyŏng uncovered pro-Japanese elements among Korean reformers, and viewed their ideas and movements as having been influenced by Japanese maneuverings to colonize Korea. This evidence has led some eminent Korean historians to downplay the reformers’ part in placing Korea on the path to modernity, and instead to emphasize Kojong’s project to modernize the monarchy. See Kim To-hyŏng, “Taehan cheguk ki kyemongjuŭi kyeyŏl chisikch’ŭng ŭi ‘sanguk chehyuron’: Injongjŏk chehyu rŭl chungsim ŭro,” *Han’guk kŭnhyŏndaesa yŏn’gu* 13 (Summer 2000): 7–33; Kim, *Taehan cheguk ki ŭi chŏngch’i sasangyon’gu* (Seoul, 1994); Kim, “Ilche ch’imnyakki ch’inilseryŏk ŭi chŏngch’iron yŏn’gu,” *Kyemyŏng sahak* 3 (November 1992): 1–64; Pak Ch’an-sŭng, *Han’guk kŭndae chŏngch’i sasangsa yŏn’gu* (Seoul, 1992); Pak, “Hanmal chagang undongnon ŭi kak kyeyŏl kwa kŭ sŏngkyŏk,” *Han’guk sahak yŏn’gu* 68 (March 1990): 81–140; and Chu Chin-o, “19 segi kaehwa kaehyŏngnon ŭi kujo wa chŏn’gae: Tongnip hyŏphoe rŭl chungsim ŭro” (Ph.D. diss., Yŏnsei University, 1995).

²⁵ Populism is a concept that has been applied to various historical cases, from nineteenth-century U.S. agrarian movements to Latin America’s state corporatism. Previous studies have characterized populism as a structure of argumentation, political style, and strategy without a solid ideological core. See Robert H. Dix, “Populism: Authoritarian and Democratic,” *Latin American Research Review* 20, no. 2 (1985): 29–52; David Peal, “The Politics of Populism: Germany and the American South in the 1890s,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1989): 340–362; Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America* (New York, 1978); Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998); Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); Hans-Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall, eds., *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies* (London, 1998); Yves Mény and Yves Surel, *Democracies and the Populist Challenge* (New York, 2002); and Alan Knight, “Populism and Neo-Populism in Latin America, Especially Mexico,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30, no. 2 (May 1998): 223–248.

²⁶ On American populism, see Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998); Robert C. McMath, Jr., *American Populism: A Social History, 1877–1898* (New York, 1992); Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment*. On Russian populism, see Andrzej Walicki, *The Controversy over Capitalism: Studies in the Social Philosophy of the Russian Populists* (Oxford, 1969); Franco

it in political terms. For Ernest Laclau, populism is not “a *type* of movement—identifiable with either a special social base or a particular ideological orientation—but a *political logic*.”²⁷ Margaret Canovan says that “Populists claim legitimacy on the grounds that they speak for *the people*: that is to say, they claim to represent the democratic sovereign.”²⁸ Striking a negative tone, William H. Riker defines the “essence of populism” in terms of two propositions: “1. What the people, as a corporate entity, want ought to be social or public policy. 2. The people are free when their wishes are law.”²⁹ Regardless of the controversy over his theory, Riker’s definition makes it clear that populism is premised on the ideas that public policy should reflect “the will of the people” and that freedom is identified not with a lack of state restrictions on private sectors but with the institutionalization of popular wishes.

Populism conceived in this way could thrive even in a society where ideas of democracy were only vaguely present and where there was not an effective electoral system. According to Laclau, a populist logic includes “popular participation in general” and “‘simplifies’ the political space, replacing a complex set of differences and determinations by a stark dichotomy whose two poles are necessarily imprecise.”³⁰ He does not counterpose this “impreciseness” of populism to “mature” ideologies such as liberalism or socialism. Rather, he argues that this vagueness can be the consequence of social reality that is itself “undetermined,” and that the logic of dichotomy may function as “the very condition of political action.”³¹ Laclau values the roles of symbolic signifiers in populist discourses in constructing a collective identity against power, and in making such an identity “hegemonic.”³²

In this theoretical light, the Ilchinhoe followed a populist track insofar as it claimed to represent “the people” and mobilized their resentment against the monarchical establishment. But it hardly produced a movement and a voice cogent enough to consolidate popular solidarity against the existing power structure. The organization’s populism had indigenous origins and echoed the questions of the Korean elite reformers: How could the power of the monarch be constrained, and to what extent should the rights of the people be endorsed? The urgency of the Ilchinhoe’s populist agenda can be seen in the local mobilization of its members in order to control material and administrative areas such as tax reduction, tax control, and

Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia*, trans. Francis Haskell (New York, 1966).

²⁷ Ernest Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (London, 2005), 117, emphasis in the original.

²⁸ Margaret Canovan, “Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy,” *Political Studies* 47, no. 1 (1999): 2–16, quotation from 4, emphasis in the original.

²⁹ William H. Riker, *Liberalism against Populism: A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice* (San Francisco, 1982), 238–239. Riker’s definition rejects the populist notion of democracy and is geared toward “proving” that elections do not correlate to the “will of the people,” and that defense of the populist is thus meaningless when the general will is unknowable. Riker adheres to the liberal interpretation that elections are an efficient institution for rejecting a tyrant rather than for fulfilling the will of the people.

³⁰ Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 16–18.

³¹ According to Laclau, a populist logic emerges when social demands are not resolved “differentially” (in isolation from one another) but are unified in an “equivalential” chain of solidarity against power, when an “internal frontier” is formed dividing society into two antagonistic camps, and when the “equivalential relation of demands” is consolidated through the “construction of a popular identity.” *Ibid.*, 17–18, 73–77.

³² *Ibid.*, 156.



FIGURE 1: The Ilchinhoe Arch, erected to welcome the Japanese crown prince Yoshihito (later the Japanese emperor Taishō) on his visit to Korea in October 1907. The Japanese protectorate organized large-scale ceremonies for receiving Yoshihito, and the Korean emperor Sunjong went to Inch'ōn to greet him upon his arrival from Japan. Photograph courtesy of *Chungang Ilbo*.

land distribution. Despite the organization's commitment to support the protectorate, its radical advocacy of "the people's rights and interests" led to a strained relationship with Japanese officials, who viewed the Ilchinhoe as hampering their "civilizing mission."

Japan established its protectorate in Korea after the Russo-Japanese War. Although it formally maintained the Korean monarchy, it gradually seized control of diplomatic, financial, and internal affairs, implementing a series of treaties to "legalize" these encroachments on Korean sovereignty. Under the terms of the February 1904 Korea-Japan Protocol, Korea was required to follow Japan's "advice" in reforming its government. The subsequent treaties of August 1904 and November 1905 abrogated Korea's autonomy in diplomacy and forced the government to appoint Japanese financial advisers. In July 1907, a new treaty gave Japan further rights to issue government regulations, recruit higher civil officials, and appoint Japanese officials to the Korean government. Kojong resisted this process throughout and was eventually deposed. By 1910, Japan had put a direct colonial administration in place, calling this overall process the "improvement of governance."

In order to adequately historicize the identity of the Ilchinhoe and the troubles it faced, it is necessary to examine not just the organization's records but the trajectory of its actions. Collaborators' moral character cannot be established solely on the basis of their written words, because they were often apologetic in their own records and highly censored in colonial media and archives. In addition, their words and their actions were often inconsistent, partially because of their subordinate re-

lationship to their occupiers. In its public statements, the Ilchinhoe expressed an idiosyncratic vision for reforming the Korean monarchy, which included collaboration with Japan. It engaged in disruptive activities toward that end, such as tax resistance, justifying them in the name of “protecting the people’s life and property,” and sought official authorization of its status as a “de facto representative of the people.” When Japanese authorities instead rejected the Ilchinhoe’s popular mobilization, concerned about its effect on Japan’s control of Korea’s finance and local stability, the organization began to collapse. The members of the Ilchinhoe thus can be characterized as “populist collaborators,” preoccupied with their antagonism toward the Korean monarchy and trapped between their original motives and their commitment to support the Japanese Empire.

THE ILCHINHOE FIRST EMERGED as a formidable political force in Korea during the Russo-Japanese War. Originally founded as an association of political figures, it gained a popular base when it merged with the Tonghaks, who had formed an organization of their own. Having renounced their earlier xenophobia after the defeat of the 1894 rebellion, the Tonghak leaders had opened themselves up to the ideas of “enlightenment and civilization.” Thus converted, the Tonghaks declared their support for Japan in the war and resurfaced throughout the country in the spring of 1904. They organized the Chinbohoe (Progressive Society) that autumn, and in October they announced their merger with the Ilchinhoe. The two groups united under the latter name three months later.³³

Available evidence suggests that the Ilchinhoe had more than 100,000 members following this merger, and perhaps as many as half a million. (The group itself claimed to have a million members.) In November 1904, the Japanese military headquarters in Korea counted 3,670 Ilchinhoe members, including 49 leaders (the chair, vice-chair, and members of the Ilchinhoe council), and 117,735 Chinbohoe members, 883 of whom were leaders such as prefectural and provincial chairs and vice-chairs.³⁴ According to the *Korea Daily News* (*Taehan Maeil Sinbo*), run by the British journalist Ernest T. Bethell, by January 1905 the Ilchinhoe membership (*iphoe han chwamok*) had reached 500,000 (*tohap i osibyōman myōng*).³⁵ The Korean government did not offer an exact number, but numerous records indicate that several hundred to several thousand members attended the Ilchinhoe’s assemblies in many districts of P’yōngan Province.³⁶

³³ *IH*, 1: 43–44. The *Independent* appears to have played a significant role in the Tonghaks’ conversion; phrases from the newspaper’s columns and editorials appear in the Ilchinhoe’s opening manifesto. The Ilchinhoe claimed to have inherited the values and assets of the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyōphoe).

³⁴ “Ilchinhoe ūi hyōnhwang e kwanhan chosa pogo,” November 22, 1904, in Chūkan Nihon Kōshikan (Japanese Legation in Korea), comp. Kuksap’yōnch’an Wiwōnhoe (National Institute of Korean History), *Chuhan ilbon kongsagwan kirok* (Records of the Japanese Legation in Korea) [hereafter *CNKK*], vol. 21 (Seoul, 1997), http://www.history.go.kr/url.jsp?ID=NIKH.DB-jh_021_0070_0340.

³⁵ *Korea Daily News* [hereafter *KD*], January 12, 1905.

³⁶ The intelligence reports from P’yōngan Province (*kibu poch’ōp*) carefully followed the Ilchinhoe’s emergence in the region. In the summer and fall of 1904, the governor of the province received successive reports that hundreds, if not thousands, of Tonghaks had assembled in various prefectures. *Kaksa Tūngnok* (Copies of Administrative Bureaus Records), 101 vols. to date (Seoul, 1981–1996) [hereafter *KSTN*], 40: 21–22.

On August 22, 1904, the first of those assemblies was held in Seoul. The chair, Yun Si-byōng, proclaimed a four-point platform, exhorting the Ilchinhoe members to (1) revere the Korean imperial house and strengthen the foundation of the state; (2) protect the life and property of the people; (3) reform government administration and politics; and (4) reform military and government finances.³⁷ He also announced a few rules for the organization: members had to be at least twenty-one, and incumbent officials higher than the sixth rank—those in more responsible positions in the government—were not eligible to join.³⁸ After this inaugural assembly, the Ilchinhoe—and the Chinbohoe in some of the local areas before December 1904—began opening their rallies with dramatic collective haircutting ceremonies. Cutting one's hair violated the Confucian taboo against altering the body, which was regarded as having been received—"every hair and bit of skin"—from one's parents. Thus these ceremonies created a visually arresting spectacle for the Korean people and attracted attention to the Ilchinhoe's rise.³⁹ They made a sensational statement aimed at refashioning the organization's members as the harbingers of a new civilization.⁴⁰

The early Ilchinhoe rallies stirred Korea's elite society. A *Korea Daily News* article reported the reaction of an elite reformer at witnessing the level of popular enthusiasm at the organization's assemblies. In his travels to Hamgyōng Province, he had observed such an assembly involving local participants who looked "ignorant and illiterate," as though they had spent their lives "digging in the soil." He was therefore surprised when he saw these rustic people gathered in the towns, making "big" speeches about the people's enlightenment, the protection of their life and property, and the preservation of the state. He noted that these people who had formerly loathed foreigners were now asking fellow Koreans to befriend the Japanese.

Conservative elites were angered by these developments, as was the Korean monarch himself. They denounced the Ilchinhoe members as "ignoramus" and accused them of seeking power through connections with the Japanese. Soon Kojong decided to take action against the group's popular assemblies. On September 20, 1904, he ordered the provincial governors and the local defense army to arrest assembly par-

³⁷ *IH*, 1: 5. These are slightly different from Son Pyōng-hūi's proposals as quoted in Hwang Hyōn's *Maech'ōn Yarok*. When he resumed his political activities in 1904, Son publicly announced his changed position and sent five proposals to Korean newspapers and the Korean government, requesting that the government (1) establish a national assembly, (2) respect religion, (3) soundly manage the finances of the government, (4) reform politics, and (5) encourage studies abroad. Hwang Hyōn, *Maech'ōn Yarok*, translated from classical Chinese into Korean by Kim Chun (Seoul, 1994), 561–562; "Pon'gyo Yōksa" [The History of Our Religion], in Ch'oe Ki-yōng and Pak Maeng-su, eds., *Hanmal Ch'ōndogyo Charyojip*, 2 vols. (Seoul, 1997), 2: 137–182.

³⁸ "Taehan cheguk ilchinhoe sinp'yo," doc. no. 3-009934-000, from Han'guk Tongnip Undongsa Chōngbo Sisūtem, Seoul, Korea, <http://search.i815.or.kr/Search/HistoryCon.jsp?menu=IDP-SO-001&nKey=3-009934-000>. "Sixth rank" is a translation of *chuingwan isang*. *KD*, August 24, 1904.

³⁹ One of the main sources of frustration for the reformist cabinet between 1894 and 1895 was the antagonistic reaction to its order requiring that Korean traditional topknots be cut off. See Carter J. Eckert, Ki-baik Lee, Young Ick Lew, Michael Robinson, and Edward W. Wagner, *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul, 1990), 228–229; and Hyung Gu Lynn, "Fashioning Modernity: Changing Meanings of Clothing in Colonial Korea," *Modernity in Korea*, Special Issue, *Journal of International and Area Studies* 11, no. 3 (2004): 75–94. The *Korea Daily News* includes many articles on the Ilchinhoe's haircuts and their new look in Western suits; see *KD*, November 19, 1904, January 2, 1904, January 5, 1904, December 15, 1904, December 16, 1904.

⁴⁰ The *Korea Daily News* reported on December 24, 1904, that 13,000 members of the Ilchinhoe, both in local areas and in Seoul, had cut their hair to express their dedication to the movement.

ticipants and execute their leaders.⁴¹ The Ministry of the Interior also instructed the police to punish popular transgressions against government laws and regulations.⁴² In October, the Korean government sent telegrams to local officials authorizing them to open fire on the Chinbohoe at their assemblies.⁴³ The Ilchinhoe headquarters denounced the government violence as criminal, posting statements to that effect in villages and towns, and warning that governors who took action against its assemblies would be regarded as “friends of tyranny” and “enemies of civilized rule.”⁴⁴ From November 1904 onward, the *Korea Daily News* reported on various anti-Ilchinhoe schemes hatched by local *yangban* aristocrats and members of local elite associations.⁴⁵

In July 1904, the Ilchinhoe had published a political manifesto (*ilchinhoe ch'wijiſŏ*) in which it introduced a rudimentary democratic idea.⁴⁶ “The state [*kukka*],” it began, “exists because of the people [*inmin*], and the people are sustained through association.”⁴⁷ The role it prescribed for the people went beyond completing military service and paying taxes, to include deliberating about critical political affairs and making recommendations to the government. Elsewhere in the world, the manifesto asserted, powerful states encouraged their people to fulfill those roles by guaranteeing them “freedom of speech and the press” (*öllon chŏjak ŭi chayu*) and “freedom of assembly and association” (*chiphoe kyŏlsa ŭi chayu*). It outlined the roles of the government, the people, and the throne, all couched within the notion of a limited constitutional monarchy. The government, it said, should support the throne and take direct charge of the administration; the people should indirectly participate in legislation (*ippŏpkwŏn*) and assist the government. The actual role of the throne was defined in less than clear terms. While the manifesto described the throne as “the highest and most respected person who possesses sovereignty in legislation and administration” and governs the country and the people (*min'guk*), it also ascribed value to the parliamentary system, stating that “the national assembly and societies [i.e., political associations or parties]” had a role to play in securing the principal functions of the government and the people.⁴⁸ The manifesto was cautious in calling for the creation of a parliamentary system, however,

⁴¹ *Kojong Sillok*, September 20, 1904 (44: 73b), and September 24, 1904 (44: 75b).

⁴² *IH*, 1: 13–14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14–16. Although the Chinbohoe (the Tonghaks' newly formed organization) announced its merger with the Ilchinhoe on October 1, 1904, the two groups were not united under the name Ilchinhoe until December.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 20, 27.

⁴⁵ The *Korea Daily News* reported that Righteous Armies had already arisen in P'yŏngan Province and that some former officials (*chŏn kwanin*) had taken part in anti-Ilchinhoe attacks. Confucian literati from Kyŏngsang and from Hamgyŏng Province circulated anti-Ilchinhoe memorials and appeals for the organization of troops to eliminate pro-Japanese factions. *KD*, January 5, 1905.

⁴⁶ *IH*, 1: 2, 33–34.

⁴⁷ The original text is *kukka nŭn inmin ŭrossŏ sŏngnip han cha io inmin ŭn sahoe rossŏ yujihanŭn chaa ora*. The meaning of this statement is further clarified in the following sentences, which say that a state becomes “real” only when its people fulfill their duties to the state, and that the people should come together in political associations in order to properly perform their roles.

⁴⁸ The original text for “person who possesses sovereignty” is *taekwŏn ŭl ch'ongnam*. The literal meaning of *min'guk* is “the country of the people,” or the republic, but the *Independent*, the official newspaper of the Independence Club (1896–1899), used it to mean the country and the people. Since the Ilchinhoe borrowed the rhetoric of some *Independent* editorials, I render the elements in *min'guk* here separately, as “the people” (*min*) and “the country” (*kuk*). *Independent*, April 2, 1898.

noting the general importance of a parliament rather than demanding that one be immediately established.⁴⁹

The Ilchinhoe's statements speak of independence, state sovereignty (*kukkwŏn*), and even patriotism (*aeguk*). How did the organization reconcile such notions of liberty with its call for collaboration with Japan? The Ilchinhoe devised a logic that it called "independence through dependence," arguing that autonomy could be strengthened through dependence on another's capability. In a 1905 proclamation that anticipated the 1905 protectorate treaty, it presented this logic, beginning with an abstract argument about human capability, speech, and choice.⁵⁰ The first step toward "independence through dependence," according to this logic, was knowing one's capability and limitations: someone who had the capacity to do something, it said, could declare that he would do it and then act on it, whereas someone who was incapable should cultivate the needed ability in silence before acting on his goals. The proclamation described Japan as an "advanced" and "capable" country that had acted as a "peacemaker" in East Asia between 1894 and 1905, and stated that Korea needed to adjust to this new circumstance.

The 1905 proclamation elaborated upon this logic by distinguishing between independence "in name" and "in substance." Here a country's capability was crucial, just as it was in human choices. If a country could refuse intervention by foreign entities and achieve independence in both name and substance, then its people could rise in unity and declare their independence to the world. A country that was incapable of following this path, however, would do well to heed the "guidance of a friendly ally," make progress toward a civilized status, and maintain its "independence." In this case, the dependent country would lose independence in name but not in substance.⁵¹

This "substance" of independence did not signify the modern idea of sovereignty, namely, that "there is a final and absolute authority in the political community."⁵² The Ilchinhoe perceived sovereignty as having layers. The transfer of sovereignty to an authority beyond the political community would not harm the community's integrity and welfare if that higher authority was honest and civilized. If Korea entrusted its diplomacy to a powerful "ally" and let that ally "protect Korea's sovereignty [*kukkwŏn*]," this would be no different from the Korean monarch's own display of sovereignty. With respect to domestic politics, Koreans would be better off if they could safely recruit advisers from Japan's "advanced" government and allow them to "cleanse" the Korean government of its problems for the benefit of the "people's welfare" (*minbok*). These "substantial tasks" were not contingent upon the sovereignty of the Korean government. Under this reasoning, the Ilchinhoe disputed the accusations of "treason" lodged against it by other Koreans who condemned "supporters of the ally Japan" as "whorish devils" (*ch'anggwi*).⁵³

Four years later, the Ilchinhoe's 1909 statement urging Japan to annex Korea

⁴⁹ This manifesto was sent to the Japanese legation in Korea and compiled along with the legation documents. *CNKK*, July 20, 1904.

⁵⁰ The 1905 Ilchinhoe proclamation is found in *IH*, 2: 106–110, November 5, 1905.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² F. H. Hinsley, *Sovereignty* (New York, 1966), 1.

⁵³ *IH*, 2: 106–110.

sealed its reputation as a movement of traitors.⁵⁴ Yet even this announcement retained a trace of the organization's original agenda, in that it presented the idea of a "political union" in which sovereignty would be shared between Korea and Japan and the equality and rights of the Korean people would be guaranteed. Repeating Japan's propaganda that Korea's tragedy was due entirely to the country's own "faults," the Ilchinhoe announcement rendered the history between 1894 and 1909 in terms of Japan's "attempts to save" Korea and Korea's "errors in correcting" itself. However, it also stated that the Korean people were not accountable for these "faults" because they had been forced to live in "tyranny" without freedom. To rescue the people from such peril, the Ilchinhoe suggested that Korea and Japan should create a "grand political institution" in which the Korean and Japanese people would enjoy equal status as first-class citizens. An editorial in the *New National Daily* (*Kungmin Sinbo*), the Ilchinhoe's official newspaper, proposed that in the event of such a "union," the two countries should be autonomous with respect to their internal government but united in foreign relations.⁵⁵ The Ilchinhoe statement, however, made no mention of autonomy in domestic affairs, presenting only two conditions for the "union": the preservation of the Korean imperial house, and equal rights for the Korean people.

THE ILCHINHŎE'S FORMAL STATEMENTS were democratic and collaborative. A flexible concept of sovereignty combined a populist logic with empire. The people could support a "civilizing empire" that protected their freedom and welfare without tyranny. That might have meant a "democratic empire," although the statements neither directly challenged the Korean monarch nor disputed Japan's "civilizing mission." But the Ilchinhoe's actions materialized its members' opposition to the Korean monarchy and to the protectorate. The Korean prime minister had alleged at one point that the organization's members were trying to "exterminate the government" (*chŏl chŏngbu*).⁵⁶ Contrary to the Ilchinhoe's anticipation of Japan's support, the protectorate government never sanctioned the organization's positions. Consequently, the Ilchinhoe's advocacy "for the people" was hurt rather than helped by its collaboration with Japan.

This paradox is vividly illustrated in the Ilchinhoe's tax-resistance campaign between 1904 and 1907. Megata Tanetarō, the former director of the Taxation Bureau in the Japanese Ministry of Finance, was appointed as the first financial adviser to Korea. He arrived in December 1904 to assume complete jurisdiction over the state's finances.⁵⁷ Three months later, he received a memorandum from the Japanese Foreign Ministry regarding the "reform" of the Korean Royal Treasury and the transfer

⁵⁴ The 1909 Ilchinhoe announcement to the Korean people is found in *IH*, 6: 53–56.

⁵⁵ Sŏ Yŏng-hŭi, "Kungmin sinbo rŭl t'onghae pon Ilchinhoe ŭi happangnon kwa happang chŏngguk ŭi tonghyang," *Yŏksa wa Hyŏnsil*, no. 69 (2008): 19–45, here 37–38.

⁵⁶ The Ilchinhoe called themselves "the general representatives of twenty million people" (*ich'ŏnman min ŭi ch'ongdae*) and pressed the government to endorse the people's "freedom of action" to protect their life and property. "Twenty million people" was a reference to the entire Korean population at the time.

⁵⁷ The Korean government needed the Japanese financial adviser's endorsement in order to implement its financial policies and to present its ministers' finance-related decisions to the Korean monarch.

of control over its revenue sources to the Ministry of Finance. At the time, the Ministry of Finance had jurisdiction only over land taxes and thus played a minor role in Korea's state finances. Without controlling the Royal Treasury, however, Japan could not exercise full financial authority in Korea.⁵⁸ The Ilchinhoe's tax resistance aided this Japanese financial reorganization in that it helped to erode the power of the monarchy. However, its populist direction soon caused tensions with the protectorate.

From a longer historical perspective, the Ilchinhoe's tax resistance reflected a wider popular backlash against the monarch-centered reforms that had been implemented between 1897 and 1904. The 1894 reformist cabinet had separated the finances of the state from those of the royal household, concentrating revenue sources under the direction of the Ministry of Finance in an attempt to reduce the tax burden on the people. After the fall of the cabinet, however, Kojong left that division in place but began to transfer the major sources of national revenue back to the Royal Treasury.⁵⁹ In 1899–1900, that included most of the postal station lands and the civil and military colony lands.⁶⁰ The Royal Treasury also reinstated many of the so-called miscellaneous taxes—untitled taxes that were not specified in the national law—increasing the number of such taxes to several hundred. Taxes that the 1894 cabinet had abolished were restored, including assessments on commercial agents such as *yŏgak* (wholesalers), on masters and supervisors at the ferry stations (*p'ogu chuin*), and on fish, salt, and boats.⁶¹ This major expansion of miscellaneous taxes caused social unrest, prompting Kojong to issue several imperial ordinances eliminating certain untitled taxes. These ordinances left the majority of such taxes in place, however, and thus only added confusion to the system.⁶²

The dynamics of this tax resistance expose what reform and “civilized rule” meant to the different actors in protectorate Korea at a time when their discourses sounded ambiguous—and alike. Kojong wanted to strengthen his own financial base to modernize the monarchy. He therefore changed the traditional tax-collection system and tried to directly control revenues. In the traditional system, provincial governors and local magistrates were in charge of collecting taxes and submitting them to the central government. They relied on the assistance of local clerks and the officials of local elite associations in calculating the amounts and collecting what was due from the local population. Under the new system, Kojong appointed thirteen government commissioners for tax collection (*pongswaegwan* and, later, *sujogwan*) and dis-

⁵⁸ Kim Chae-ho, “Kabo kaehyŏk ihu kŭndae chŏk chaejŏng chedo ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng e kwanhan yŏn'gu” (Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University, 1997), 246–247.

⁵⁹ Yi Yun-sang, “Taehan chegukki ūi chaejŏng chŏngch'aek,” in Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guksa*, 53 vols. (Seoul, 1991–), 42: 132–133. Kojong entrusted Yi Yong-ik with the financial management of the government. Selected despite his lower status, Yi showed extraordinary skill in increasing the wealth of the Royal Treasury (Naejangwŏn). He held several key financial positions between 1897 and 1904, including director of the Bureau of Mintage (*chŏnhwan kukchang*), minister of the Royal Treasury, and director of the ginseng and mining administrations.

⁶⁰ Pak Ch'an-sŭng, “Hanmal yŏkt'o, tunt'o esŏi chiju kyŏngyŏng ūi kanghwa,” *Han'guksaron* 9 (1983): 255–338, here 259. The colony lands (*tunt'o*) were affiliated with the Royal Treasury in 1899, followed by the postal station lands in September 1900; Kim, “Kabo kaehyŏk ihu kŭndae chŏk chaejŏng chedo ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng e kwanhan yŏn'gu,” 111.

⁶¹ Yi Yun-sang, “Taehan chegukki naejangwŏn ūi hwangsil chaewŏn unyŏng,” *Han'guk Munhwa* 17 (June 1996): 227–282, here 229–231.

⁶² Yi Yun-sang, “Taehan chegukki ūi chaejŏng chŏngch'aek,” 143–144.

patched them to the provinces. In addition to collecting miscellaneous taxes and submitting them to the Royal Treasury, they were responsible for assessing and collecting the annual tenant rents for “public lands” (*kongt'o*), which were affiliated with government agencies in order to support their expenses. They supervised the intermediary officials, such as tax inspectors (*kamgwan*) and tenant supervisors (*saŭm*), who actually carried out the work.⁶³ Kojong's reversal of the 1894 cabinet's tax reduction increased the burden on taxpayers, and the royal tax commissioners from the capital alienated the local officials and elites who had enjoyed greater power and “profits” under the traditional system.

The Ilchinhoe's advocacy of “civilized rule” included popular control of tax administration. Government records show that the organization's tax-resistance campaign was focused primarily on eliminating miscellaneous taxes and reducing public land rents.⁶⁴ It also attempted to control local tax administration. In many places, Ilchinhoe members supplanted the government's own tax collectors and tenant supervisors, which led to power struggles with governors, magistrates, and the members of local elite associations.

The Ilchinhoe made its first move toward tax resistance in the autumn of 1904.⁶⁵ Members went to the riverside markets, the central locus for commerce in Seoul, and urged the merchants there to refuse to pay the miscellaneous taxes, which it said benefited only the officials who collected them.⁶⁶ The next month, the Ilchinhoe posted notices in Chongno, the central market street in Seoul, ordering its local branches to investigate all items that were subject to miscellaneous taxes and demand that the governors and magistrates eliminate those extra charges. The branches were instructed to inform the Ilchinhoe headquarters in Seoul if local officials chose to disregard the group's recommendations.⁶⁷ After similar notices were posted at key locations in the towns and villages, the resistance campaign got underway.⁶⁸

The movement was strongest in the northern regions of Korea. Cho Chŏng-yun, the tax commissioner for the Royal Treasury in P'yŏngan Province, wrote extensive reports on the acts of resistance there. He was required to file an annual report listing all unpaid taxes and explaining why they had not been collected. Although to some extent his reports are self-justificatory, since he had to blame someone for his failure to fulfill his duty, they testify to the scope of the Ilchinhoe's resistance activity. In May 1905, Cho reported on a year-long tax dispute in Yongch'ŏn Prefecture.⁶⁹ The director of the local elite association, Yi Sŏk-yun, had collected 5,800 *yang* in sea and

⁶³ Ibid., 235, 255–256.

⁶⁴ More research is needed to uncover the full details of the Ilchinhoe's tax-resistance movement; this study primarily focuses on records about the northwestern provinces in Korea. On the Ilchinhoe's tax resistance in other provinces, see Kim Chong-jun, *Ilchinhoe ūi Munmyŏnghwaron kwa ch'inil hwal-dong* (Seoul, 2010).

⁶⁵ Kojong issued another ordinance in September 1904, ordering the elimination of certain miscellaneous taxes. As noted, these ordinances were not well implemented. The Ilchinhoe used this particular ordinance to launch its mobilization for tax resistance.

⁶⁶ *IH*, 1: 37–38.

⁶⁷ Interestingly, the Ilchinhoe attributed the excessive tax rates to the sale of official positions. Those who bought positions tended to overtax the populace to recoup their own expenses. The Ilchinhoe called on the government to crack down on these officials and their financial backers.

⁶⁸ *IH*, 1: 7.

⁶⁹ Because tax-collecting officials were required to offer explanations in cases of unpaid taxes, Cho Chŏng-yun reported the case in 1905.

land taxes in the spring of 1904, but had not submitted the money to the Royal Treasury. According to Cho, Yi had cooperated with the Ilchinhoe in expelling the government supervisors of river taxes.⁷⁰ In 1905, the Ilchinhoe's efforts in P'yongan Province intensified, resulting in the closure of the tax-collection offices in the riverside areas. In February, for instance, the riverside tax officer in Pyöktong, Kang Ch'i-ju, submitted a report in which he characterized the tax resistance there as "lawless" and "disorderly." Kang stated that Kim Ŭng-sön, a resident in Sop'a port, had joined fifty to sixty Ilchinhoe members in rejecting the tax officer's demand for payment. Kim and the Ilchinhoe members had yelled, "Why do you follow only government orders and never carry out the instructions of our association?" They tied up the tax officer and paraded him around the area to the beating of drums. Kang wrote that he could not rule the people in such a lawless situation, and he noted that he was experiencing the same problems in every town under his jurisdiction.⁷¹ A similar report in September by Cho Chöng-yun confirmed that Ilchinhoe followers sometimes went so far as to tie up the tax supervisors and toss them into the river. Cho was persuaded by this violence to temporarily close the tax-collection offices.⁷²

The Ilchinhoe also organized tenant disputes over rent reductions on public lands. Cho Chöng-yun reported in August 1905 that the organization's interference in rent collection had practically "nullified" the national law, and that rents from public lands for 1904 had been seriously underpaid in northern P'yongan Province.⁷³ The Ŭiju magistrate, Sin Ik-kyun, detailed the Ilchinhoe-led tenant protests there. According to Sin, three-quarters of the rents for the public lands in his prefecture were what were known as additional rents, which had been collected annually since 1902.⁷⁴ Ilchinhoe members refused to pay this extra amount, assembling crowds of hundreds, if not thousands, and threatening the tenant supervisors of the public lands. Sin lamented that the people in those areas had no respect for government officials.⁷⁵

Once Ilchinhoe members established power in a district, they attempted to institutionalize their intervention in tax administration. Ilchinhoe tenants on public lands ousted the government supervisors and selected their own replacements (*Ilchinhoe saüm chük cha Ilchinhoe ro cha t'aekcha ya*). According to a government

⁷⁰ *Chönggong* originally referred to legitimate taxes stipulated in the national law, as opposed to *chapse*, or miscellaneous taxes. Most taxes on commerce or riverside areas were miscellaneous taxes. However, the Royal Treasury at the time appears to have redefined the taxes submitted to the monarch as being included in *chönggong*.

⁷¹ *KSTN*, 38: 241.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 196–197.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁷⁴ Additional rents (*kado* or *kajön*) were surcharges tacked onto the original rents from public lands. The 1894 cabinet had established fixed rent rates and abolished additional rents and miscellaneous fees. The Kwangmu government had followed this policy and determined the original fixed rent rates between 1899 and 1900, during its cadastral survey (*Kwangmu sagöm*). The rates were approximately 3 *yang* in cash per *turak* (0.163 acres) of rice paddy. The Royal Treasury, however, did not adhere to the original rates after the survey; it collected rents in grain instead of cash, or increased the rents by tacking on additional charges. Pak Ch'an-süng, "1865–1907 nyön yökt'o tunt'o esö üi chiju kyöngyöng üi kanghwa wa hangjo," *Han'guksaron* 9 (1983): 255–338; Kim Yang-sik, "Taehan cheguk, ilche ha yöktunt'o yön'gu" (Ph.D. diss., Tan'guk University, 1992). A *turak* was the amount of land on which 1 *mal* could be planted as seed. The equivalent of 0.163 acres (ca. 1910) comes from James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyöngwön and the Late Chosön Dynasty* (Seattle, 1996), 1188.

⁷⁵ *KSTN*, 38: 192.

report in November 1907, twenty-one of the listed supervisors in Chŏngju, P'yŏngan Province, had been selected by the Ilchinhoe; only seven were government supervisors. In Chŏngju, 80 percent of the unpaid rents were from the tenants under these Ilchinhoe supervisors.⁷⁶

The Ilchinhoe became so powerful in some areas that government officials felt compelled to approve the organization's participation in tax administration. An agent for rent collection (*sujo p'awŏn*) in Hwanghae Province, Kim Su-hong, testified to such a situation in October 1905. After Kim's arrival in Hwangju, he was visited by some local Ilchinhoe members. They criticized him for violating "established precedents" on the grounds that he was not working through the Ilchinhoe branch and had submitted the documents authorizing his duties directly to the local government. Kim refused to acknowledge the Ilchinhoe's "precedents" and immediately faced opposition from the group. When he assessed the rent for public land in the Tae dyke area at 400 *sŏk*, Ilchinhoe members assembled in the field and forced him to accept their own estimate of 300 *sŏk*.⁷⁷ They argued that everyone in the area recognized their authority to assess the amount of rent and then transmit the payment to the government.⁷⁸

With the local Ilchinhoe branch substantially in control of tax administration in Hwanghae Province, one royal commissioner gave in to the group, making its role in tax collection official. Having learned that the branch's protests were based on the unjust administration of taxes and the excessive expenses incurred by intermediary rent collectors (*chungdoju*), he ordered the government agents to return to the capital and allowed the Ilchinhoe members to assume the responsibility for tax collection.⁷⁹ He reported to the Royal Treasury in May 1906 that the Ilchinhoe had requested that tax officers be selected from among its own members, and that he could not refuse this request given the organization's strength in the area. He had therefore ordered the government agents to hand over their authorization documents to the Ilchinhoe agents.⁸⁰

THERE MAY HAVE BEEN NOTHING that Japanese protectorate officials wanted less for their "civilizing mission" in Korea than such popular supervision of tax administration. The delegation of tax duties to the Ilchinhoe was at odds with their own

⁷⁶ Ibid., 423–424.

⁷⁷ The Ilchinhoe's basis for calculating this rate was 6 *tu* for high-quality fields, 4 *tu* for middle-quality fields, and 2 *tu* for low-quality lands.

⁷⁸ *KSTN*, 25: 624. Kim Su-hong did not accept the suggested rate, stating that the tenant rent for the lands was actually 600 *sŏk*, in accordance with government regulations, and that he had already subtracted 200 *sŏk* owing to the dry climate in spring and frequent rainfall in autumn of that year. Unsatisfied, the Ilchinhoe demanded further reductions and the elimination of other burdens, such as additional sums to cover the fees and expenses of the intermediary rent collectors.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 629–630. The tenant supervisors were accustomed to extracting several *sŭng* per *sŏk* for their fees. Tenant supervisors of the postal station lands collected 1 *p'un* in copper coin for every two people, to cover their fees and other expenses for miscellaneous items such as paper and ink. The tenants thus assumed an additional burden because the expenses for the tenant supervisors were not included in the original rents. According to the commissioner, the Ilchinhoe wanted to retain the Kabo regulation and refused to pay the additional taxes. Ibid., 636.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 645.

plans.⁸¹ Japan's financial reorganization of Korea was being implemented in two stages. In the first half of protectorate rule, taxation rights were transferred from the Royal Treasury to the Ministry of Finance, new regulations were announced on taxation, and the tax-collection system was reorganized. It was not until the second stage, after the July 1907 Korea-Japan treaty, that Japan would be allowed to take over Korea's internal administration. At that time it confiscated the properties of the Korean imperial house and nationalized most of them.⁸² The Ilchinhoe's tax resistance was damaging to the Korean monarch's economic base, but the popular intervention in tax administration would have disrupted the stability of Japan's control of Korea's finances as well.

Alarmed by the royal commissioner's concession of power to the Ilchinhoe, the Japanese financial official in the prefecture, Yamaguchi Toyomasa, sent orders in August 1906 to the acting governor of Hwanghae Province.⁸³ According to the November 1905 directive issued by the Ministry of Finance, Yamaguchi wrote, provincial governors must unify the system for tax collection under the local magistrates and make them present the collected taxes to the "national treasury" (*kukko*). Citing cases in which the commissioners of the Royal Treasury had entrusted the Ilchinhoe with collecting iron mine taxes, fire taxes, and other levies, he warned that this was a violation of the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance because the fire tax was a land tax (*chise*) under its control.⁸⁴

Most significantly, Yamaguchi clarified the protectorate government's intention to expand its control over taxes under the jurisdiction of the Royal Treasury. Since Japan could not yet officially touch Korean domestic affairs, protectorate officials instead asserted that local magistrates had the sole authority for collecting taxes. Yamaguchi therefore objected to the approval of the commissioners from the Royal Treasury that granted the Ilchinhoe an official role in tax collection. Although taxes from iron mines and postal station lands still belonged to the Royal Treasury, Yamaguchi maintained that only the local magistrates could collect them. He asked the provincial governor to immediately forward this directive to all local magistrates and to ban any involvement by the Ilchinhoe.⁸⁵

The commissioner of the Royal Treasury in Hwanghae at the time, Pak Rae-hun, opposed the order. It was legal, he said, for Korean officials to carry out their duties as long as they adhered to the regulations of the Korean government. He complained that the Japanese were ordering local magistrates to disrupt the tax-collection efforts of his agents, who at that point included many Ilchinhoe members.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the Japanese directed the local magistrates to reverse the Ilchinhoe's tax reductions

⁸¹ Kim, "Kabo kaehyök ihu kũndae chök chaejǒng chedo ūi hyǒngsǒng kwajǒng e kwanhan yǒn'gu," 246–247.

⁸² Ibid., 190.

⁸³ *KSTN*, 25: 631.

⁸⁴ The "fire tax" (*hwase*) was a tax that cultivators of wasteland paid to the government. When wasteland was not publicly or privately owned, its cultivators could assume ownership of it and pay the land tax to the government. The term "fire tax" seems to have originated from the slash-and-burn method of cultivating those barren fields. "Chosasǒ Palch'we," *Chungch'uwǒn Chosajaryo* [Investigation Reports of Korean Customs by the Japanese Colonial Government in Korea], http://www.history.go.kr/url.jsp?ID=NIKH.DB-ju_033_009_0010_0010_0010.

⁸⁵ *KSTN*, 25: 653.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 658.

and punish its members if they caused trouble. In some areas, the old tenant supervisors returned. For example, in November 1906, the local magistrate in Chaeryŏng reported on a petition that he had received from the tenants on the palace land in his prefecture. They had written that the Ilchinhoe, as a “representative of the people,” understood their troubles, and they were asking the Royal Treasury to accept the Ilchinhoe’s revised assessment of the taxes they owed. The petition was not granted.⁸⁷

The authoritarian and bureaucratic character of Japan’s “civilizing mission” was manifested in other ways as well. In reorganizing Korea’s finances, protectorate officials focused on securing compliance with Japanese tax administration. Preferring to work through local elite networks rather than sanction Ilchinhoe “representatives,” they endorsed the roles of the local magistrates, the local elite associations, and the government tenant supervisors with whom the Ilchinhoe competed in local areas. When the treaty of July 1907 formalized Japan’s direct intervention, protectorate officials delegated many of the local magistrates’ duties to the Japanese but retained a limited role for the local elite associations in tax administration. When the county heads (*myŏnjang*) were designated as the primary agents for local administration, in many areas the officials of local elite associations or local government clerks continued in their traditional roles as the county agents under Japanese supervision. Yet Japan weakened the representative power of local elites by eliminating prefectural heads of local elite associations (*hyangjang*) and transferring their roles to junior officers (*kunjusa*) from the central government.⁸⁸ This modified local institution mediated Japan’s direct control over the Korean finance system.⁸⁹ After mid-1907, the Japanese increased their efforts to reconcile with the established Korean elites, although they hired some prominent Ilchinhoe leaders for government positions. Itō Hirobumi, the protectorate-general, made efforts to appease Korean aristocrats and conservative elites on various occasions.

More broadly, Japan asserted the empire’s prerogative in “improving” the Korean government and condemned any popular intervention in reform politics. This position was articulated in a January 1905 letter from the Japanese consul in Samhwa, Someya Nariakira, to the region’s Korean director-general about the Ilchinhoe’s recent conflicts with the Kongjinhoe (Society of Common Progress).⁹⁰ In the letter, a clearly anxious Someya stressed that “according to the 1904 protocol between Korea and Japan,” it was “the Japanese government that should improve Korean administration.” He then conveyed the orders of the minister of the Japanese legation, Hayashi Gonsuke, directing local governments to publicly post an announcement about the situation. This announcement, Someya suggested, should bring an end to the “rash and thoughtless” actions of associations such as the Ilchin-

⁸⁷ Ibid., 709.

⁸⁸ Kim T’ae-ung, “Kaehang chŏnhu taehan cheguk ki ūi chibang chaejŏng kaehyŏk yŏn’gu” (Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University, 1997), 219.

⁸⁹ The old local Korean elites, whose networks had survived the annexation, nevertheless absorbed nationalism, and some participated in the nationwide uprisings in the March First Movement of 1919. Afterward, the colonial administration initiated drastic changes in the local elite bureaus and the composition of their leaders. See Kim Ik-hwan, “Ilche ha han’guk nongch’ŏn sahoe undong kwa chiyŏk myŏngmangga,” *Han’guk Munhwa* 17 (July 1996): 283–326.

⁹⁰ The Kongjinhoe was a reformist group but objected to the Ilchinhoe’s political direction.

hoe and make it clear to Koreans that their complaints should be directed to the local Japanese consulate or the Japanese legation.

On the same day, Someya demanded that the Samhwa director-general post a notice in the districts where the Ilchinhoe had a strong presence.⁹¹ It warned that if crowds calling themselves Ilchinhoe held public assemblies, local magistrates would be required to inform the consulate in detail about the nature, purpose, and actions of these gatherings. The notice read:

Improving the central and local government of Korea is an important task that our [Japanese] imperial government is gradually implementing . . . Recently, people who refer to themselves as Ilchinhoe members have been organizing parties and mass assemblies. They have also dispatched representatives to Seoul and other places to deliver petitions. This foolish behavior is nothing but a waste of precious time and money . . . Let this notice serve as a warning to the good Korean people who reside in this region never to become involved in such activities.⁹²

Simultaneously, the Japanese army proclaimed martial law in January 1905, prohibiting free assembly and censoring all publications by Korean political associations. Japan also took control of the domestic security of Seoul and its vicinity away from Koreans, replacing them with the Japanese gendarmerie.⁹³ The Ilchinhoe's "silly commotions," wrote the *Korea Daily News*, had given Japan an excellent excuse to insert itself into Korea's domestic affairs.

While the protectorate was working to suppress the Ilchinhoe's populist mobilization, Korean elite media began denouncing the moral character of the organization's members. Around the time of Kojong's forced abdication in 1907, the elite media dropped their earlier equivocal tone and injected a note of moralistic sensationalism into their reports on the Ilchinhoe. The *Korea Daily News* frequently reported on Righteous Army attacks that had killed local Ilchinhoe members and praised members who quit the organization to support the elites' patriotic cause.⁹⁴ The Ilchinhoe's own newspaper, the *New National Daily*, complained that the *Korea Daily News* valorized the Righteous Army's violence, calling the newspaper *hwangbo*, the "bugle" of the Korean imperial house.⁹⁵ The *Korea Daily News* retorted that the Ilchinhoe members were "an idiotic species of lower society" who blindly pursued

⁹¹ According to Someya, these prefectures were Hwangju, P'yŏngsan, P'ungchŏn, Koksan, Sŏhŭng, Pongsan, Anak, Chaeryŏng, Suan, Sinch'ŏn, Sin'gye, Munhwa, Changyŏn, Songhwa, Ŭnyul, and T'osan in Hwanghae Province; and Chunghwa, Samhwa, Hamjong, Sangwŏn, Yonggang, Kangsŏ, and Chŭngsan in P'yŏngan Province.

⁹² *KSTN*, 38: 682–683. The Korean government viewed this notice as Japanese interference in domestic politics and a violation of the treaty of 1905, which limited Japan's role in Korea to foreign relations and financial reorganization. Although the Korean director-general asked the Japanese consul to cancel the notice, the consul refused to negotiate the matter until Hayashi, the minister of the Japanese legation, sent his instructions. *Ibid.*, 686.

⁹³ *KD*, January 12, 1905.

⁹⁴ On the attacks of Righteous Armies, see, among many, *KD*, July 24, 1907, July 30, 1907, August 4, 1907, August 9, 1907, August 10, 1907, August 13, 1907. On the withdrawal of Ilchinhoe members, see *KD*, July 16, 1907, August 31, 1907, September 10, 1907. The September 1907 article reported that about 200 laborers in Samhwa port had originally joined the Ilchinhoe, but after the 1907 treaty they concluded that it was an organization of "traitors" (*yŏkchŏk ŭi hoe*) and contributed money to the National Debt Compensation Movement (*kukch'ae posang undong*) organized by Korean nationalists.

⁹⁵ *KD*, August 31, 1907, September 11, 1907.

office and had been reduced to serving as slaves of the Japanese.⁹⁶ It described them as “idiots” who lacked any understanding of their country’s best interests, and were simply being used by the Japanese. When the Ilchinhoe referred to the Righteous Army as “bandits,” the *Korea Daily News* fired back, responding that the true bandits were the “traitors” who sold out their country, not those who fought for the right cause even though they were not strong enough to expel the enemy, Japan. The newspaper concluded that “traitors and collaborators” were the product of “their own choices.”⁹⁷ This angry criticism in the *Korea Daily News* had an enduring effect on how Koreans remember the Ilchinhoe.

IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF Japan’s annexation of Korea, American historians have long stressed Japan’s “civilizing” discourse, portraying Japan as a “reformist” empire that colonized Korea only reluctantly.⁹⁸ Hilary Conroy argues that the Meiji leaders formulated their Korea policies in a “framework of realistic enlightened self-interest” and attempted to construct a “mutually acceptable Japan-Korea relationship.”⁹⁹ Peter Duus more firmly connects Japan’s decision to annex Korea to the prospect of Korean reform. In his view, the Meiji leaders intended to replace the corrupt Korean government with a “rationally organized modern bureaucratic structure” analogous to their own state.¹⁰⁰ Duus argues that Itō shifted to “de facto annexation” in late July 1907 because of a lack of “reliable Korean allies” who were competent yet willing to rely on Japan in modernizing Korea.¹⁰¹

Conroy’s and Duus’s narratives on the annexation are misleading in that they insufficiently interrogate what reform meant to Koreans and how Koreans’ own agendas ran counter to those of the Japanese Empire. It is debatable whether the Meiji leadership, which had already colonized Taiwan in 1895, weighed the option of having a modernizing Korea as an ally, especially after waging a costly war with

⁹⁶ *KD*, September 11, 1907.

⁹⁷ *KD*, September 12, 1907. The original terms for collaborators in this article in the *Korea Daily News* were *manggukchōk* (enemies who destroy the country), *myōlchongjōk* (enemies who want to eliminate the [Korean] race), and *puoejōk* (enemies who assist foreigners).

⁹⁸ Three important works in English are Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868–1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations* (Philadelphia, 1960); Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*; and Dudden, *Japan’s Colonization of Korea*. Andre Schmid outlines the general problems of modern Japanese historiography on Korean questions in “Colonialism and the ‘Korea Problem’ in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 4 (November 2000): 951–976.

⁹⁹ Conroy sees the Japanese seizure of Korea in terms of the emerging domestic rivalries among liberals, realists, and reactionaries in forging Meiji Japan’s foreign policy. In the context of these rivalries, the Meiji leaders’ political realism governed Japan’s Korean policies after the defeat of *Seikan* (Conquer Korea) advocates in 1873. The leaders contained the idealism of the liberals in the 1880s and 1890s, and the inopportune expansionism of the reactionaries. Conroy rejects the “plot” hypothesis, which ascribes the Japanese annexation of Korea to Japan’s consistent expansionist policies after the *Seikanron* (Conquer Korea Debate) of the early 1870s. Conroy maintains that until April 1909, Itō Hirobumi, the first resident-general of Korea, opposed the formal colonization of Korea, only to see his “enlightened” realism ultimately overridden by Japanese reactionaries—the Black Dragon Society, in particular—and their Korean collaborators, the Ilchinhoe.

¹⁰⁰ Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 72.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 220. Duus speculates that “Had the Meiji leaders’ anxieties been allayed by the emergence of a strong and actively modernizing Korean elite willing to rely on Japan for help, Korea might well have maintained its independence” (241).

Russia. It is also questionable whether the decision to colonize Korea was motivated primarily by the Korean domestic situation. Alexis Dudden has offered a different perspective, arguing that Japan's "civilizing mission" was not something that Japan genuinely intended but failed to accomplish. She views such a "mission" as a discursive strategy that empires use to legalize their domination of a place by defining its original inhabitants as "incapable of becoming civilized on their own."¹⁰² Dudden acknowledges the pitfalls of Japan's administration in colonial Korea, including its preservation of torture and flogging. But her asymmetrical focus on Japan's discourse prevents her from fundamentally criticizing Conroy's and Duus's depictions of Japan as a "reluctant" and "enlightened" empire. In the works of Conroy, Duus, and Dudden, the voices of Korean reformers remain an obscure side note.

The anachronistic binary of collaboration and resistance is not how history unfolded in Korea. But the question nevertheless remains as to how and why a certain moral consciousness emerged within Korean society and reshaped that society into a political community with distinctive characteristics. During the Japanese protectorate, Korean elite reformers, who had largely been pro-Japanese during the Russo-Japanese War, articulated Korean nationalism in competition with Japan's colonial discourse and the Ilchinhoe's populist activism. They abandoned their earlier desire for a constitutional monarchy and envisioned the future nation as a republic, foregrounding the 1919 March First Declaration of Korea's independence. Korean nationalists acknowledged the importance of the people's rights in the nation's political life, yet they never viewed such rights as establishing an independent normative imperative apart from their value in strengthening the nation's power and sovereignty. This characteristic of Korean nationalism was not simply derived from nationalism as the ideology of nation-states; it was shaped through a historical process in which the Ilchinhoe collaborators advocated "freedom without national sovereignty" but failed to validate that vision during the rise of a colonial empire.

The Japanese were able to annex Korea with relatively little bloodshed precisely because they made accommodations for established Korean elites and sacrificed the Ilchinhoe's agenda. When the Ilchinhoe's politics went nowhere, its promotion of the "people's rights" at the cost of Korean sovereignty was declared "immoral" by the country's elite media. Dissociating freedom from empire, Korean nationalists designated anticolonialism as a forceful normative ground for envisioning a future for "free Koreans." If the Ilchinhoe members had agency in the making of the Japanese Empire, they also had difficulty holding on to the ideological and political coherence of such agency. They constantly exposed the gaps between their rhetoric and their actual performance, and compromised their own objectives under the pretext of assisting the Japanese. This incoherence resulted largely from a colonial situation in which local collaborators had little means of knowing or controlling the goals of the colonizers, or of influencing their short- or long-term shifts in policy. The intentions of the collaborators were tenuously connected to the actual course of colonial administration. Although colonizers routinely encounter uncertainty in gov-

¹⁰² Far from failing, Dudden insists, Japan successfully demonstrated its mastery of this international language and branded Koreans as "barbaric." Japan's legal reform in Korea led to international recognition of the "legality" of Japan's rule in Korea, abrogating extraterritoriality privileges there in 1913. Dudden, *Japan's Colonization of Korea*, 100.

erning a local population, collaboration was an “occupier-driven phenomenon,” at least in the Korean protectorate.

With its roots in the Tonghak religion, the Ilchinhoe resembled the “redemptive societies” of the early twentieth century that had an interest in preserving the cultural “essence” of East Asia.¹⁰³ Prasenjit Duara emphasizes the agency of those transnational societies in Japan’s domination of Manchuria, articulating the tension between them and the Chinese nation-state. At the level of discourse, according to Duara, Japan created Manchukuo (1932–1945) as a nation-state and claimed sovereignty for it by constructing a “cultural authenticity” for Manchuria. He finds in this Japanese discourse a general pattern for how the nation-states in East Asia legitimized their sovereignty prior to the establishment of “civic rights” in a given territory.¹⁰⁴ The Ilchinhoe’s case questions this cultural framework because its Pan-Asianism accompanied its struggles to introduce civic rights and to change the distribution of local power for popular sovereignty. Japan’s colonial discourse *and* practice denied this Ilchinhoe variant of transnationalism despite the group’s loyalty to the Japanese Empire.

The patterns of Japanese annexation in Korea—its alliance with local elites and abrogation of grassroots movements—established a historical precedent for Japan when it occupied China in the 1930s. Timothy Brook and Rana Mitter both find that Japan preferred to work with the preexisting local elites in Manchuria and the Yangtze Delta.¹⁰⁵ But they gauge the space for local actors in the dynamics of collaboration differently. For Mitter, the Manchurian local elites acted as “powerbrokers” who had room for bargaining with the Japanese and made Japan’s Manchurian state in practice “subordinated to devolution.”¹⁰⁶ Brook, in contrast, underlines the constraints of the occupation state, in which Japan’s military power had central importance and collaborators struggled to “bridge the gap” between the polarized hierarchy of the occupation regime and its claims that this domination existed for the benefit of the local people.¹⁰⁷

If and when sources become available, fuller and more complex studies of pro-Japanese collaboration will clarify whether Japan’s rule was more flexible in Manchuria than in other areas, and what the empire brought to the life and minds of the broader population under its domination. In colonial Korea, the Korean elites in collaboration suffered from a loss of legitimacy, being more constrained than were the Manchurian powerbrokers. Their damaged authority was fundamental in the radicalization of Korea’s political landscape after colonialism because it restrained their ability to counter revolutionary resisters.¹⁰⁸ The Ilchinhoe members led their movements with a populist binary of “tyranny” and “the people.” They may have

¹⁰³ Prasenjit Duara, “Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900–1945,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 4 (October 1997): 1030–1051.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1032. See also Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, Md., 2003).

¹⁰⁵ Brook, *Collaboration*, 7; Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 101–103.

¹⁰⁶ Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 70.

¹⁰⁷ Brook, *Collaboration*, 49, 194–195, 223. Brook defines the occupation state as “a political regime installed to administer an occupied territory in the interests of the occupying power” (12).

¹⁰⁸ On collaboration and its impact on postcolonial Korea, see Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, vol. 1: *Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945–1947* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), especially chap. 5. On the Chinese trials after World War II, see Zanasi, “Globalizing Hanjian.”

anticipated an “emancipatory empire” advancing the people’s freedom and welfare and their right to political participation.¹⁰⁹ The Ilchinhoe movement may well have been ahead of its time, thereby illuminating a political limit of empire in an era of democracy—or the irrelevance of freedom in the rise of imperialism.

¹⁰⁹ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 13.

Yumi Moon is Assistant Professor of History at Stanford University, where she has taught modern Korean history since 2007. She is the author of *Populist Collaborators: The Ilchinhoe and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1896–1910* (Cornell University Press, forthcoming). She is working on a new book, tentatively titled *Toward a Free State: Imperial Shift and the Formation of Post-Colonial South Korea, 1931–1950*.

AHR Forum
Transnational Lives in the Twentieth Century

Introduction

What is the difference between a “life” and a “biography”? How can historians use slices of lives as tracers, enabling them to illuminate aspects of the past that would otherwise remain obscure, hidden, or even misunderstood? Can the trajectories of lives across transnational distances offer us privileged insights that might yield global stories that challenge conventional narratives? The three essays that make up this *AHR* Forum implicitly address, and indeed answer, these questions with accounts of individuals whose experiences, while certainly different, take us into some surprising or at least unanticipated corners of the past.

It might be noted that this forum, like many others in the *AHR*, was not commissioned by the editors; rather, these were individual submissions that struck us as remarkably attuned with one another, suggesting a similarity of approach that we might productively highlight. Each of the essays follows an individual or individuals as they move across the globe, generating experiences or reflections that take us deep into the recesses of the last century. In “Revisiting the Transatlantic 1920s: Vincent Sheean vs. Malcolm Cowley,” Nancy F. Cott contrasts the experiences of two writers whose reflections on their time in Europe offer very different interpretations of Americans abroad and interwar attitudes toward internationalism. Stephen Tuck’s article, “Malcolm X’s visit to Oxford University: U.S. Civil Rights, Black Britain, and the Special Relationship on Race,” uses the famous African American leader’s time in the UK to illustrate the multiple international encounters and ties that helped build a militant movement for civil rights in both the U.S. and Britain. And in “Phantoms of the Archive: Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the Contingencies of Postcolonial History-Writing,” Jean Allman takes the encounter between these two figures as the occasion to think more critically about Africa’s “postcolonial archive,” about the documentary record with which postcolonial national histories can and will be written. These are microhistories stretched across a transnational canvas. While appreciative of these essays, in his comment, “The Futures of Transnational History,” Matthew Pratt Guterl challenges us to think of breaking from conventional narratives not only in terms of space but also with regard to the strictures of time and traditional historical chronologies.

AHR Forum
Revisiting the Transatlantic 1920s:
Vincent Sheean vs. Malcolm Cowley

NANCY F. COTT

CONSIDER THE DIFFERENT RECEPTIONS given to two autobiographical works published in the mid-1930s, both by authors born just before 1900. The two men belonged to a distinctive generational fraction of educated American youth who had seized incentives and opportunities to go abroad in the 1920s. Their books recounted those experiences.

Malcolm Cowley made “the lost generation” his subject in *Exile's Return: A Narrative of Ideas* (1934). With this narrative of his writer friends, he meant to tell “the story of a whole social class, how it became aware of itself and how it went marching toward the end of an era.” He was a well-known literary critic and an editor at the *New Republic* when the book was published. His account—a *Bildungsroman*, though unacknowledged as such—highlighted the distance he had come from his younger, misguided self. It followed his literary coterie (for whom he claimed both generational and literary distinctiveness) from their high school years, to college and a life-changing stint in the Great War, thence to relocation in Greenwich Village and shortly in Paris. There, the hedonic pursuit of the “religion of art” led, in Cowley’s telling, to a creative impasse; before long, the group circled back to New York. His epilogue urged writers to make good on their “return from exile” by allying with workers in the class struggle.¹

Reviewers immediately pounced on Cowley’s claim to have captured the essence of his literary generation. Their assessments bore snide titles such as “Exiles from Reality” and “Perpetual Adolescence.” In the *New York Herald Tribune*, arguably the

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¹ Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Narrative of Ideas* (New York, 1934) [hereafter *ER*], 12–13. My citations are to this edition rather than to the 1951 edition more typically in use today. Cowley’s first contract for the book titled it “The Lost Generation” (and *ER* opened with that phrase); Hans Bak, *Malcolm Cowley: The Formative Years* (Athens, Ga., 1993), 465. In 1940, rereading *ER* (and “feeling sore again at the treatment it got”), Cowley admitted, “Up to page 214, I was telling the story of my own adventures in ideas, writing a sort of autobiographical *Bildungsroman*.” Cowley to Kenneth Burke, October 14, 1940, in Paul Jay, ed., *The Selected Correspondence of Kenneth Burke and Malcolm Cowley, 1915–1981* (New York, 1988), 230–231.

most powerful arbiter of authors' reputations at the time, the renowned critic Lewis Gannett snorted at Cowley's "'discovering' the working classes" while horsing around in Paris "waiting for papa's next check." He ridiculed Cowley's assertion that "a little group of serious thinking drunkards" amounted to "a generation, and probably the first real one in the history of American letters." Burton Rascoe, another commanding literary voice, demeaned Cowley's "egocentric and self-sustaining mental innocence" so sharply that Cowley felt compelled to defend himself. *Exile's Return* sold 983 copies.²

The following year, Vincent Sheean published his own account of the same decade. His *Personal History* occupied the bestseller list for weeks and eventually sold more than two million copies; it also won the National Book Award for biography. Like Cowley, Sheean had stopped briefly in Greenwich Village after college and then left for Europe. But unlike Cowley, he did not return after a brief sojourn in France. Sheean's youthful search for self-definition amid contending global possibilities led him to Geneva, Rome, Morocco, Persia, Berlin, London, Palestine, China, and Russia before he was thirty. His artful retracing of his path in *Personal History* brought accolades from reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic. They saw reflected in his book the mercurial potential and the wrenching choices present for worldly young Americans in the 1920s.³

Today, however, Sheean's book is obscure, while *Exile's Return* is an icon in American studies. Cowley's version of the interwar narrative has become "axiomatic" of his generation's "exile and return" (in the words of a current scholar), while Sheean's is rarely taken into consideration.⁴ This is an ironic reversal. Had Sheean's

² Lewis Gannett also called *ER* "very charming, very readable, sometimes penetrating, often witty, and . . . basically empty." Gannett, "Books and Things," *New York Herald Tribune*, May 28, 1934. On Cowley's suffering over Gannett's review, see Kenneth Burke to Malcolm Cowley, May 29, 1934, in Jay, *The Selected Correspondence*, 208–209; and Cowley's response to Burton Rascoe, *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1934, quoting Rascoe. Other negative reviews include Donald J. Adams, "The Lost Generation's Sad Story," *New York Times Book Review*, May 27, 1934, 2; Bernard de Voto, "Exiles from Reality," *Saturday Review of Literature* 10, no. 46 (June 2, 1934): 1 (a scathing Freudian analysis of Cowley's fear of emasculation); Ludwig Lewisohn, "Perpetual Adolescence," *The Nation* 139 (July 4, 1934): 23–24; Isabel Paterson, "A Confession from the Lost Generation," *New York Herald Tribune Books*, Sunday, May 27, 1934. Two younger critics wrote in a slightly more sympathetic vein: John Chamberlain, "Books of the Times," *New York Times*, May 28, 1934, 17; June 1, 1934, 21; and June 7, 1934, 21; Clifton Fadiman, "Books," *The New Yorker* 10 (June 2, 1934): 89–90. The sales figure is from Donald W. Faulkner's introduction to Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*, rev. ed., ed. Donald W. Faulkner (1951; repr., New York, 1994), xiii.

³ Vincent Sheean, *Personal History* (Garden City, N.Y., 1935) [hereafter *PH*]. A British edition, *In Search of History*, quickly followed. It was chosen as Book of the Month by the *Evening Standard's* literary editor, who said, according to Herbert W. Horwill, "that while it maintains a points of view that many will quarrel with, it is a brilliant book, a delight to read for the force and clarity of its writing and the variousness of its adventures of both body and mind"; Horwill, "News and Views of Literary London," *New York Times Book Review*, June 2, 1935, 8. Cowley wrote a laudatory and perceptive review, "The Long View," *The New Republic*, February 20, 1935, 50–51. See Alice Payne Hackett and James Henry Burke, *80 Years of Best Sellers, 1895–1975* (New York, 1977), 119 (the standard for inclusion in which was at least two million copies sold); Michael Korda, *Making the List: A Cultural History of the American Bestseller, 1900–1999* (New York, 2001), 69; Keith L. Justice, *Bestseller Index: All Books, by Author, on the Lists of "Publishers Weekly" and the "New York Times" through 1990* (Jefferson, N.C., 1998), 277.

⁴ Morris Dickstein, "The Critic and Society, 1900–1950," in A. Walton Litz, Louis Menand, and Lawrence Rainey, eds., *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 7: *Modernism and the New Criticism* (Cambridge, 2008), 322–376, here 342. Penguin reprinted the 1951 edition of *Exile's Return* as recently as 1994. Recent studies contending with *ER* include Mark Dolan, *Modern Lives: A Cultural Re-reading of "The Lost Generation"* (West Lafayette, Ind., 1996); and Michael Soto, *The Modernist*

story remained in the limelight, later perceptions of their generation's orientation to the world might have been different, and more adequate. Cowley's narrative eventually triumphed over Sheean's because of differences in the two men's subsequent careers and the force of national and international events in shaping what audiences wanted to know. But the twists and turns of literary longevity per se are less important here than the obstruction to historical understanding put in place by Cowley's success. Cowley deserves immense credit for his acute insight that international exposure shaped the outlook of his peers, but he radically compressed the broad range of motives for these foreign ventures. His thematic emphasis on the circuit of return also minimized the potential meanings and consequences of the voyages out.

In contrast to Cowley's foreshortened perspective, Sheean's *Personal History* allows a fuller grasp of their generation in its relation to the world. Sheean's profile suggests a reinterpretation of predominant assumptions about Americans' insularity and parochialism after the Great War. His book provides an entry point into the youthful internationalism undertaken by their generation in a postwar era of broken empires, new nations, accelerated diasporas, and mounting individual statelessness.

Longstanding historiography emphasizes the United States' failure to join the League of Nations and its neutrality toward inter-European conflict for two decades while "dollar diplomacy" to benefit Americans' global commerce proceeded apace. U.S. policymakers clamped down on immigration; ultrapatriotic nativist groups (including a new Ku Klux Klan) sprang to life; and Prohibition elevated small-town values into the U.S. Constitution. Not one of these outcomes, however—nor others on subjects from science to censorship to jazz—occurred without fierce struggle. Sentiments within the United States varied and clashed just as much on the topic of international involvements. While the Senate balked, there was considerable popular enthusiasm for the League of Nations' promise of a new era in international cooperation.⁵ Two decades of neutrality did not foreclose individuals' and groups'

Nation: Generation, Renaissance, and Twentieth-Century American Literature (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2004). See also Kenneth S. Lynn's vituperative takedown, ruing but underlining *ER*'s importance: "No other interpretation of American literature has more engaged the national mind, or more thoroughly stultified it, than the legend of the lost generation that Cowley wove from the warp of the Communist line and the woof of his own romanticism." Lynn, *The Air-Line to Seattle: Studies in Literary and Historical Writing about America* (Chicago, 1983), 95.

The Modern Library republished *Personal History* in 1940; Doubleday brought out a new edition with a new introduction by Sheean in 1969. Sheean was recently discussed in Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (New York, 2011), 225–227. He usually appears only in histories of foreign correspondents, including Morrell Heald, *Transatlantic Vistas: American Journalists in Europe, 1900–1940* (Kent, Ohio, 1988); Ronald Weber, *News of Paris: American Journalists in the City of Light between the Wars* (Chicago, 2006); and John Maxwell Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye: A History of American Foreign Reporting* (Baton Rouge, La., 2009). Hamilton featured Sheean in "Interpret the World," *Columbia Journalism Review* 47, no. 2 (July/August 2008): 50–55.

⁵ Representatives of the largest Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish federations, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, major farmers' organizations, the American Red Cross, the American Federation of Labor, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Bankers' Association, and even some chapters of the ultrapatriotic veterans' group the American Legion expressed their strong support for joining the League. Trygve Throntveit, "A League for the Layperson: Popular Internationalism and the American Treaty Fight, 1918–1922" (paper prepared for the 2011 Organization of American Historians conference, Houston, Tex., March 19, 2011). For examples of a growing historiography emphasizing conflicts in the 1920s, see David E. Kyvig, *Repealing National Prohibition* (Chicago, 1979); Francis G. Couvares, "Hollywood, Main Street, and the Church: Trying to Censor the Movies before the Production



FIGURE 1: Malcolm Cowley, 1930. Courtesy of Robert Cowley and the Newberry Library.

international political or cultural engagement. Even without U.S. membership in the League, world-minded American organizations, foundations, and individuals took active roles on its committees, and in many other international efforts. The new Social Science Research Council and American Council of Learned Societies directed resources toward scholarly studies of the non-Western world, and the “science” of “international relations” was inaugurated.⁶

Now that more than one historian has pointed to the interwar era as the moment when “global civil society” took shape or “international society” emerged, the self-conscious, open-ended engagement with world affairs of Sheean and other Americans like him deserves greater recognition. Not only did new political configurations around the globe invite interest after the Great War; political ideas and cultural production from rebellious or newly emancipated colonial elites also flowed toward Western metropolises, appealing to restive young people looking for inspiration.⁷ In individuals’ political and cultural relation to internationalism, as in so much else, generational positioning mattered. Youth as a distinct stage had been recognized earlier, but it was in the 1920s that a sharper and potentially conflictual difference in perspective between the worldviews of “older” and “younger” generations was first theorized and identified as a prominent feature of modern life. The interwar era not only multiplied generational standoffs in schools and families within many nations but also saw glimmerings of an international youth culture, most visible in gender values and sexual behavior.⁸

A world-changing catastrophe, the war also unleashed new possibilities for those

Code,” *American Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (December 1992): 584–616; Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York, 1994); Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York, 1995); Leigh Ann Wheeler, “Where Else but Greenwich Village? Love, Lust, and the Emergence of the American Civil Liberties Union’s Sexual Rights Agenda, 1920–1931,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 21, no. 1 (January 2012): 60–92.

⁶ See Robert W. Desmond, *The Press and World Affairs* (New York, 1937); Frank Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919–1933* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984); Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, 1997), chap. 2; Warren F. Kuehl and Lynne K. Dunn, *Keeping the Covenant: American Internationalists and the League of Nations, 1920–1939* (Kent, Ohio, 1997).

⁷ See Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge, 2012); “Editorial: The Roots of Global Civil Society and the Interwar Moment,” *Journal of Global History* 7, no. 2 (July 2012): 157–165; Moshik Temkin, *The Sacco-Vanzetti Affair: America on Trial* (New Haven, Conn., 2009); Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anti-colonial Nationalism* (New York, 2007); Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); C. A. Bayly, “Informing Empire and Nation: Publicity, Propaganda and the Press, 1880–1920,” in Hiram Morgan, ed., *Information, Media and Power through the Ages* (Dublin, 2001), 179–201; Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, “The Cosmopolitan Mexican Summer, 1920–1949,” *Latin American Research Review* 32, no. 3 (1997): 224–242; Anthony L. Geist and José B. Monleón, “Introduction: Modernism and Its Margins: Rescripting Hispanic Modernism,” in Geist and Monleón, eds., *Modernism and Its Margins: Reinscribing Cultural Modernity from Spain and Latin America* (New York, 1999), xvii–xxxv; Jesús Velasco, “Reading Mexico, Understanding the United States: American Transnational Intellectuals in the 1920s and 1990s,” *Journal of American History* 86, no. 2 (September 1999): 641–667.

⁸ Karl Mannheim, “The Problem of Generations” (1927), in Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. Paul Kecskemeti (London, 1952), 276–320. Colorado Judge Ben B. Lindsey’s *The Revolt of Modern Youth* (New York, 1925) had German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Japanese editions within a year. Cf. Modern Girl around the World Research Group, *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham, N.C., 2008); Martin Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900–1930* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004).

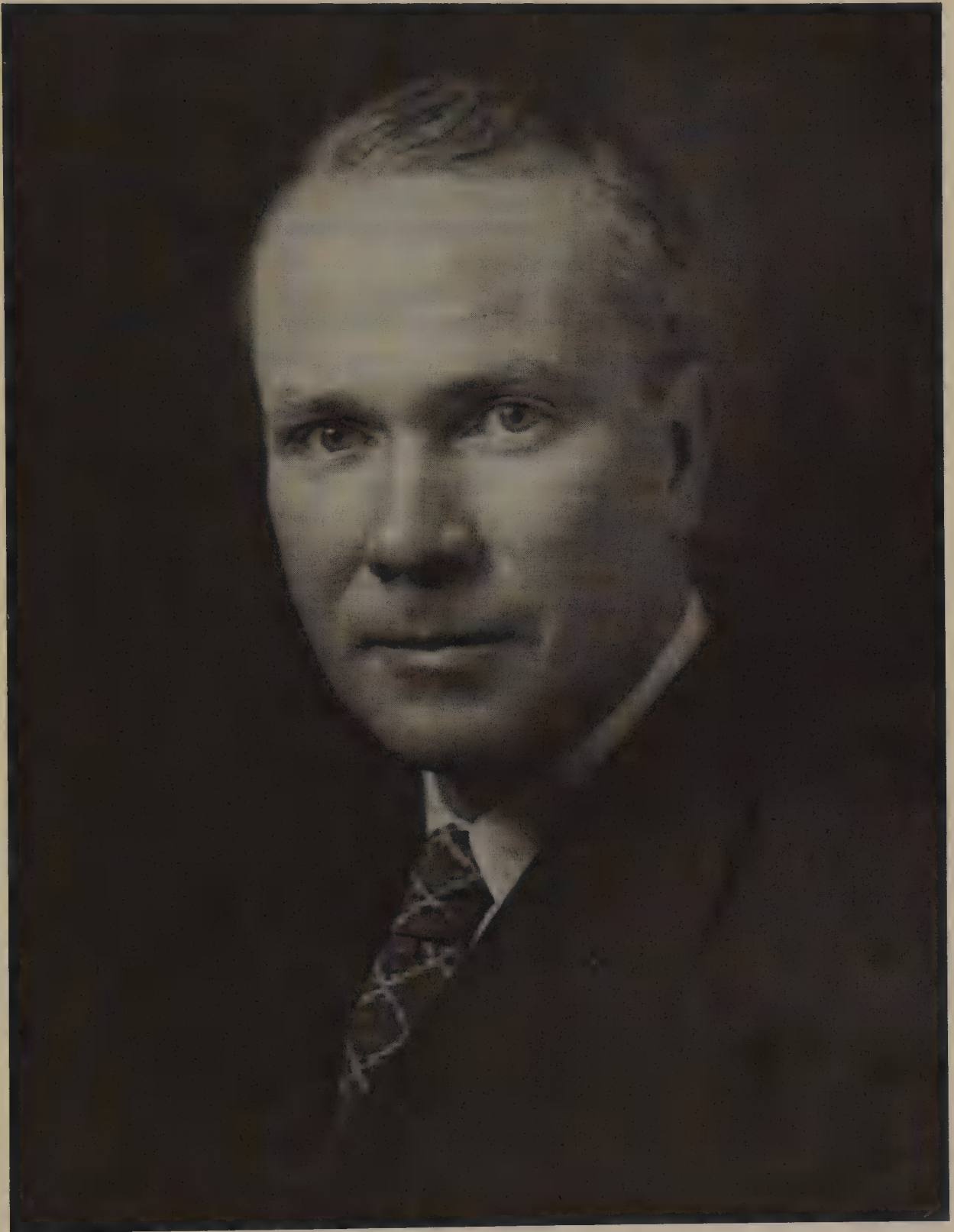


FIGURE 2: Vincent Sheean, ca. 1936. Courtesy of Ellen Sheean.

coming of age in its wake. The United States had shown its mettle in the Allied victory, without American men being decimated in battle or the nation suffering contested boundaries. With its relative prosperity and stability, the U.S. stood in enviable contrast to most of the rest of the world. The Dawes Plan, cycling U.S. loans to Germany to enable its reparations debts to be paid to the other Allies, tied the American economy to that of Europe more directly than ever before. U.S. banks and industry drove capital and commerce around the world, gaining global currency for American popular culture and technical know-how. In comparison to the period before the First World War, Americans could now assume that their country was a major player on the global stage. Yet in comparison to what would happen later, after World War II, their relation to the rest of the world was not predetermined by a momentous competition with Communism.

By putting Cowley's outsize influence to the side and noticing Sheean's global pilgrimage, we can gain a revised perspective on the postwar younger generation of Americans. *Personal History* illustrated new routes toward self-determination that became available to those who were buoyed by youth, equipped with some education, unburdened by dependents, and confident in their own talents. They could look outward and take risks with self-support. With the advantage of improved transportation and communication, they could leave home to pursue experience, knowledge, work, and love in foreign destinations. Such quests offered life-defining scope and meaning far beyond the aims of the Grand Tours undertaken by previous wealthy elites, or the travels of social reformers seeking specific educational, political, or social contacts. Such venturers understood themselves as modern and internationally mobile Americans living in a world of other nations and cultures worth exploring.⁹

WHAT PRODUCED THE DIFFERENCES between the two men's constructions of the 1920s? Their politics when they wrote were not far apart. Both could be described as fellow travelers during the mid-1930s. Cowley casually called himself a "Red," while Sheean was never so decided—but both joined the Communist-leaning League of American Writers, and each served as the organization's vice-president for a period in the late 1930s.¹⁰ As might be expected from writers on the left, both men cared about situating the writer's lone pursuit ethically in relation to a larger common good. Sheean was explicit about this, expressing more than once in *Personal History* his "desire to find some relationship between this one life and the millions of others into which

⁹ My generalizations here arise from a larger study in progress of this generational fraction. Cf. the transatlantic travels of policy intellectuals in Daniel T. Rodgers's germinal *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

¹⁰ Cowley was born in 1898, Sheean in 1899. The two must have met by the late 1930s, if not earlier. Both abandoned any allegiance to the Soviet Union at the end of that decade, Sheean upon news of the Nazi-Soviet pact, in a dramatic two-part article, "Brumaire: The Soviet Union as a Fascist State," *The New Republic*, November 8, 1939, 7–9, and November 15, 1939, 104–106. Cowley may have had a role in the unsigned editorial response to Sheean, "Common Sense about Russia," *ibid.*, November 15, 1939, 98–100, but he severed his Communist Party links in less than a year; on his resignation from the League of American Writers because they followed a Communist line that he found "crooked," see Cowley to Kenneth Burke, August 23, 1940, in Jay, *The Selected Correspondence*, 234. See also League of American Writers Papers, box 4, folder Correspondence Part 8, S1–S27, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; and Daniel Aaron, *Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism* (New York, 1961), esp. 281–284.

it was cast," or "a place in the chain of cause and effect." Cowley's eventual conviction that art could not be separated from life conveyed similar political intent.¹¹

The backgrounds of the two authors differed, although not vastly. Sheean was the grandson of Irish immigrants, and was brought up Catholic on the lower margin of the middle class in the tiny town of Pana, Illinois. Influenced by a priest fresh from Europe and encouraged toward broader culture by his mother, he found his boyhood intellectual salvation on public library shelves and in the operas that arrived with traveling chautauquas each summer. His exit from the provinces came via a full scholarship to the University of Chicago. Cowley had a slightly more privileged and certainly less provincial upbringing. His father was a homeopathic physician of Swedenborgian convictions, to which his mother, born to German Catholics, converted unenthusiastically. Cowley's boyhood summers on a family farm nurtured his pastoral inclination, but he attended high school in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and formed there a lifelong friendship with Kenneth Burke, which spurred him to become precociously sophisticated in literary pursuits—something that Sheean's early surroundings did not allow. Cowley attended Harvard with help from the Harvard Club of Western Pennsylvania. There he studied literature and wrote poetry, living off-campus and forming friendships with talented modernist poets.¹²

During the war, the two men's experiences diverged. This was immensely consequential for their different outlooks on their age group during the 1920s. Cowley, along with some Harvard friends, volunteered to go to the European front with the American Field Service in April 1917. His five months' witness to the war's senseless destructiveness became a defining feature in *Exile's Return*, sealing his literary contemporaries' destiny to become "the Lost Generation."¹³ Sheean, in contrast, remained at the University of Chicago through the war. He opened *Personal History* with the coming of the armistice, commenting, "What it meant to the war generation I can only imagine from the stories they tell."¹⁴

While Sheean thus forthrightly distinguished "the war generation" from his own, Cowley felt that he belonged to it—as did their age-mate Ernest Hemingway, who went straight from high school into the volunteer service in 1917, being too young

¹¹ Quotations from *PH*, 185, 262; *ER*, 296. The same theme appears in Joseph Freeman's autobiography of his youth in the 1920s, *American Testament: A Narrative of Rebels and Romantics* (New York, 1936).

¹² On Sheean's childhood, see Carl Edward Johnson, "A Twentieth Century Seeker: A Biography of James Vincent Sheean" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1974), 3–27; "John Gunther Interviews Vincent Sheean," *New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, July 31, 1949, sec. 7, 2; and Vincent Sheean, *Bird of the Wilderness: A Novel* (New York, 1941). On Cowley's parents and early life, see Bak, *Malcolm Cowley*, chap. 1.

¹³ When Cowley returned from the front in November 1917, he did not see himself as significantly altered, however, according to Bak, *Malcolm Cowley*, 101. American volunteers from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, and Cornell far outnumbered those from elsewhere; *ibid.*, 503 n. 12; Charles A. Fenton, "Ambulance Drivers in France and Italy, 1914–1918," *American Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1951): 326–343, here 337.

¹⁴ *PH*, 1. Like all men in college in 1918, Sheean entered the mandatory Students' Army Training Corps. These students typically went back to school after the armistice on November 11, 1918; see Bak, *Malcolm Cowley*, 120. Overall, the male population of the U.S. spent relatively little time in battle. The American Expeditionary Force enrolled 3.9 million at its maximum—60 percent of whom were non-combatants—when the male population of military age, 18–44, was just under 25.5 million. Jennifer D. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore, 2001), 2; <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/statab1901-1950.htm>, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1918–20, 43 (showing that there were 25,473,683 militia-age men in 1910).



FIGURE 3: Malcolm Cowley in field service uniform, 1917. Courtesy of Robert Cowley and the Newberry Library.

to enlist. Hemingway's fiction had a great influence on popular views of the war's impact on the younger generation of Americans.¹⁵ Yet Sheean's experience was far more typical for their age cohort than was Cowley's or Hemingway's. Few American men born after 1895 witnessed the European war. The men on the front were typically born in the late 1880s and early 1890s and had come of age by the early 1910s. They composed the real "lost generation," so many of them dead on the battlefield.¹⁶

It may seem overly precise to distinguish between age cohorts less than a decade apart, yet it makes sense with regard to an event as significant as the Great War. Whether one entered one's twenties before the war or after greatly affected one's experiences and perceptions. Cowley, Sheean, Hemingway, and their age-mates were in high school during the first years of the European war, while a slightly older cohort, including progressives and cultural radicals in the United States, had already forged adult hopes and plans. It was the latter cohort, if anyone, who suffered the postwar "disillusion" so often cited.¹⁷ This is not to say that American intervention failed to register on the consciousness of those too young to serve. The mobilization interrupted and stamped itself on normal life, even for those least affected. The war *having happened* pressed a particular generational belonging on those just slightly too young to be involved.¹⁸

Cowley positioned himself as a representative literary voice of "the generation that has just turned twenty" as early as 1921.¹⁹ He also saw himself that way in the contrast he drew in *Exile's Return* between the radicals who had come to Greenwich Village before the war and the newcomers of his own age. In his view, the slightly

¹⁵ See Ernest Hemingway (b. 1899), *The Sun Also Rises* (New York, 1926) and *A Farewell to Arms* (New York, 1929), and the detailed sketch of him in *American National Biography Online*.

¹⁶ Cowley's friend Matthew Josephson (b. 1899), who remained in college during the war and took part in many Parisian episodes in *Exile's Return*, later ridiculed the "nonsense . . . that a generation of American youth were 'lost' or driven to despair as a result of that brief war." Josephson, *Life among the Surrealists: A Memoir* (New York, 1962), 6–7.

The numbers of British, French, and German war dead dwarfed those from the United States; see Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). A brief quantitative survey of American writers born between 1891 and 1905, using the names Cowley listed in his 1951 edition of *Exile's Return*, is revealing. Of the 119 men from his list who were born in the whole decade 1891–1901 and on whom relevant information could be found in standard biographical reference works, 54 (45 percent) saw the battlefield as soldiers or volunteers. This is very significant; yet breaking the decadal age-group in half is more informative, for it shows that almost 63 percent (39) of the 62 men born in 1891–1895 were at the front, seven-eighths of them as soldiers, while only 26 percent (15 of 57) of those born in 1896–1901 saw the front, two-thirds of them as ambulance drivers. Cowley mistook the likelihood of his age group's presence at the front but was right to emphasize volunteer service.

¹⁷ Harold Stearns, ed., *Civilization in the United States: An Inquiry by Thirty Americans* (New York, 1922), published just after Stearns moved to Paris to become the archetypical "expatriate," is often cited as evidence of the younger generation's disaffection. Most contributors to the anthology caustically assessed their nation's turn to business values, prohibition of alcohol, persecution of anarchists, and immigration exclusion. None were in their twenties, however. Stearns (b. 1891) was one of only three contributors born in the 1890s; the remaining twenty-seven were born between 1865 and 1887, according to information on the "Contributors" pages. Cowley pointedly called the writers in this anthology the elders of his generation (and did not treat them kindly), while also saying that the two generations shared "exile" in Europe; *ER*, 84–90.

¹⁸ F. Scott Fitzgerald immortalized this point on the last page of his unexpectedly successful novel *This Side of Paradise* (New York, 1920), where his youthful protagonist says that his generation has "grown up to find all Gods dead, all wars fought, all faiths in man shaken." Note the line's emphasis on coming of age *after* the war. Fitzgerald (b. 1896) received a commission as second lieutenant in October 1917, but was stalled on an American base until the armistice.

¹⁹ Malcolm Cowley, "The Youngest Generation," *Literary Review of the New York Evening Post*, October 15, 1921, 1.

older group, who had been nonconformists and idealists, were often discouraged and cynical by 1919. His age peers, in contrast—who had been stripped of illusions in adolescence, he thought, and came to the Village without dreams of changing society—brought “an unexpended store of energy” directed toward “fun” and “modest happiness.”²⁰

Despite that seeming clarity of identity, Cowley’s generational belonging was muddled by his experience on the European front among mostly older companions. It was further complicated by his marriage to an older woman. Cowley met the artist Peggy Baird Johns in Greenwich Village at the end of 1918. He soon moved in with her, and in a matter of months they were married. He thought she was eight years older than he, although the real number was likely eleven. She embodied the heady radicalism and freewheeling sexual ethics of the prewar bohemian left, a coherent but fleeting social formation that linked political radicalism with cultural provocation and feminism. Cowley’s immersion in his wife’s social world gave him context for identifying with this older cohort, whose characteristics as “rebels” and “leaders in the fight for justice and art” he admired. Yet he also had reason to *dis*-identify with older Village denizens: his wife’s continuation of an unregulated bohemian lifestyle discomfited him and unsettled their relationship.²¹ The marriage was dissolving between 1929 and 1931, when Cowley was writing early parts of *Exile’s Return*. He resumed and completed the book in 1933, after their divorce, and after suffering a huge shock when his close friend Hart Crane had an affair—his first heterosexual one—with Peggy, and then committed suicide.²²

Sheean may be a better guide than Cowley to understanding their age cohort’s distinctive “structure of feeling” (Raymond Williams’s phrase for “a particular community of experience hardly needing expression,” intangible yet unquestionably

²⁰ *ER*, 80–84.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 83. The two met around Christmas of 1918, and they married in August 1919. See Bak, *Malcolm Cowley*, 125–127, 130–133. On the Village in the 1910s, see Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912–1917* (New York, 1959); Edward Abrahams, *The Lyrical Left: Randolph Bourne, Alfred Stieglitz, and the Origins of Cultural Radicalism in America* (Charlottesville, Va., 1986); Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York, 2000). Baird’s accepted birth date is 1890 (e.g., that date is used by the Newberry Library in Chicago in describing her in its *Malcolm Cowley Papers*), and that is what she told Cowley, but Bak found evidence of her birth in November 1887 in the relevant town clerk’s record; *Malcolm Cowley*, 509–510 n. 7. On the marriage, see Josephson, *Life among the Surrealists*, 49–50; Bak, *Malcolm Cowley*, 158–162; and Cowley’s much later reminiscences, *And I Worked at the Writer’s Trade: Chapters of Literary History, 1918–1978* (New York, 1978), 51–57.

²² See Peggy Baird Correspondence, folders 5899, 5900, 5901, box 154, *Malcolm Cowley Papers*, Newberry Library. Cowley later admitted that when he wrote his final chapter about the life and suicide of Harry Crosby, whom he “knew hardly at all,” Crosby was “a mere surrogate for Crane.” Cowley to Kenneth Burke, October 14, 1940, in Jay, *The Selected Correspondence*, 230–231. Cowley’s mood when he was writing reflected his intimate life at least as much as his politics; viz. his writing to Burke on February 16, 1931: “I’m in a hole: I’ve been in one for six weeks and I may be in one for the next six months. It isn’t merely the bust-up of one affair, and being kept in doubt about what’s going to happen next; it’s the fact that a whole scheme of life collapsed at the same time, that I’ve got to find a new one and find it for myself . . . I feel as hollow as a sucked egg.” *Ibid.*, 191–192. He imagined that his own feelings were shared by a larger cohort (as was his wont): “I don’t think my troubles are peculiar to myself. A lot of people I know have been moving in what now seems to be the wrong direction; they too will have to change or go bust.” This sense of exhaustion at the end of the decade formed part of his argument in *ER*. Burke’s marriage also ended around the same time; see *ibid.*, 153–154; and Bak, *Malcolm Cowley*, 421–423, 466.

present).²³ Sheean's identification with postwar youth was unambivalent. With regard to "the difference, if any, between my generation (that which came to maturity in the years just after the war) and the preceding one," he felt, rather like Cowley, that "our elders were disillusioned and rather bored." But he differed in seeing far more potential for significant action among their own age peers. In an *Atlantic Monthly* essay forecasting a central episode of *Personal History*, Sheean noted that he, along with "a whole *levée* of young people, of all nations, who came to maturity in the years just after the war," was influenced by "the purely intellectual and sensational dilettantism of Paris and London." But "if my own course of development is at all typical—and subsequent political and social movements indicate that it must have been at least rather usual,—the youth of the 1920s actually wanted a more direct experience of reality, at whatever cost in violence or discomfort, than was to be found in the fanciful nervous art and ideas of the period."²⁴

Sheean's journey toward cosmopolitanism had commenced at the University of Chicago. "He was bizarre in those days," recalled the journalist John Gunther, a good friend who met Sheean as an undergraduate. "He hummed Mozart, wore green pants, spoke better Italian than the Italian professors, read the Talmud, quoted Spinoza, learned German, borrowed money, admired dancing, and wrote a treatise on the Wahabis."²⁵ Sheean later wrote that he felt insulated behind the neo-Gothic walls of academia. He quit precipitously in the middle of his senior year, shortly after his mother died and left him without support. Abandoning the prospect of a college degree, he hopped a train to New York, taking no baggage.

Sheean then parlayed his college experience on the Chicago *Daily Maroon* into a job with the new New York *Daily News*. He lived in Greenwich Village while chasing after petty crimes and writing up sensational divorces for the paper, the first (and at the time the only) tabloid in the U.S.²⁶ Like Cowley, he got to know 1910s radicals, whose perspectives on the Great War and the Bolshevik Revolution opened his eyes. Like Cowley, too, he fell a bit in love with an alluring older woman—his neighbor Louise Bryant, the storied feminist newspaperwoman, recently widowed by John Reed's death in Moscow. Marriage was far from Sheean's mind at the time. His stay in New York was temporary. He was writing a novel, and like so many other young aspiring writers (including Cowley), he was drawn to Europe for its cultural appeal and because postwar exchange rates made living there cheap for Americans.²⁷

²³ Williams's prime example was "the contrast between generations, who never talk quite 'the same language' . . . For . . . the new generation responds in its own ways to the unique world it is inheriting." Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (1961; repr., Westport, Conn., 1975), 48–49. See also Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, 1977), 132–134.

²⁴ *PH*, 53; Sheean, "Following the Gleam: Youth and Revolution," *Atlantic Monthly* 154, no. 6 (December 1934): 658–668, quotation from 658. It is possible that Sheean was countering Cowley's views here, for he could have read Cowley's 1931 *New Republic* essays, which became a large chunk of *Exile's Return*.

²⁵ John Gunther, "London on Edge," *Atlantic Monthly* 159, no. 4 (April 1937): 395–396, also calling Sheean "perhaps the most remarkable American of my generation I know." Biographical information in the four following paragraphs comes from *PH*, unless otherwise noted.

²⁶ *PH*, 25–27. Though his full name was James Vincent Sheean and his family and friends called him Jimmy, once his editor at the *Daily News* surprised him with the award of a byline as "Vincent Sheean," that became his *nom de plume*. *PH*, 42. In its second year, according to Simon Michael Bessie, the *Daily News* had the highest circulation of any paper in New York City; Bessie, *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspapers* (New York, 1938), 16, 78–85.

²⁷ Before the war, one American dollar was worth five French francs, but by 1919 it bought almost

As soon as he had gathered some funds, Sheean crossed the Atlantic. He took up residence with a rural French family, speaking nothing but French for three months to polish the language he had been taught by his hometown priest. He stopped for a similar length of time in Venice (finding housing with a friendly gambler) to perfect the Italian he had learned from a Sicilian fruit grocer in Pana.²⁸ Then he went to Paris. Hard up for cash to live on, he was ready to live anywhere to support himself while finishing his novel, as he wrote to Louise Bryant: "I'd go to Berlin, Algiers, Cape Town, Constantinople, Afghanistan, Persia, the North or South Pole, and anywhere else . . . Don't you know any consul, Pasha, king, newspaper correspondent, or galloping tourist who needs a private secretary?"²⁹

Master of three European languages, Sheean soon landed a job with the *Chicago Tribune* and in a trice became a foreign correspondent. As he trotted around Europe, he always managed to arrive where the action was. He witnessed the early rise of Mussolini's Black Shirts, Primo de Rivera's Spanish rule, and the ineffectuality of the League of Nations in the face of France's and Britain's stubborn imperialism. He made two lengthy and life-endangering treks, jellabah-clad, behind Spanish and then French army lines in North Africa for a face-to-face interview with the leader of the Rif rebellion. This reportorial daring gave him malaria and almost killed him, but it also established his front-page reputation in the U.S. and consolidated his anticolonialist leanings. A subsequent stop in Persia led to a friendship with Harold Nicolson, who was Britain's legate there (and the husband of Bloomsbury poet Vita Sackville-West, lover of Virginia Woolf). Thereafter he had access to some of Bloomsbury's contacts and comforts.

PERSONAL HISTORY RECOUNTED THIS peripatetic path. It culminated in 1927 in Hankow, China, where Sheean became involved in the desperate last days of the Kuomintang's revolutionary left wing. There, the "long view" taken by Mikhail Borodin, the Soviet envoy in charge of Chinese operations, etched new paths in Sheean's thinking, and Borodin's office subordinate, Rayna Prohme, an earnest young American journalist who literally embodied Leninism with her flaming red hair, magnetized his attention. Sheean attached himself to Prohme, amusing her and arguing with her. He followed her to the tenth-anniversary celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution in Moscow, where—in a denouement worthy of Victorian gothic fiction—she suddenly died from a mysterious brain inflammation.³⁰ This intense and abruptly

ten, and in 1921, thirteen. The rate continued to rise, stabilizing at about 25 francs to the dollar in the latter 1920s. See Josephson, *Life among the Surrealists*, 79–82; William G. Bailey, comp., *Americans in Paris, 1900–1930: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn., 1989), appendix on 1920s exchange rates compiled from the *Chicago Tribune's* Paris edition. Warren Susman, whose Ph.D. dissertation, "The Pilgrimage to Paris: The Backgrounds of American Expatriation, 1920–1934" (University of Wisconsin, 1958), remains a superior analysis of the subject, emphasizes the insufficiency of the common economic reasoning for relocating in Paris, since exchange rates (for Americans) were even cheaper elsewhere in Europe.

²⁸ PH, 8–9; "John Gunther Interviews Vincent Sheean"; Johnson, "A Twentieth Century Seeker," 3–27.

²⁹ James Vincent Sheean to Louise Bryant, Paris, December 30 [1922], folder 97, box 7, Louise Bryant Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

³⁰ Sheean's prose conveyed the intensity of this experience. After witnessing her public cremation,



FIGURE 4: Vincent Sheean, pictured in the jellabah he wore on his North African trek to interview the leader of the Rif rebellion. From Sheean, *An American among the Riffi* (New York, 1926), 73. Courtesy of Ellen Sheean.

ended relationship in the midst of a derailed revolution haunted Sheean's mind and colored his writing for years. He tried to recuperate in Europe but soon was on the move again. A trip to Palestine in 1929 plunged him into death-dealing riots between Arabs and Zionists, his own strong reactions to which convinced him that dispassionate "hard-boiled and efficient" reporting was not his game. He had to take sides in his writing.

Readers were gripped by Sheean's whirlwind of involvements around half the globe, but his was more than an account of adventures. It was a self-searching story, embedded in a politically astute record of a decade of world turmoil. In contrast to Cowley's distancing of his authorial voice from his younger self, Sheean as narrator spoke from a temporary stop on a continuing journey. He presented his younger self as a sympathetic if sometimes bumbling character, whose admitted weaknesses—along with his risk-taking—invited readers' identification with him as he weighed possibilities, acknowledged his own stupidity and confusion, and clarified which experiences he could learn from and which he could not brook. Seeking the best way to position himself justly in the world, he found his heroine in a committed Leninist, even while admitting his own bourgeois affections for material comfort, good food, and the pleasures of music and art. The tussle between these two alternatives resonated through his story and remained unresolved.

Sheean's book was as open-ended as his travels. He left the reader much to reflect upon as well as marvel at. He made no claim to represent anyone besides himself, while also gesturing toward a generational outlook that he believed to be more widely shared: "we were—to put it strongly—avid for experience, interested in everything . . . [E]vents were beginning to show that my contemporaries refused to be quiet: that they wanted a finger in every pie, that they were determined to allow no possible pleasure or power to go by default."³¹ Youthful intrepidity such as this was a dimension of twentieth-century modernity as it could be lived by an important minority. Improvements in the efficiency and speed of travel and communication had made the world seem smaller. Americans found it relatively easy (in comparison to earlier times) to travel and live outside the United States, to return, to leave again.³² As their nation's immigration policy was clamping down on inflow, these young people took the opposite route and went elsewhere. Far more privileged than the stateless migrants and refugees who were also searching beyond borders in the wake of the war, this cohort had American citizenship and national identity for ballast. Restless or romantic desires drew them outward—or political intentions to witness the throes of revolution, anticolonial struggle, or fascism or communism.

with the "bier, draped in the Red flag and covered with golden flowers, asters, chrysanthemums, all the flowers in Rayna's own colours, a heap of gold and red and brown, . . . speeches in Chinese, Russian and English," he began to wonder if it was true—because it seemed too uncanny: "That she should have died of inflammation of the brain, thus literally, and all too aptly, burning away; that she should have lain under flowers of gold and flaming colours, and sunk with them into the furnace—was this possible, in view of the fact that I had always thought of her as a flame." *PH*, 301, 305.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

³² Getting to Europe was easier, faster, and cheaper in the 1920s than ever before. Standard trips took a week (or a few days more, depending on the route). "Cabin" class (below first- and second-class) was newly created for middle-class budgets; third-class or steerage cost less; or one could work one's way across on a cattle boat. See Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1964), 141–142.



FIGURE 5: Vincent Sheean, studio portrait taken in London, ca. 1926. Courtesy of Ellen Sheean.

These were not “expatriates.” The word is far too casually used to describe young Americans who lived abroad for a time in the 1920s. Renunciation of the United States or of U.S. citizenship was rarely if ever the aim of 1920s youth; nor was permanent foreign residence contemplated or undertaken except in rare cases. Cowley himself used “exile” as an extended metaphor for psychological and political alienation more than geographical distancing.³³ These were men and women who imagined that they ought to know the wider world; their quests for self-support and self-definition involved overseas exposure and exchange.

The potential for foreign residence and international interchange among mobile young people with cultural or intellectual aspirations shaped all forms of knowledge production and cultural innovation in the interwar decades. Whether the field was music or anthropology, physics or sculpture, sex or photography, voodoo or housing, there were reasons to go abroad to explore and to gain a non-U.S. perspective; many of Sheean’s and Cowley’s generation did so at the age of twenty or twenty-one.³⁴ Scholars treating the arts have been avid in showing the kinetic vibrancy of interwar internationalism. In literature, music, and the visual arts, the transnational geography of influence is now recognized as central, recalibrating what modernism of the interwar years looks like. Cultural studies framed internationally have enlarged the loci of modernist production and the range of what counts as artistic achievement.³⁵ This approach could be applied to a broader field of intelligentsia, not only revealing the importance of international circulation of people and ideas in the 1920s, but also acknowledging that the intensification of U.S. cultural nationalism during the 1930s did not mean abjuring international exchange.³⁶

³³ “Their real exile was from society itself, from any society with purposes they could share, toward which they could honestly contribute and from which they could draw new strength . . . But not many of them recognized the nature of their disease.” ER, 223. Susman, “The Pilgrimage to Paris,” helpfully distinguishes the patterns of postwar American youth in Europe from the Americans who relocated there before the war and stayed afterward, the latter indeed expatriates, the former not; and he notes that the presence among the latter group in London and Paris of older writers such as Ezra Pound (b. 1885), T. S. Eliot (b. 1888), and Gertrude Stein (b. 1874), who became magnets for the postwar young, may confuse the issue. See Nancy Green, “Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats: The American Transformation of a Concept,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (April 2009): 307–328, on changing implications of the word.

³⁴ See fn. 9 above; and for examples of such youth, see Donald Friede, *The Mechanical Angel: His Adventures and Enterprises in the Glittering 1920s* (New York, 1948); Cass Canfield, *Up and Down and Around: A Publisher Recollects the Time of His Life* (New York, 1971); H. Peter Oberlander and Eva Newbrun, *Houser: The Life and Work of Catherine Bauer* (Toronto, 1999); Emily Hahn, *No Hurry to Get Home: The Memoir of the “New Yorker” Writer Whose Unconventional Life and Adventures Spanned the Twentieth Century* (1970; repr., Seattle, 2000); Bettina Berch, *Radical by Design: The Life and Style of Elizabeth Hawes, Fashion Designer, Union Organizer, Best-Selling Author* (New York, 1988); Carolyn Burke, *Lee Miller: A Life* (New York, 2005); Margaret Mead, *Blackberry Winter: My Earlier Years* (New York, 1972); Marjorie Worthington, *The Strange World of Willie Seabrook* (New York, 1966).

³⁵ See Wanda N. Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915–1935* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), Introduction and chaps. 1–3; Geist and Monleón, “Introduction”; Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York, 2000); Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel, “Introduction: The Global Horizons of Modernism,” in Doyle and Winkiel, eds., *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* (Bloomington, Ind., 2005), 1–16; Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, “Introduction: Modernisms Bad and New,” in Mao and Walkowitz, *Bad Modernisms* (Durham, N.C., 2006), 1–17; Mao and Walkowitz, “The New Modernist Studies,” *PMLA* 123, no. 3 (2008): 737–748; Susan Manning and Andrew Taylor, eds., *Transatlantic Literary Studies: A Reader* (Edinburgh, 2007); Amanda Claybaugh, “New Fields, Conventional Habits, and the Legacy of Atlantic Double-Cross,” *American Literary History* 20, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 439–448.

³⁶ Cf. Warren Susman, “The Culture of the 1930s,” in Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation*

Scholars of African American cultural history have provided a model, amplifying previous understandings of the “New Negro” movement in the United States by seeing it as part of an international awakening. Its transatlantic circulation of ideas shaped individual lives, group identity, modernist practices, and subsequent trends among writers, intellectuals, reporters, and radicals of African descent. Suitably positioned young African Americans seized international possibilities in the 1920s and 1930s, as did whites: well-known examples include the sensational performer Josephine Baker (b. 1906), the toast of Paris before she was twenty, and the writer Langston Hughes (b. 1902), who had lived in Mexico, traveled more than once to Africa, and lived in Paris at the same age. The journalist Thyra Edwards is a more recently rediscovered example.³⁷ Almost every participant in the Harlem Renaissance came to Europe during the interwar decades—Hughes, Countee Cullen, Alain Locke, Claude McKay, Jessie Fauset, Gwendolyn Bennett, Walter White, and Jean Toomer, to name a few—often aiming to engage with intellectuals and artists of color from areas colonized by Europeans.³⁸ Paris was a favorite destination not only—and perhaps not mainly—because it was French, but because it was an international meeting place: migrants, sojourners, refugees, and seekers from Francophone Africa, Spain, Russia, Romania, Austria, and elsewhere peopled Parisian urban life and artistic movements in the 1920s.³⁹

Was this individualistic internationalism just a means of advancing oneself? The young Americans who traveled experimentally to distant continents were far better educated and usually economically better off than the bulk of their generation. Hav-

of *American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984), 150–183; William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (New York, 1973); Corn, *The Great American Thing*, chaps. 4–6 and Epilogue; Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1996), esp. 11–13.

³⁷ See Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes*, 2nd ed., vol. 1: 1902–1941: *I, Too, Sing America* (New York, 2002); Josephine Baker and Jo Bouillon, *Josephine*, trans. Mariana Fitzpatrick (New York, 1977); Iris Schmeisser, “Josephine Baker and the Primitivist Reception of Jazz in Paris in the 1920s,” in Neil A. Wynn, ed., *Cross the Water Blues: African American Music in Europe* (Jackson, Miss., 2007), 106–124; Gregg Andrews, *Thyra J. Edwards: Black Activist in the Global Freedom Struggle* (Columbia, Mo., 2011).

³⁸ See Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*; William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), esp. 27–34; Petrine Archer-Straw, *Negrophilia: Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s* (New York, 2000); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (Boston, 1996); Michel Fabre, *From Harlem to Paris: Black American Writers in France, 1840–1980* (Urbana, Ill., 1991), chaps. 5–10; Jody Blake, *Le tumulte noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz-Age Paris, 1900–1930* (University Park, Pa., 1999); Kenneth R. Janken, “African American and Francophone Black Intellectuals during the Harlem Renaissance,” *Historian* 60, no. 3 (March 1998): 487–505.

³⁹ In a 1934 interview, Marcel Duchamp judged the avant-garde community in Montparnasse in the 1920s “superior” to that in Greenwich Village in the 1910s because it was “the first really international colony of artists we ever had”; Herbert R. Lottman, *Man Ray’s Montparnasse* (New York, 2001), 203. Raymond Williams named the metropolis a “key cultural factor” in the emergence of early-twentieth-century modernism: artistic innovators could gain traction in major capital cities, where wealth was concentrated and various in-migrants diversified the populace. Williams emphasized that “immigration to the metropolis” was perhaps the “most important” element, and thought that Paris provided the best example. Williams, *The Politics of Modernism*, ed. Tony Pinkney (London, 1989), 44–45. See also James Clifford, “Traveling Cultures,” in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York, 1992), 96–116, here 104–105. On the influx of immigrants to interwar France, see Neil MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism: Algerians in France, 1900–62* (New York, 1997); and Clifford D. Rosenberg, *Policing Paris: The Origins of Modern Immigration Control between the Wars* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006).

ing had their sights raised by their nation's position of global advantage in the early 1920s, they acted as if they had license to try out whatever the world had to offer. Like business leaders with regard to their products, these young people were seeking a worldwide market for their talents, it might be said.⁴⁰ In *Exile's Return*, Cowley critically evaluated "the idea of changing place" as one of the Greenwich Village bohemian values that, in his view, were easily commodified for national diffusion, in line with an emerging "consumption ethic" (his own prescient phrase). He called his peers' experiences on the European front "spectatorial" only, thus presaging a current scholarly critique of American writers for participating in a "touristic discourse of collecting experiences" while being distanced "from any connection or commitment except to the project of experiencing 'otherness.'" Cowley waxed sardonic about discontented artists' idea of "salvation by exile" and noted that the enthusiasm for expatriating oneself (like the Greenwich Village valuation of self-expression) "fitted into the business picture": "The exiles of art . . . increased the foreign demand for fountain pens, silk stockings, grapefruit and portable typewriters. They drew after them an invading army of tourists, thus swelling the profits of steamship lines and travel agencies."⁴¹

Yet to dismiss youthful venturers of this era without discovering how numerous and influential they were—and to what effect they interacted with similarly mobile age peers from other nations—would be as mistaken as naïvely celebrating every motive or enterprise abroad. "The Spirit of the twenties was everywhere international and cosmopolitan," recalled the American Marxist literary editor Joseph Freeman, who spent time in London, Paris, Soviet Russia, and Mexico during his youth in the decade.⁴² This orientation to the world deserves notice. Sheean fully shared this spirit. He made Paris his home base in the 1920s because he "knew more different kinds of people in Paris than anywhere else—Russian refugees, American journalists, decadent French poets, respectable French families of the middle class, Chinese revolutionaries, drunkards of all nations, ladies and gentlemen of the loosest possible morals and people of the most rigid conventionality, princesses and prostitutes, café owners and politicians."⁴³ Cowley, it seems, was not moved by the same spirit. When he learned, near the close of his first year in France, that a renewal of his fellowship would allow him to stay another year, his feelings were mixed. "I have been frightfully homesick," he wrote to Kenneth Burke. "My talent is not cosmopolitan, and I have no desire to spend my life in France." He did stay for a second year, making his main residence suburban Giverny and spending only brief periods in Paris. He could not "imagine people living in Paris," he told Burke. "It is a town

⁴⁰ Cf. Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

⁴¹ *ER*, 47–52, 72–73, 84. Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham, N.C., 1996), 36–37, 46–47. Aware only of the 1951 edition of *ER*, Kaplan builds on Cowley's insights without recognizing their Marxist underpinnings. Cf. the counterclaims of J. Gerald Kennedy, "Fitzgerald's Expatriate Years and the European Stories," in Ruth Prigozy, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York, 2002), 118–142.

⁴² Joseph Freeman (b. 1897), draft of "A Memoir of Moscow," alternatively titled "The Green Hat," written in the mid-1960s, folder 5, box 155, Joseph Freeman Papers, Hoover Institution, Palo Alto; and see Freeman, *American Testament*.

⁴³ *PH*, 308–309. Three decades later, he wrote that Paris was "my nest, my cocoon, my favored habitat, my second home—Paris was all that to me and more." Vincent Sheean, *Dorothy and Red* (Boston, 1963), 73.

where one spends weekends which occasionally last a lifetime.”⁴⁴ After those two years (1921–1923), Cowley lived in or near New York City for the remainder of the 1920s.

“THE SIGN OF THE MOMENT was Eros, defined by Plato as the soul stirring itself to life and motion,” wrote Freeman, continuing his nostalgic retrospective on the structure of feeling among his age peers during the 1920s. It was cagey of him not to end the sentence at “Eros,” with its implication of sexual freedom. Their generation was called “flaming youth,” after the title of a sensational American novel published pseudonymously in 1923 and quickly turned into a film after going into sixteen printings its first year.⁴⁵ The younger generation was reputed to have smashed their parents’ sexual standards to smithereens. Sexual knowledge and the ability to practice sexual freedom with pleasure and impunity were distributed very unevenly, however, lodging most emphatically in exactly the sector to which Freeman, Cowley, Sheean, and travelers like them belonged. In both Europe and the U.S., it was heterosexual urbanites with education and economic wherewithal who could claim these privileges. Among them, condoms could be easily purchased for “hygienic” (rather than explicitly contraceptive) purposes. Women with know-how and enough money could find doctors to prescribe diaphragms; they also quietly traded information about illegal abortionists. Among this stratum, popularized Freudianism chased away the nineteenth-century idea that heterosexual indulgence drained away energy. “Repression” was disparaged, and heterosexual expressiveness was rehabilitated as a source of vitality and personality—although neither legal standards nor religious moralists had shifted as much. Ferocious battles between what might be called pro-sex and anti-sex forces raged during the 1920s and were always generationally tinged.⁴⁶

Both Sheean and Cowley expected to exercise sexual freedom; it was part of the modernity to which they felt entitled.⁴⁷ Their respective books noted their gener-

⁴⁴ Malcolm Cowley, Montpelier, France, to Kenneth Burke, May 20, 1922, in Jay, *The Selected Correspondence*, 120; Cowley, Giverny, France, to Burke, February 8, 1923, *ibid.*, 136.

⁴⁵ Warner Fabian (pseudonym), *Flaming Youth* (New York, 1923). The novel highlighted adultery, marriages of convenience, women’s heterosexual curiosity and availability, and the practice of abortion; it was regarded as realistic, while outrageous. The identity of the author, Samuel Hopkins Adams, was not revealed until 1947. See Sara Ross, “Screening the Modern Girl: Intermediality in the Adaptation of *Flaming Youth*,” *Modernism/modernity* 17, no. 2 (2010): 271–290.

⁴⁶ The counterpart to increased liberality toward heterosexual expressiveness was greater recognition and stigmatization of homosexuality. Useful studies include Ira S. Wile, ed., *The Sex Life of the Unmarried Adult: An Inquiry into and an Interpretation of Current Sex Practices* (New York, 1934); John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York, 1988), 233–242; Carolyn J. Dean, *Sexuality and Modern Western Culture* (New York, 1996), chap. 4; Leslie J. Reagan, *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867–1973* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Andrea Tone, *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America* (New York, 2001), chaps. 5 and 6; Marcus Collins, *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London, 2003); Rebecca L. Davis, “‘Not Marriage at All, but Simple Harlotry’: The Companionate Marriage Controversy,” *Journal of American History* 94, no. 4 (March 2008): 1137–1163; Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York, 2011), chap. 2.

⁴⁷ Sheean was shocked when he discovered that the aging French couple in whose rural home he boarded in 1922 had never married. That a peasant couple “should have lived in the state called ‘sin’ for forty years was something outside my faculty of comprehension,” he recalled. “I thought nobody had a right to live in ‘sin’ except myself.” *PH*, 27–28.

ation's sexual mores differently, however, which may have contributed to the greater popularity of Sheean's book and the credence given it as a portrait of his times. Sheean's strongest claim about his contemporaries on both sides of the Atlantic was that they "created the extreme licentiousness that was the moral characteristic of the age." He presented this shift serenely in *Personal History* and linked it to the decline of the bourgeoisie. "Whatever morality may be—and it seems probable that it was never anything but a series of convenient arrangements," he wrote, "my generation had practically no moral sense as that term had hitherto been understood. This is not a judgment: I am in this, as in other respects, an *enfant du siècle*, and have no right or desire to judge anybody's morals . . . We may like it or not (I like it, at least in preference to bourgeois respectability); but the fact is that the people who were in their twenties in the 1920's were amazingly, perhaps unprecedentedly, immoral."⁴⁸

If Sheean thus subjectively joined his age peers in their attitudes toward sex, Cowley was more cynical. The "revolution in morals" had originated as "a middle-class children's revolt" during the unsettledness of the war, he contended. It was spurred along by the champions of sexual freedom and women's equality in Greenwich Village, whose values lent themselves to commercial exploitation and exportation to the provinces.⁴⁹ Cowley's cynicism about sex had deep roots in a personal wound. His wife's unfaithfulness while he was away finishing his studies at Harvard during the first year of their marriage had given them both syphilis. This required six months of difficult and painful treatment (with mercury and Salvarsan) at free clinics in New York, a brush with degraded humanity that lent Cowley a "passport to the underworld," he later wrote. He felt soiled and humiliated, stalked by the specter of a gruesome death.⁵⁰

Bohemianism utterly repelled Cowley thenceforward, especially because of its link to casual sex. When he arrived in France in 1921, he wrote a slashing diatribe to mark the centenary of the birth of Henri Murger, the author of *Scènes de la vie de Bohème*, condemning Murger for originating "an ideal of artistic life . . . which has peopled more sanitariums, jails, and venereal wards than it has ever filled museums."⁵¹ When the Parisian Dadaists briefly captured his fancy, he nonetheless deplored their sexual promiscuity, seeing it as bohemian freedom masquerading as art. He rather satirized than endorsed "Ultra-Modern Love"—the title he and Burke gave to a parody they co-authored in 1922. In private correspondence, he refused to see anything profound in the exercise of sexual freedom, especially by women. At the close of the 1920s, when he began writing parts of *Exile's Return*, he was taking advantage of women's sexual availability in New York, but finding it depressing.⁵²

⁴⁸ Ibid., 53, 310–311.

⁴⁹ ER, 72–76, quotation from 74. "Puritanism" had been toppled by the "elder cousins" of his own age group, he noted as early as 1921; "The Youngest Generation," 1.

⁵⁰ Bak, *Malcolm Cowley*, 158–162.

⁵¹ Ibid., 162, 178–179, 200 (quoting Cowley's article on Murger).

⁵² Ibid., 240 (on Dadaists), 208–210 (on "Ultra-Modern Love"), 421–422 (on 1929–1930); Kenneth Burke, "Ultra-Modern Love" script [1921], folder 5863, box 153, Cowley Papers, Newberry Library. Describing the Dadaists in a letter to Burke of February 9, 1923, Cowley remarked, "They take their wives and mistresses everywhere but in the sole quality of wives or mistresses. This, perhaps, is a valuable suggestion for [us] . . . Our anti-feminism went the wrong way to achieve its ends." Reprinted in Jay, *The Selected Correspondence*, 137. For anti-feminist (and anti-Freudian) views, see also Cowley quotations in Bak, *Malcolm Cowley*, 113–114, 210; Cowley to Burke, August 30, 1919, folder 5800, box 150, Cowley Papers; Burke to Cowley, July 3, 1929, in Jay, *The Selected Correspondence*, 186–187; and cf.

Alternately hostile and dismissive, Cowley's attitude toward women's sexual assertiveness marked his distance from the 1920s zeitgeist.⁵³ Women's sexual autonomy was widely understood, on all sides in the culture wars of the 1920s, as an incendiary sign of the times, a marker of the sexual revolution and also of women's independence and equality with men. This generation came of age as women gained the vote. For young women in the 1920s with education and ambition, the fight for suffrage seemed well in the past; career aims and sexual agency, as well as political rights, were established territory in their mental landscapes. Women's political citizenship, higher education, paid employment, birth control, wives' property-holding, the availability of divorce, all were within their grasp. No matter how recently accomplished these things were, many young women took them as well-established—and minimized the tremendous odds they faced as competitors to men. As Margaret Mead (b. 1901) reflected later in life, hers was “a generation of young women who felt extraordinarily free.”⁵⁴

Cowley's female age peers were competitors, mentors, or friends of men in the literary field, as well as lovers or wives, but they did not figure in the drama of *Exile's Return*; his male friends represented the “whole social class.” Sheean's book took far more account than did Cowley's of the mixed-sex world in which both men lived.⁵⁵ Without fanfare, women's presence and influence were integral to his story. Louise Bryant initiated his political education, dazzling him with tales of the Bolshevik Revolution. Belle Moskowitz, a behind-the-scenes reformer who was a close adviser of Governor Al Smith of New York and managed his 1928 presidential campaign, entered Sheean's story because Sheean admired her work in New York, and she befriended him.⁵⁶ Most important was Rayna Prohme, the dramatic focus of *Personal History*. She became Sheean's polestar—a “solar phenomenon,” a “sliver of fire” that burned without being consumed—orienting his struggle to situate his life responsibly amid the world's injustices. When he described in *Personal History* how “her essential principle was taking its place at the centre of my world of ideas,” it was clear that he mirrored himself in her, their gender difference notwithstanding.⁵⁷

Andreas Huyssen, “Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other,” in Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 44–62.

⁵³ For example, Cowley called the behavior of Lady Brett Ashley in *The Sun Also Rises* (1925) “nymphomania” in *ER*, 7, although Hemingway's portrayal of his female protagonist was not thus judgmental. See Wendy Martin, “Brett Ashley as New Woman in *The Sun Also Rises*,” in Linda Wagner-Martin, ed., *New Essays on “The Sun Also Rises”* (Cambridge, 1987), 65–82.

⁵⁴ Mead, *Blackberry Winter*, 108. Cf. Susan Ware, *Still Missing: Amelia Earhart and the Search for Modern Feminism* (New York, 1993); Berch, *Radical by Design*; Alice Kessler-Harris, *A Difficult Woman: The Challenging Life and Times of Lillian Hellman* (New York, 2012).

⁵⁵ Sheean's narrative of a male protagonist on a quest for self-definition followed central conventions of the *Bildungsroman* nonetheless. On narrative conventions in autobiography and recent critical transformations, see Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, 2010), chaps. 7 and 8; and Trev Lynn Broughton, ed., *Autobiography: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, 4 vols. (New York, 2007).

⁵⁶ *PH*, 26, 322–324. See Sheean letters in the Louise Bryant Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University; and Elisabeth Israels Perry, *Belle Moskowitz: Feminine Politics and the Exercise of Power in the Age of Alfred E. Smith* (1987; repr., Boston, 2000). Subsequently, Dorothy Thompson became Sheean's constant interlocutor, mentor, and friend; he thought of her as his “Protestant sister.” See Sheean, *Dorothy and Red*, 73.

⁵⁷ Quotations from Vincent Sheean, *Gog and Magog: A Novel* (New York, 1930), 244; and *PH*, 262.

PROHME AND SHEEAN WERE BOTH journalists when they met in the 1920s. Cowley was, too, although he avoided the word, for he aimed to create art of lasting value. He separated art from ephemeral, practical journalism, even while his own and his friends' literary lives disputed that disjunction.

Had *Exile's Return* foregrounded journalism rather than hiding it, it would have told a fuller story. The interwar decades were a "golden age" for the power of print media as a source of contemporary information and culture, and many—perhaps the largest sector—of the postwar younger generation who worked abroad supported themselves as reporters, photographers, columnists, or publishers. It had been true for several decades that a young person who was good with words was likely to seek newspaper work as a first job. It took no special training. Most "simply wormed their way in," one commentator noted.⁵⁸ Newspaper assignments could support a writing habit; as Martha Foley (b. 1897) typically explained, "I went into newspaper work because it was the nearest thing to writing that I could earn my living at." The promise of travel also was an attraction. While the city reporter's role was often routine, the foreign correspondent's job promised glamour and excitement. Prototypes had been established in the 1890s, for women as well as men, and examples multiplied during the Great War.⁵⁹

In the U.S. during the 1920s, increasing high school attendance and white-collar opportunities created an audience voraciously eager for self-improvement through the printed word.⁶⁰ More than any other genre, newspapers constructed the public sphere. Not until the late 1930s did radio (or newsreels) overtake print for some—and only some—news purposes. Mass production methods and significant improvements in photographic reproduction enabled diversification in daily newspaper formats: new photograph-filled tabloids with screaming headlines reached millions by the mid-1920s, while traditional papers competed by adding features, pictures, and columns, and also by improving the reach, depth, and validity of news reporting. The newspaper was pervasive.⁶¹

⁵⁸ George H. Douglas, *The Smart Magazines: 50 Years of Literary Revelry and High Jinks at "Vanity Fair," "The New Yorker," "Life," "Esquire," and "The Smart Set"* (Hamden, Conn., 1991), 159–160.

⁵⁹ Martha Foley, *The Story of "Story" Magazine: A Memoir*, ed. Jay Neugeboren (New York, 1980), 35. See Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York, 1978), 64–65; Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye*, 225–231; Douglas, *The Smart Magazines*, 178–182. Fiction writers—including William Dean Howells, Mark Twain, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, Frank Norris, Bret Harte, Jack London, Djuna Barnes, Willa Cather, Edna Ferber, Sinclair Lewis, Zona Gale, Katherine Anne Porter, Tess Slesinger, and Josephine Herbst—began as reporters, but so did various others, including Matthew Josephson, Henry Robinson Luce, William Bullitt, Dorothy Day, Janet Flanner, and Edmund Wilson. See Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *From Fact to Fiction: Journalism and Imaginative Writing in America* (Baltimore, 1985); and Jean Marie Lutes, *Front Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880–1930* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006).

⁶⁰ On high school attendance, see Claudia Dale Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, *The Race between Education and Technology* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008), 196–198. On self-improvement through print, see Joan Shelley Rubin, "'Information, Please!' Culture and Expertise in the Interwar Period," *American Quarterly* 35, no. 5 (Winter 1983): 499–517; Rubin, "Self, Culture, and Self-Culture in Modern America: The Early History of the Book-of-the-Month Club," *Journal of American History* 71, no. 4 (March 1985): 782–806; and Janice A. Radway, *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997). For "golden age" attribution, see Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye*, 194; and John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, vol. 3: *The Golden Age between Two Wars, 1920–1940* (New York, 1978); and cf. Michael Denning's point that "the Taylorism of modernity created . . . entire industries and classes built on 'mental labor'" in this era; *The Cultural Front*, 38.

⁶¹ See Schudson, *Discovering the News*, chaps. 2–4; Bessie, *Jazz Journalism*; Kevin G. Barnhurst and

After the war, with international mobility and transatlantic interest growing, U.S. newspapers did not dismantle the foreign bureaus they had established during the war in Paris, London, Berlin, and Rome. Young Americans with cosmopolitan aspirations found more opportunities than ever before to write from abroad for the home audience. Writers' tools were highly portable. With the multiplication of news bureaus and contemporary expansion in American publishing at the time, a writer might reasonably imagine earning a living abroad by selling stories to American outlets. Dorothy Thompson, John Gunther, and William Shirer, to take three examples, all decided to cross the Atlantic while in their twenties in the early 1920s, with writerly aims but no concrete plans in mind; each took chances that led to a lifetime career as an international journalist. Paris was the European city most crowded with American residents and visitors, and it especially bustled with publications in English. It had more than its share of job-seekers, though, and shrewd young people were well-advised to go elsewhere, as Dorothy Thompson did, jump-starting her career by locating in Vienna in 1921.⁶²

A far broader spectrum of periodicals cropped up in the interwar years—from idiosyncratic “little” magazines expressing divergent rebellious movements, through the mainstream “slicks” such as the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, to the mass-circulation “pulp”—and created further outlets. After the invention of the flashbulb in 1927, photographic visuals in news reporting multiplied, and “photojournalism” (a neologism in the 1930s) became possible because of speedier and better reproduction techniques, along with smaller, lighter portable professional cameras and gelatin emulsion film (replacing glass negatives). Photojournalism thrived on foreign locales, as Henry Luce's *Life* magazine showed from its first issue in 1936.⁶³

Ominous international tensions in the 1930s spurred demand for reportage of foreign news. As fascism shadowed the European landscape, new justifications were found for reporting that was admittedly interpretive. Magazines welcomed it, and newspapers increasingly permitted it. Raymond Gram Swing, an established American newspaperman who had been reporting in Europe since the war, made the point

John Nerone, *The Form of News: A History* (New York, 2001), chaps. 6 and 7; Donald Read, *The Power of News* (New York, 1999), 166–169; John Macy, “Journalism,” in Stearns, *Civilization in the United States*, 35–51.

⁶² Heald, *Transatlantic Vistas*, 3–4; Frederick J. Hoffman, *The Twenties: American Writing in the Post-war Decade* (New York, 1955), 28–29; Weber, *News of Paris*. Besides at least four Paris-based newspapers in English, the (American) Chamber of Commerce directory for 1927–1928 listed Paris offices for sixty-nine American periodicals. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris*, 272 n. 12; Peter Kurth, *American Cassandra: The Life of Dorothy Thompson* (Boston, 1990), esp. 54–60; John Gunther Papers, Addenda II, box 10 (letters and London log from the mid-1920s), Regenstein Library, University of Chicago; William L. Shirer, *Twentieth-Century Journey*, 3 vols., vol. 1: *The Start, 1904–1930* (New York, 1976).

⁶³ See Robert Cantwell, “Journalism—Magazines,” in Harold Stearns, ed., *America Now* (New York, 1938), 345–355; Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (1964; repr., Urbana, Ill., 1975); John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990* (New York, 1991); Douglas, *The Smart Magazines*; Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography* (Princeton, N.J., 1946); Jayne E. Marek, *Women Editing Modernism: “Little” Magazines and Literary History* (Lexington, Ky., 1995); Gaylyn Studlar, “The Perils of Pleasure? Fan Magazine Discourse as Women's Commodified Culture in the 1920s,” *Wide Angle* 13, no. 1 (January 1991): 6–33; Michael Augspurger, *An Economy of Abundant Beauty: “Fortune” Magazine and Depression America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004). On photographic technology, see Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography, from 1839 to the Present Day*, rev. ed. (New York, 1964), 88–94, 153–159, 178–184.

in 1935 at the American Newspaper Editors' annual conference: "If European news is to be comprehensible at all it has to be explained. If it is explained it has to be explained subjectively."⁶⁴ This turn offered more openings for journalists with passionate convictions. In these circumstances, freelance writers secured commissions and seed money from news services or syndicates, which then sold their work to various outlets. That was Sheean's *modus vivendi* after he quit his regular correspondent job in the mid-1920s. His travels to Spain in the midst of civil war and to Austria under the Nazi onslaught in 1938, for example, generated headlines in daily papers in the U.S. and then became the basis for two books, *Not Peace but a Sword* (1939) and *Between the Thunder and the Sun* (1943).⁶⁵ Sheean's antifascism led him to enlist at age forty-two in the U.S. Army Air Force. He served as an intelligence officer in North Africa and Italy, attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel. His war-time observations resulted in another book, *This House against This House*, in 1946.⁶⁶

Journalists as a type among the American younger generation abroad in the interwar era have been mostly overlooked, although they are representative.⁶⁷ Their ambitions and life patterns, as well as the great fame of some during their lifetimes, have faded from the record. The temporal arc and motivations of their travels gave the lie to Cowley's model of return after "exile." The 1930s were a compelling time to investigate or live abroad, whether because of personal, artistic, or political incentives. While the onset of the Depression burdened publishing, the rising interest in reportage from afar countered. Even while popular sentiment for neutrality reigned in the United States, readers' eagerness to know what was going on abroad made more books than *Personal History* bestsellers in the mid-1930s. Six of the ten nonfiction bestsellers of 1936 were accounts of world events or travels, one being John Gunther's *Inside Europe*, a political travelogue that became many Americans' bible of European affairs. Two others were autobiographical retrospects by reporters following Sheean's model: *I Write as I Please* by Walter Duranty, Moscow bureau chief for the *New York Times*; and *The Way of the Transgressor* by Negley Farson, correspondent in London for the *Chicago Daily News*.⁶⁸ Columnists and correspondents writing from afar had so much cultural panache in the 1930s that at least fifteen Hollywood movies featured them as leading characters. Producer Walter Wanger bought the rights to Sheean's *Personal History* in 1935, intending to make a film of

⁶⁴ *Proceedings, Thirteenth Annual Convention, American Society of Newspaper Editors* (Washington D.C., 1935), 91–113, quotation from 92; "Raymond Swing, Radio Commentator, Dies at 81," *New York Times*, December 24, 1968, 23. On interpretation in foreign news, see Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 144–149; Heald, *Transatlantic Vistas*, 3–6, 13–18, 43–44, 93–95, 136–139; Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye*, 226.

⁶⁵ Sheean traveled in Spain with Ernest Hemingway and the photographer Robert Capa. Vincent Sheean, *Not Peace but a Sword* (New York, 1939); Sheean, *Between the Thunder and the Sun* (New York, 1943). On growth in news agencies and syndicates, see Robert W. Desmond, *Crisis and Conflict: World News Reporting between Two Wars, 1920–1940* (Iowa City, 1982), chap. 12.

⁶⁶ Vincent Sheean, *This House against This House* (New York, 1946). On Sheean's war experience, see Johnson, "A Twentieth Century Seeker," chap. 4, pt. 5.

⁶⁷ Heald, *Transatlantic Vistas*, esp. 43–44, is a rare exception, objecting that journalists have mistakenly been left out of the story of the "lost generation." Blower questions Cowley's narrative, noticing that journalists among the American "expatriates" used Paris as a jumping-off point for international explorations; *Becoming Americans in Paris*, chap. 6.

⁶⁸ The three others were Anne Morrow Lindbergh's *North to the Orient* (New York, 1935), describing travel to China, and two books about individuals' world travels. Hackett and Burke, *80 Years of Best Sellers*, 121.

it, although the eventual result (after many stops and starts) was not Sheean's story but Alfred Hitchcock's *Foreign Correspondent* of 1940.⁶⁹

ALL THROUGH THE DEPRESSION DECADE, Cowley reigned as the literary editor of the *New Republic*. There he found his métier. His luminous, perceptive, judicious book reviews every week made him "perhaps the most influential literary critic in America," in the views of a recent scholar. Until 1940, he was also an outspoken member of the literary left. His "Red" identity clung to him afterward. When he got a position with the wartime federal Office of Facts and Figures, the rabidly anti-Communist columnist Westbrook Pegler and Congressman Martin Dies hounded him so much for his previous associations that he resigned.⁷⁰

During the 1940s, Cowley turned his focus to boosting works by contemporary American authors. He was hardly alone in this effort. Once the United States entered the Second World War, U.S. intellectuals as well as political leaders considered it urgent to show that democracy was culturally as well as militarily superior to its enemies. Affirming the value of American ideas and ideals in the humanities was a central way to do so. American vernacular culture had already found champions during the Depression, both among Communist-affiliated writers and in community-based New Deal arts projects. Wartime ideological priorities furthered the nascent American studies movement, adding twentieth-century successors to the ascendant canon of nineteenth-century greats identified in the 1920s.⁷¹

The publishing industry chimed in to promote American culture. Among the war-born schemes to furnish reading material to U.S. troops, Harold Guinzberg at the Viking Press came up with a new and durable idea. It was the "portable"—a single volume of outstanding selections from an American author's work. Guinzberg's pilot compilation of John Steinbeck's fiction sold very well. Poised to continue, he asked Cowley to edit a volume of Hemingway's fiction. He hired Dorothy Parker for F. Scott Fitzgerald (whose *oeuvre* had fallen into almost complete disregard by 1940). Cowley subsequently persuaded Guinzberg to let him do William Faulkner, whose work was as yet little read. These efforts sold well, reviving Hemingway's sagging reputation and prompting awareness of Faulkner's genius; revaluation of F. Scott Fitzgerald soon followed, too. In 1949, Guinzberg put Cowley on staff as a part-time advisory editor.⁷²

⁶⁹ See Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye*, 231, and Lutes, *Front Page Girls*, 161, on foreign correspondents and reporters in Hollywood; on Wanger's film of *Personal History*, see "Screen News," *New York Times*, September 8, 1936, 23; June 29, 1938, 15; April 14, 1939, 28; October 3, 1939, 27; February 2, 1940, 19.

⁷⁰ Dickstein, "The Critic and Society," 340–342, quotation from 340; see also the sketch of Cowley in *American National Biography Online*.

⁷¹ Philip Gleason, "World War II and the Development of American Studies," *American Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1984): 343–358; Leila Zenderland, "Constructing American Studies: Culture, Identity, and the Expansion of the Humanities," in David A. Hollinger, ed., *The Humanities and the Dynamics of Inclusion since World War II* (Baltimore, 2006), 273–313, esp. 273–283.

⁷² The Hemingway volume was published in 1944, F. Scott Fitzgerald in 1945, and Faulkner in 1947. Guinzberg chose authors for whom copyright could be obtained without great cost. Trysh Travis, "The Man of Letters and the Literary Business: Re-Viewing Malcolm Cowley," *Journal of Modern Literature* 25, no. 2 (Winter 2001–2002): 1–18, esp. 8–13, has been invaluable in supplying Cowley's history with Viking. On Fitzgerald's reputation, see Ruth Prigozy, "Introduction: Scott, Zelda, and the Culture of

In 1951, Cowley brought out a revised edition of *Exile's Return* under the Viking imprint. His timing was perfect—and it was calculated. The new edition complemented the works by American authors that he was marketing for Viking. Cowley sanitized and professionalized the new version. He changed telltale Marxist locutions. “The story of a whole social class, how it became aware of itself and how it went marching toward the end of an era,” for example, became “the story of the American educated classes, what some of them thought about in the boom days and how they reached the end of an era.” Of course he eliminated the 1934 conclusion that urged writers to make common cause with the working class. Instead he created an appendix listing prominent American writers born between 1891 and 1905—a span of years twice that of his original subject—as if all those listed were the protagonists of his narrative and proved his claim for a literary generation.⁷³

Cowley meant not only to remove the Popular Front taint from *Exile's Return*, but also to transform his work into intellectual and literary history. “The Literary Saga of the Nineteen-Twenties,” declared the cover of the paperback edition of 1956, which also featured small head shots of James Joyce, John Dos Passos, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, T. S. Eliot, Matthew Josephson, Ezra Pound, e e cummings, and Hart Crane.⁷⁴ The book’s original form, as a quasi-sociological examination, lent itself to reuse. Cowley had made firm pronouncements about the collective aims, predilections, emotions, political orientations, and intimate feelings of his generation, even though the only basis for these was his own life and his perceptions of friends. *Exile's Return* sounded authoritative on its subject. Cowley’s well-honed powers of literary analysis and his political sophistication combined to give his claims a seductive credibility. The narrative arc of the story remained the same: it was less the foreign experience than the return that was important. A new subtitle, *A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*, replacing the former *A Narrative of Ideas*, emphasized the circuit of return.

Cowley’s once-maligned volume became widely accepted in its revised form. His interpretation of American “exiles” triumphed in the academy along with the rise in reputation of the modern writers he championed. Its virtue in highlighting the transatlantic experience of his generation was also its limitation, in its rendering invisible the fuller range of people, the places they went to, and the later influence on their lives of what they did there. At the time, literary criticism was migrating into English departments (where previously only literary history or philology had been credited). Graduate programs in literature mushroomed in the 1950s, and university English departments that had been resolutely Anglophilic increasingly opened their

Celebrity,” in Prigozy, *The Cambridge Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald*, 1–27, esp. 13–15; Jackson R. Bryer, “The Critical Reputation of F. Scott Fitzgerald,” *ibid.*, 209–234; Malcolm Cowley, “The Fitzgerald Revival, 1941–53,” *Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual* 6 (1974): 11–13.

⁷³ Quotations from *ER*, 1934 ed., 13; 1951 ed., 10. In the 1934 edition, Cowley described his subjects as those who graduated college (or would have) between 1916 and 1922, putting their birthdates at approximately 1894 to 1900.

⁷⁴ The 1956 Vintage paperback, presumably aimed at the college market, can be found at Harvard College in Lamont Library, the first university library built expressly for undergraduates (1949). Cowley frequently spoke on college campuses during this period. In “A Memorandum on the Viking Portables,” he wrote, “[if we] keep an eye on what the colleges are assigning, I’m sure we will come to have a larger share of that very considerable demand for trustworthy texts”; quoted in Travis, “The Man of Letters and the Literary Business,” 13.

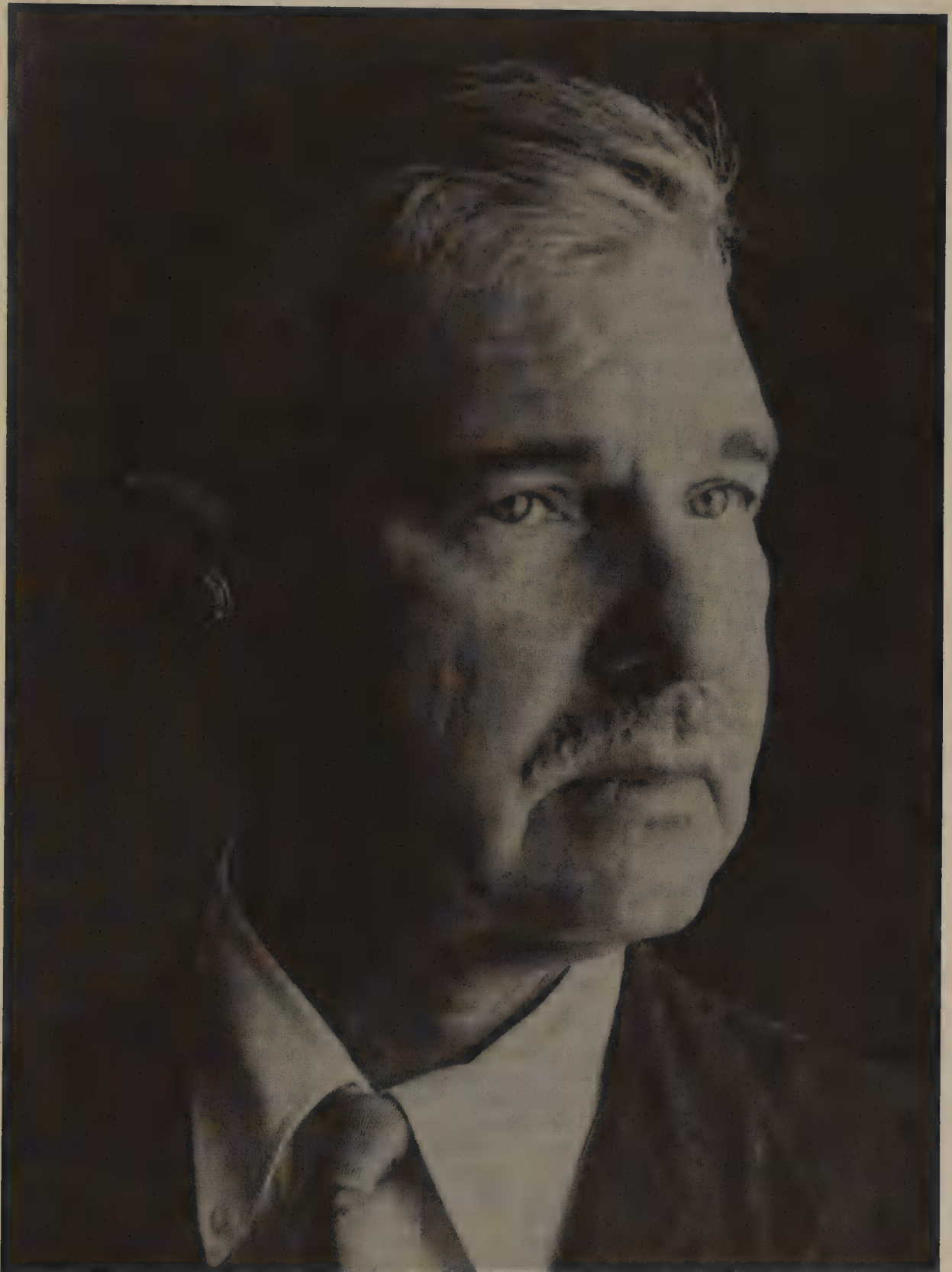


FIGURE 6: Malcolm Cowley, 1954. Courtesy of Robert Cowley and the Newberry Library.

curricula to American modernists.⁷⁵ An unprecedented infusion of federal dollars into higher education during the Cold War hastened this move. Although Cowley's approach was misaligned with English departments' vogue for the "New Criticism" (which denied the relevance of authors' social or ideological situations in assessments of literary quality), it fit perfectly into the American studies movement then flowering in academia.

These growth years of American studies as an academic field signaled the assertive stature of the United States as world leader of capitalist democracies, and also operated defensively, to display how the values of "American civilization" out-rivaled anything that Soviet Communism might offer. In the Cold War environment, grants of hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations underpinned the establishment of the journal *American Studies* and the American Studies Association (which held its founding meeting at the Library of Congress), as well as programs at several major universities. Only the rare scholar in American studies expressed alarm at how easily the field's self-promoting emphasis on the unique and emulable qualities of the "American mind" might become parochial and jingoistic.⁷⁶

Cowley rode the academic wave in the role of esteemed critic, editor, and self-created literary historian. Sheean was drowned by it. His work stayed outside the academy.⁷⁷ In the Cold War climate, American readers seemed to prefer self-examination to internationalism. John Gunther, who had made his name a household word with *Inside Europe* (1936), *Inside Asia* (1939), and *Inside Latin America* (1941), had his finger to the wind. He published *Inside U.S.A.* in 1947, and it proved to be his biggest seller ever.⁷⁸ Sheean's hold on fame and fortune gradually slipped. His numerous subsequent nonfiction works and novels usually gained respectful reviews, but none came near the renown of *Personal History*. Although he made a hit with *Lead, Kindly Light*, his 1949 homage to Mahatma Gandhi—written after he traveled to India to interview Gandhi and stumbled into witnessing his murder—Sheean found himself in debt early in the 1950s. No book or assignment (including one that took him to the 1955 Bandung Conference) resolved these money problems. He and

⁷⁵ Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (1987; repr., Chicago, 2007), chap. 9; Wallace Martin, "Criticism and the Academy," in Litz, Menand, and Rainey, *Modernism and the New Criticism*, 269–321, esp. 312–318.

⁷⁶ There were individual scholars and a few programs launched in the 1930s, but the bulk of the field began no earlier than the mid-1940s. See Zenderland, "Constructing American Studies," 283–297; Allen F. Davis, "The Politics of American Studies," *American Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (1990): 353–374, esp. 354–357; Gene Wise, "'Paradigm Dramas' in American Studies: A Cultural and Institutional History of the Movement," *American Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (1979): 292–337, esp. 305–310; Paul Lauter, "Reconfiguring Academic Disciplines: The Emergence of American Studies," *American Studies* 40, no. 2 (1999): 23–38, esp. 32. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "The Study of American Civilization: Jingoism or Scholarship?" *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 9, no. 1 (January 1952): 3–9, is an exceptional essay.

⁷⁷ The postwar American academy's absorption of literary criticism and history tended to marginalize journalism as outside the domain of serious scholarship. James Gray's comment that "*Personal History*, destined to be recognized as the archetype of all the books which took as their theme the education of the American as internationalist, remains the best," is the rare, perhaps the only, academic notice of Sheean in that era; Gray, "The Journalist as Literary Man," in May Brodbeck, James Gray, and Walter Metzger, *American Non-Fiction, 1900–1950* (Chicago, 1952), pt. 2, quotation from 126.

⁷⁸ John Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.* (New York, 1947). See Richard Rovere, "Inside: Profile of John Gunther," *The New Yorker* 23 (August 23, 1947): 30–36.

his wife moved to a favorite small town in Italy for the last eight years of his life.⁷⁹ As Sheean's star fell, the revised edition of *Exile's Return* gained its iconic status. Its success buried *Personal History* and—more consequentially—the broader internationalist story it told.

⁷⁹ After *Lead, Kindly Light* (New York, 1949), Sheean published eleven more books (half of them biographies). *Dorothy and Red*, about the relationship of Dorothy Thompson and Sinclair Lewis, reached the bestseller list. See Justice, *Bestseller Index*, 136, 277–278. Nonetheless, the front-page notice for a lengthy, admiring obituary of Sheean by Paul L. Montgomery in the *New York Times* (March 17, 1975) read, “Vincent Sheean, reporter and author, died in Italy. He was 75 years old. His best-known book was ‘Personal History’ (1935). Page 32.” See Johnson, “A Twentieth Century Seeker,” chaps. 5–8, on Sheean's last decades.

Nancy F. Cott is the Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History at Harvard University and the faculty director of the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. Her books include *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Woman’s Sphere” in New England, 1780–1835* (Yale University Press, 1977), *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (Yale University Press, 1987), and *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Harvard University Press, 2000). Her work in progress traces the interwar youth of selected Americans, highlighting the generational pattern in their ventures abroad, their cultural occupations, and sexual subjectivity.

Malcolm X's Visit to Oxford University: U.S. Civil Rights,
Black Britain, and the Special Relationship on Race

STEPHEN TUCK

ON DECEMBER 3, 1964, A MOST unlikely figure was invited to speak at the University of Oxford Union's end-of-term "Queen and Country" debate: Mr. Malcolm X. The Oxford Union (as distinct from the university's representative student union) was the most prestigious student debating organization in the United Kingdom, regularly welcoming heads of state and stars of screen.¹ It was also the student arm of the British establishment—the training ground for the politically ambitious offspring of Britain's better classes. Malcolm X, by contrast, personified revolution and danger. As *The Sun*, the most widely read British tabloid, explained to readers in a large-font caption under a photograph of Malcolm X: "He wants a separate Negro state in which coloured people could live undisturbed. And many Americans believe he would use violence to get it."² Certainly the FBI did. Its file on Malcolm X, opened in 1953, expanded by the week as he toured Africa during the second half of 1964, giving a series of belligerent speeches and meeting with the leaders of newly independent nations to seek their support in calling for the UN to intervene in U.S. race relations.³

The peculiarity of his presence at the Oxford Union was not lost on Malcolm X. Indeed, his entire trip to Oxford was a study in contrasts. He was met at the rail station by the Union secretary, Henry Brownrigg, who found himself tongue-tied in the presence of a black revolutionary. In an awkward silence, Brownrigg took him to Oxford's preeminent hotel, the Randolph, a Victorian Gothic building with a quaint old-fashioned ambience. But Malcolm X seemed to interpret the choice of a hotel somewhat in need of internal refurbishment as a racist insult, a view reinforced by the receptionist's insistence that he sign his surname in full in the hotel guest book.⁴ The motion that he was to support in the debate, "Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue," was a quotation from, of all people, Barry Goldwater, the outspoken conservative Republican nom-

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¹ Union Society term cards, John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford [hereafter John Johnson Collection], Oxford University Societies, box U3.

² "This Is Malcolm X," *The Sun*, December 3, 1964, 7.

³ See <http://vault.fbi.gov/malcolm-little-malcolm-x/>, pts. 1–14.

⁴ E-mail from Henry Brownrigg to author, September 10, 2010.



FIGURE 1: Malcolm X, speakers at the debate, and members of the Oxford Union Standing Committee, November 3, 1964. Gillman & Soame.

inee for president in 1964 who had opposed the recent passage of the Civil Rights Act.⁵ Even the dress code at the silver service dinner before the debate did not suit him. By tradition, male speakers wore bow ties, which was also part of the distinctive dress code of the Nation of Islam. But having left the religious movement acrimoniously earlier in the year (and now living under a death threat as a result), Malcolm X was the only speaker or committee member to wear a straight tie instead. (The only other person to wear a straight tie was the steward.)

Malcolm X's friend, the black arts poet and filmmaker Lebert Bethune, who was in London in late 1964, could not resist the chance "to see the sacrosanct image of Oxford shattered by the fist of revolutionary logic. So I took a train to Oxford just to be there for the blow."⁶ That blow landed most heavily against Humphrey Berkeley MP, Malcolm X's conservative debating opponent. Berkeley charged Malcolm

⁵ "I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of vice is no virtue." Barry Goldwater, Acceptance Speech, 28th Republican National Convention, San Francisco, July 16, 1964.

⁶ Lebert Bethune, "Malcolm X in Europe," in John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times* (New York, 1969), 226–234, here 232.

X with racism, and mocked him, too, asking, “why not Malcolm Z?” Malcolm X returned Berkeley’s insult: “The speaker that preceded me is one of the best excuses that I know to prove our point,” and threw back his argument: “He is right. X is not my real name.” That had been taken by Berkeley’s forefathers, he said, who had raped and pillaged their way through Africa. “I just put X up there to keep from wearing his name.” The students laughed when Malcolm X feigned ignorance of Shakespeare and then quoted extensively from Hamlet. They listened attentively to his assault on the American media, and even when he blamed President Lyndon Johnson for the recent murder of white missionaries in the Congo.⁷ He lost the vote, but he won plenty of admirers.⁸ Bethune judged it “one of the most stirring speeches I have ever heard delivered by Malcolm X.”⁹

Although Malcolm X’s speech at Oxford has been widely acclaimed, the visit itself generally occupies at most a curious footnote in the civil rights literature.¹⁰ Historians interested in his growing international vision have understandably been drawn to his travels through the Middle East and Africa over his appearance one evening at a fusty old English university. But given the lengths to which he went in order to make the trip, it was clearly important to him. He accepted the invitation even though he was too busy in late 1964 to respond to similar invitations from leading American universities; he agreed to speak for no fee even though his finances were in a parlous state; and he accommodated Oxford’s schedule even though the debate could hardly have come at a more inconvenient time.¹¹ Having been abroad throughout the second half of 1964, he was eager to be home. “I miss you and the children very much,” he wrote to his wife, Betty, in August, “but it looks like another month at least may

⁷ The full audio and a partial video recording of the speech are widely available online.

⁸ “Malcolm X a Speaker in Oxford Debate,” *The Guardian*, December 3, 1964, 8; “Malcolm X on the Sin of Moderation,” *The Guardian*, December 4, 1964, 24.

⁹ Bethune, “Malcolm X in Europe,” 232. See also Tariq Ali, *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties* (London, 2005), 104.

¹⁰ Most studies of Malcolm X mention the speech only briefly (if at all) in terms of Malcolm X’s oratorical skills. Even Manning Marable’s widely praised recent biography gives the Oxford visit but a passing mention. Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York, 2011), 391. Works that cite the debate as an example of Malcolm X’s oratorical skills include Dennis D. Wainstock, *Malcolm X, African American Revolutionary* (Jefferson, N.C., 2009), 135; Eugene Victor Wolfenstein, *The Victims of Democracy: Malcolm X and the Black Revolution* (London, 1989), 135; Louis A. DeCaro, Jr., *On the Side of My People: A Religious Life of Malcolm X* (New York, 1996), 252. Kevin K. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006), 202, briefly discusses the debate in the context of Malcolm X’s views on extremism. Two recent articles on aspects of the context of Malcolm X’s speech underscore the value of focusing on the visit in more depth. Graeme Abernethy, “‘Not Just an American Problem’: Malcolm X in Britain,” *Atlantic Studies* 7, no. 3 (2010): 285–307, explores the symbolism of speaking at one of the intellectual centers of the British Empire. Saladin M. Ambar, “Malcolm X at the Oxford Union,” *Race & Class* 53, no. 4 (April–June 2012): 24–38, places the debate in the context of racial controversies during British and American elections and discusses Malcolm X’s evolving thought on nationalism and racialism. Works by contemporaries that discuss the debate include Bethune, “Malcolm X in Europe”; Ali, *Street Fighting Years*; and Jan Carew, *Ghosts in Our Blood: With Malcolm X in Africa, England and the Caribbean* (London, 1984), 76–80.

¹¹ On putting off replies to other invitations, see Malcolm X Collection: Papers, 1948–1965, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, New York [hereafter MXC], Correspondence, Speaking Engagements, 1964–1965, box 3, folder 19. On his willingness to accept such invitations at less pressured times, see, for example, Malcolm X to Morton Bobowick, July 30, 1964, *ibid.* On the Oxford invitation, see Eric Abrahams to Malcolm X, November 27, 1964, International Correspondence, England 1964, box 3, folder 15 (and on his willingness to accept unusual invitations for money, see Elsa Franklin to Malcolm X, January 12, 1965, and Don Brown to Miss Marilyn Lennon, n.d. 1965, Radio and Television, 1961–1965, box 3, folder 20).

pass before I see you.”¹² In fact, it would be another three. He returned home on November 24. By that time, Betty was heavily pregnant (the baby was born while he was in England), his mother was seriously ill, and the Nation of Islam was seeking to evict his family. Meanwhile, his new organization, Muslim Mosque Inc., was in a complete shambles in his absence.¹³ Yet he still felt, as he put it to one of his closest colleagues, Charles 37X Kenyatta, that “the long-run gains [of a trip to England] outweigh the risks.”¹⁴

The importance that Malcolm X attached to visiting Oxford, and the gains that he hoped to make, point to a little-known British-American dimension of the civil rights years. His talk at Oxford was the first stop in a short tour of four English cities, to be followed by a return trip in February 1965.¹⁵ His visit was but one of many by high-profile U.S. civil rights activists to Britain. Just three days after the Oxford debate, for example, Martin Luther King, Jr., preached to an overflowing congregation at St. Paul's Cathedral.¹⁶ In turn, such visits represented but one aspect of a much broader transfer of ideas, news, and people back and forth between Britain and America, intimately interlinked with the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia—a close relationship over the issue of black equality that served as a counterpart to the so-called special relationship between the two governments.

What distinguished this particular transnational connection from those between the United States or Britain and countries in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean was a widely held perception during the 1960s that the two countries were on a shared trajectory with regard to race matters. The fact that both progressive and conservative activists in both Britain and the U.S. made use of, and were shaped by, this supposedly special relationship over race speaks to debates around the nature of Americanization, transnational history, the civil rights movement, and Atlantic history. In particular, the British-American relationship on race highlights the many different purposes to which the American story could be put, the compatibility of comparative and *histoire croisée* approaches, the early salience of what would come to be known as Black Power ideology in Britain and the United States, and the persistent influence of Atlantic connections even in a global age.

The impact of this other special relationship can be obscured by the power of

¹² On Malcolm X's schedule, see James Shabazz, Muslim Mosque Inc. press release, April 13, 1964, MXC, Muslim Mosque Incorporated, Press Releases and Schedule of Activities, 1964, box 13, folder 6. On missing his family, see Malcolm X to Betty Shabazz, August 4, 1964, Correspondence, Shabazz, Betty, 1960–1964, box 3, folder 2. See also Malcolm X to Betty Shabazz, July 26, 1964, *ibid.*, where he asks her to “Kiss the babies for me.”

¹³ On the organization in a shambles, see Malcolm X to Muhammad Taufik Oweida, November 30, 1964, and Malcolm X to Muhammad Sourour El-Sabban, November 30, 1964, MXC, Other Correspondents, 1962–1965, box 3, folder 4.

¹⁴ Malcolm X to Betty Shabazz, August 4, 1964, and July 26, 1964. Malcolm X planned to be based in the U.S. for most of 1965 to rebuild his organization. Author interview with Peter Bailey, June 9, 2011.

¹⁵ On other destinations in Britain, see Marika Sherwood, “Malcolm X in Manchester and Sheffield,” *North West Labour History Journal* 27 (December 2002): 29–34; Joe Street, “Malcolm X, Smethwick, and the Influence of the African American Freedom Struggle on British Race Relations in the 1960s,” *Journal of Black Studies* 38, no. 6 (2008): 932–950; and Abernethy, “‘Not Just an American Problem.’”

¹⁶ “London Programme for Dr Martin Luther King, 5–8 December 1964,” Bayard Rustin Papers (microfilm), Alphabetical Subject File, Martin Luther King, Nobel Peace Prize, 1964, reel 3, no. 0258. King was en route to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. The following year, the novelist James Baldwin would speak at the Cambridge University Union, and in 1967, Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael would speak at a Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation in London.

national narratives, and overshadowed by the well-known international links between Western civil rights campaigns and anticolonial nationalist movements.¹⁷ But when the travels of a particular person are followed to a particular place, the connections quickly become apparent. Set in the context of wider British, American, and global connections related to civil rights, immigration, and citizenship, Malcolm X's travels to England provide an especially apposite journey to follow. The very fact that he was invited to Oxford highlights the asymmetrical nature of the relationship and the appeal of Black Power, yet his encounter with what turned out to be a vibrant Oxford movement concerned with civil rights demonstrates the need to de-center the United States in the study of the modern global anti-racist struggle. While in England, Malcolm X would come to view the two countries as directly comparable in terms of racial conditions, reflecting a common presumption that was misguided in many ways, yet led to the stories of protest in Britain and the United States becoming deeply entangled. That he and his Oxford hosts would seek to use the visit for their own purposes points to the multiple ways in which British and American activists used the transnational relationship to strengthen their domestic campaigns. And finally, what turned out to be the considerable consequences of his time in Oxford reveal the transformative, yet often unexpected, impact of these transatlantic connections—not just on the course of British activism, but even on such a celebrated global figure as Malcolm X.

JUST AS HISTORIANS HAVE TENDED to overlook the course and consequences of Malcolm X's trip to Oxford, they have devoted little attention to the broader issue of British-American links during the civil rights era.¹⁸ This lacuna in the literature

¹⁷ In both countries, many anti-racist activists were focused on forcing the passage of national legislation rather than pressuring international bodies. Tony Ballantyne calls for the "nation-state" not to be "cast aside entirely [in transnational/world history] but rather it is put firmly in its place, as one, albeit an often significant, structure that governs human action and cross-cultural engagement." Ballantyne, "Putting the Nation in Its Place? World History and C. A. Bayly's *The Birth of the Modern World*," in Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, eds., *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra, 2006), 23–43, here 32. In this case the nation was extremely significant, and indeed, one of the reasons that transnational connections were so strong was that activists sought to connect with those challenging a (supposedly) similar nation-state.

¹⁸ For example, Gerald Horne's call for a transnational research agenda discusses links between African Americans and most parts of the world during the civil rights era but does not mention Britain and Europe. Horne, "Toward a Transnational Research Agenda for African American History in the 21st Century," *Journal of African American History* 91, no. 3 (2006): 288–303. Notable exceptions, which have tended to focus on the impact of high-profile African American visitors on Britain, include Street, "Malcolm X, Smethwick, and the Influence of the African American Freedom Struggle"; Brian Ward, "A King in Newcastle: Martin Luther King, Jr. and British Race Relations, 1967–1968," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (1995): 599–632; and Mike Sewell, "British Responses to Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement," in Anthony Badger and Brian Ward, eds., *Martin Luther King and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (Basingstoke, 1996), 194–212. Recent, mostly unpublished research on connections or comparisons between African Americans and black Britons heralds the emergence of a new field in the near future. See, for example, Joshua Bruce Guild, "You Can't Go Home Again: Migration, Citizenship, and Black Community in Postwar New York and London" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2007); Kennetta Perry, "Black Migrants, Citizenship and the Transnational Politics of Race in Postwar Britain" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 2007); Rosalind Eleanor Wild, "'Black Was the Colour of Our Fight': Black Power in Britain, 1955–1976" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 2008); and Anne-Marie Angelo, "The Black Panthers in London, 1967–1972: A Diasporic Struggle Navigates the Black Atlantic," *Radical History Review* 103 (Winter 2009): 17–35.

stands in stark contrast to the extensive historical scholarship on antebellum British-American connections over slavery, and persists despite the fact that black studies scholars have been in the vanguard of the transnational turn. As the historian of African American and global black history Robin D. G. Kelley observed, "black studies . . . were diasporic from their inception." Precisely because of this diasporic framework, however, the first African American historians "always began in Africa" rather than Europe.¹⁹ There is an emerging interest in the international context of both the British and particularly the U.S. struggles over racial equality in the mid-twentieth century.²⁰ But historians of black Britain have mostly looked to the important connections with the British Commonwealth.²¹ For their part, scholars of the U.S. civil rights movement have focused on the Cold War context and links with postcolonial nations or the Communist Bloc—and the United States has tended to remain at the center of the analysis in the so-called American century.²²

A closer look at Malcolm X's travels to England, however, shows that the British-American relationship over race was something far more complicated, and far more

¹⁹ Robin D. G. Kelley, "'But a Local Phase of a World Problem': Black History's Global Vision, 1883–1950," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (1999): 1045–1077, here 1045, 1051. Among numerous works on the African American diaspora, see Michael L. Conniff and Thomas J. Davis, *Africans in the Americas: A History of the Black Diaspora* (New York, 1994); Clare Corbould, *Becoming African Americans: Black Public Life in Harlem, 1919–1939* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009); Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (London, 1998); and Ronald Segal, *The Black Diaspora: Five Centuries of the Black Experience outside Africa* (New York, 1995). On antebellum connections, see Van Gosse, "'As a Nation, the English Are Our Friends': The Emergence of African American Politics in the British Atlantic World, 1772–1861," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 4 (October 2008): 1003–1028.

²⁰ On calls for (or surveys of) the internationalizing of African American history in the modern era that downplay Europe, see Horne, "Toward a Transnational Research Agenda for African American History"; Kelley, "'But a Local Phase of a World Problem'"; Earl Lewis, "To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (June 1995): 765–787.

²¹ See, for example, Winston James, "The Black Experience in Twentieth-Century Britain," in Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins, eds., *Black Experience and the Empire* (Oxford, 2004), 347–386. On connections between black Britons and the anti-apartheid movement, see the articles in *Liberation Struggles, Exile and International Solidarity*, Special Issue, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, no. 2 (2009); Elizabeth Williams, "We Shall Not Be Free until South Africa Is Free! The Anti-Apartheid Activity of Black Britons" (Ph.D. diss., Birkbeck College, 2009). In contrast to the historical literature, cultural studies scholarship has extensively explored the connection with the United States, notably Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London, 1993). Generally, the historical literature on black Britain is less extensive than its American counterpart. For an overview, see Onyekachi Wambu, ed., *Empire Windrush: Fifty Years of Writing about Black Britain* (London, 1998). Two classic accounts are Edward Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country: West Indians and the Notting Hill White Riots* (London, 1988); and Dilip Hiro, *Black British, White British* (London, 1991).

²² See, for example, Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950* (New York, 2008); James H. Meriwether, *Proudly We Can Be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935–1961* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York, 2008); Michael L. Clemons and Charles E. Jones, "Global Solidarity: The Black Panther Party in the International Arena," in Kathleen Cleaver and George Katsiaficas, *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Black Panthers and Their Legacy* (New York, 2001), 20–39. The ubiquity of U.S. terms such as "Jim Crow" and "the civil rights movement" is revealing. See Gary Helm Darden, "The New Empire in the 'New South': Jim Crow in the Global Frontier of High Imperialism and Decolonization," *Southern Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (2009): 8–25. On the development of transnational history as "America and the world," see Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism," *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 421–439, here 424. It is somewhat ironic that this is as true of work on the "other America" as it is with the history of American policy, business, and popular culture.

significant, than a mere adjunct to, or spillover from, the U.S. civil rights movement. To be sure, the relationship was imbalanced, as indeed was the special relationship between the two governments. After all, the mid-twentieth century was, as transnational historian Ian Tyrrell aptly put it, the “high noon of American hegemony.”²³ By 1964, Malcolm X had become the global icon of black militancy. That was why he was invited to Oxford. But it was a two-way relationship nonetheless, one that was distinct from the bilateral relationships between Western and postcolonial countries in terms of both its development and its impact. Moreover, because of the Cold War and British Commonwealth frameworks, and the strategic location of Britain and the U.S. in their respective hemispheres, the two countries were thoroughfares for activists, news, and ideas from every continent. In other words, America was not the starting point of this exchange, nor Britain the final destination.

Indeed, the reason that Malcolm X wrote to accept the invitation “without hesitation” was his recognition that Oxford activists were already “on fire” against racial discrimination.²⁴ In 1964, the Union had become a flashpoint of British and Commonwealth anti-racist protest politics. The organization’s president that semester, Eric Abrahams, was—most unusually—a Jamaican.²⁵ Highly intelligent (a Rhodes Scholar studying law), politically savvy, an ardent pan-Africanist, and a fine orator, Abrahams was something of a miniature version of Malcolm X.²⁶ He had even recently returned from a lecture tour in the Middle East. Moreover, the Union treasurer was a Pakistani student, Tariq Ali, an outspoken left-wing activist. When introducing the debate, Abrahams joked that Ali was Oxford’s very own red Muslim, to match the renowned black Muslim visitor.²⁷ Many other, mostly white, Union members had been involved in anti-apartheid campaigns since their adolescence.²⁸ In other words, Malcolm X knew he would be ensured of a warm welcome.

The fuel for this “fire” was the recent rapid racial change in the city. Oxford was hardly witnessing the growth of a new Harlem, but with more than 1,000 immigrants from South Asia working in its car factories and bus system, the city had the fourth-fastest rate of increase in immigration in the country during the 1950s. The spark came that summer, when Abrahams and Ali joined demonstrations against the visit

²³ Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (Basingstoke, 2007), 171. See also Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism,” 429. Scholars have also discussed in depth the Americanization of British culture. See, for example, Adrian Horn, *Juke Box Britain: Americanisation and Youth Culture, 1945–60* (Manchester, 2009).

²⁴ E-mail to author from Eric Abrahams, July 30, 2010. See also Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 101.

²⁵ Norman Manley was the first Jamaican president of the Union. In 1956, Rhodes Scholar Roy Dickson was elected president, and one Union member resigned in protest. *Racial Unity Bulletin* 5, no. 148 (April 1956).

²⁶ “W. Indian President of Union,” *Oxford Mail*, June 13, 1964, 5; “Oxford Union Election of West Indian,” *London Times*, June 11, 1964, 8. On his pan-Africanism, see Ellis Komey, “What Is a Rhodes Scholar?,” *Flamingo*, December 1962, 48.

²⁷ “Historic Term for Tariq Ali,” *Oxford Mail*, June 18, 1965, 7.

²⁸ E-mail to author from Anthony Shaw, September 13, 2010. Some had joined anti-apartheid organizations as teenagers. My thanks to Dr. John Davis, Oxford, for sharing this point from his interviews with British 1968 activists. On the role of students in challenging racial inequality, see Daniel Oakman, “Student Sojourners: Museums and the Transnational Lives of International Students,” *National Identities* 12, no. 4 (2010): 397–412; Jason C. Parker, “‘Made-in-America Revolutions’? The ‘Black University’ and the American Role in the Decolonization of the Black Atlantic,” *Journal of American History* 96, no. 3 (2009): 727–750. On the importance of the transient movement of people across borders, see T. Faist, “Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 2 (2000): 189–222.

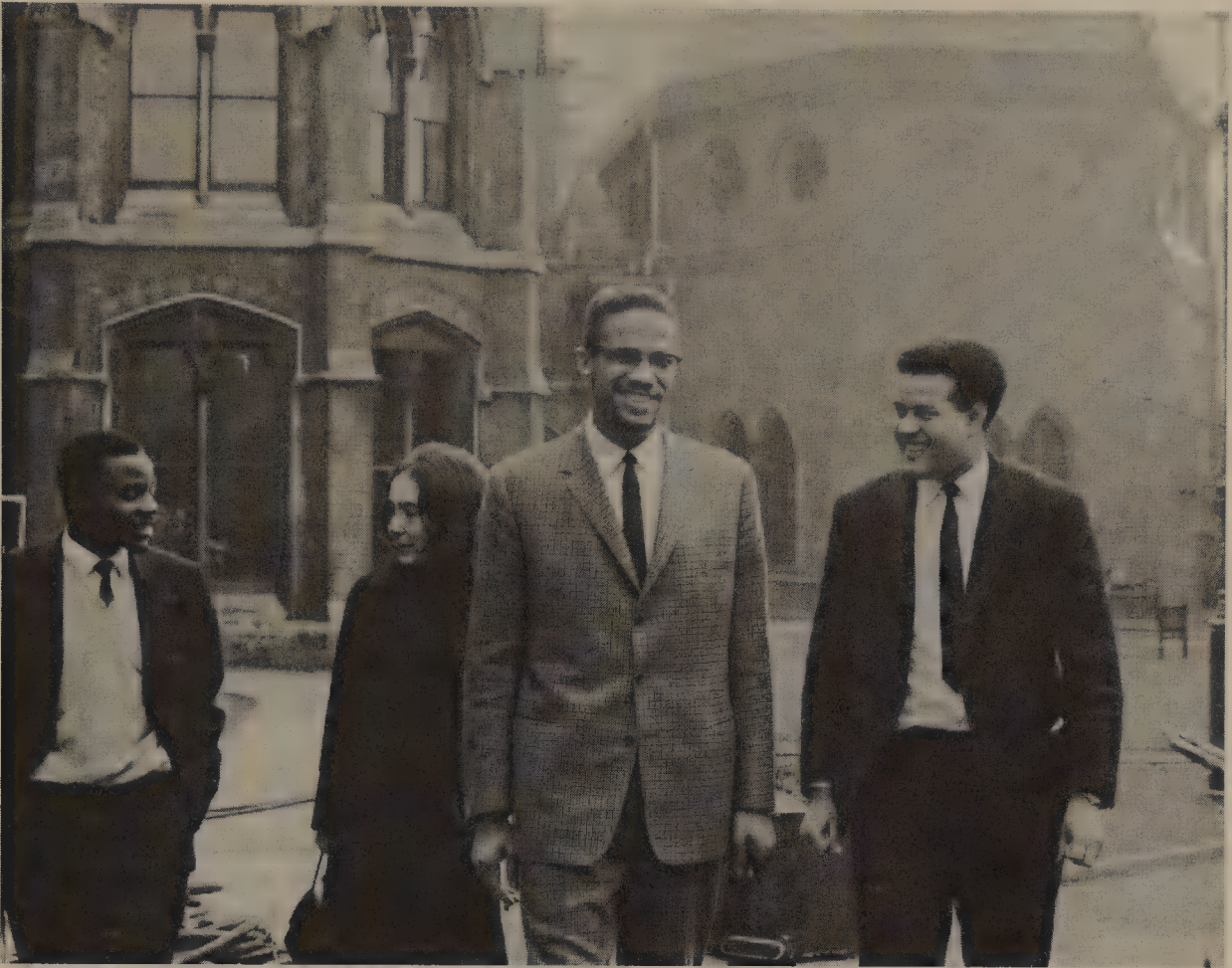


FIGURE 2: Malcolm X and Oxford Union president Eric Abrahams outside the Oxford Union. Keystone/Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

of the South African ambassador, who had been invited to speak to Oxford's conservative association.²⁹ The university proctors rusticated them, suspending them until the fall term for refusing to move aside when asked.³⁰ In the face of public criticism (from former Union leaders, mostly), the proctors reduced the sentence to gating, with the evening curfew to be lifted only for Union debates.³¹ On the eve of their gating, and after an alcohol-fueled "freedom party," Ali and a friend reenacted—after a mere six-century hiatus—the tradition of burning an effigy of a proctor in the city center. A watching university bulldog (proctorial enforcer) admitted, "They've got a lot of guts."³²

By the time of his arrival, however, Oxford was hotter than Malcolm X had an-

²⁹ "Crowd Riots as S. Africa Envoy Leaves Hall," *London Times*, June 18, 1964, 14. For broader international connections between those sympathetic to, or supportive of, racial hierarchies, see Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Melbourne, 2008); Bill Schwarz, *The White Man's World* (New York, 2011).

³⁰ "Oxford to 'Gate' Next Union President," *Daily Telegraph*, June 20, 1964, 9. Six undergraduates in total were rusticated; Ali and Abrahams, as foreign students, did not have a home in England to go to.

³¹ Osbert Lancaster, "Pocket Cartoon," *Daily Express*, June 20, 1964, 1; "MPs Hit at Oxford Ban on Politics," *Daily Herald*, June 24, 1964, 9. Some of the public outcry was due to concern for the forthcoming term's debates, rather than for Abrahams. "Union Debates 'Standstill' Fear," *Daily Telegraph*, June 20, 1964, 9. "Gating" meant being restricted to the college premises each evening.

³² "Really," clipping from *Cherwell*, October 14, 1964.

anticipated.³³ On November 27, the university's Joint Action Committee against Racial Intolerance (JACARI)—its largest student organization, which had organized the anti-apartheid demonstrations—released a report in which it was revealed that in a recent survey, 62 percent of Oxford's landladies had said they would not accept an Asian or African student as a lodger.³⁴ The problem for the university was that despite its declaration of nondiscrimination, the landladies were registered with the university's Delegacy of Lodgings. The national press picked up the story.³⁵ And then Malcolm X turned up to speak. His presence made Oxford a little hotter still, attracting an unprecedented number of black students to the Union for the debate, and elevating a local story into one with international significance. The debate was carried by the BBC.³⁶ The proctors kept a fearful eye on unrest within the university and on unwanted attention from without.

Oxford also provided Malcolm X with an entry point for connecting with the next generation of African and Islamic leaders. Because of recent increases in Commonwealth student funding, more than 1,000 overseas students were based in Oxford in 1964, part of a cohort of some 40,000 such students across Britain.³⁷ During his travels in Africa and the Middle East that year, Malcolm X had jotted down the names and addresses of dozens of young African and Islamic students who were studying in Britain.³⁸ From Oxford he traveled to the Universities of Manchester and Sheffield, and then to the Council of African Organizations in London (a network of Europe-based student anticolonial groups).³⁹ He would return to England in February, to give the keynote address at the council, speak at the London School of Economics, and try to visit Paris, and he planned to visit England again in the sum-

³³ There were further demonstrations about apartheid, too. Ali and Abrahams watched from just far enough away to comply with proctorial demands. "Tories Smuggle Guest into Meeting," clipping from *Cherwell*, November 25, 1964.

³⁴ Abrahams and Ali were both members. On membership, see "JACARI Support," *Oxford Mail*, October 15, 1963, 4. On demonstrations, see "S.A. Arms Protest by Six Oxford Students," *Oxford Mail*, February 23, 1962, 1; "March Banned Protest Continues," *Cherwell*, February 2, 1962, 3; "Protest March against the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill, Sunday, February 4, 1962," flyer, Joint Action Committee against Racial Intolerance Files, 1961–64, PR 3/2/313, University Archives, Duke Humfrey's Library, University of Oxford [hereafter JACARI Files]. On the survey, see "62% of Landladies Are Prejudiced," *Oxford Isis*, November 25, 1964, 1. For the full report, see JACARI, *Survey on Oxford Lodgings* (Oxford, 1964); or for a concise version, see Robert Serpell and Clive Sneddon, "Colour Prejudice and Oxford Landladies," *Race* 6, no. 4 (1965): 322–333.

³⁵ "Oxford Claims Prejudice by Landladies," *The Guardian*, November 26, 1964, 5; "Integration and the Student," submitted by National Union of Students to Government Committee on Integration under chairmanship of Mr Maurice Foley, n.d., 10, Sivanandan Collection, Ethnicity and Migration Collections, University of Warwick Library, folder 01/04/04/01/04/02/01–14.

³⁶ Two pundits in the studio refuted Malcolm X's "wildly exaggerated" picture of the U.S. "Millions of Britons See Malcolm X in T.V. Broadcast of Debate at Oxford," *The Militant*, December 14, 1964, 2.

³⁷ Delegacy of Lodging Houses, Oxford University Archives [hereafter DLH], Correspondence with the Accommodation Officers of Other Universities, 1924–68, 1. Various Universities with Respect to Accommodation for Overseas Students, 1963–4, LHD/C/7/1 [hereafter Overseas Students File]; "City to Tackle Big Problem," clipping from *Oxford Mail*, June 3, 1960. Increased funding was part of the attempt to forge a commonwealth in the wake of the end of empire.

³⁸ See notes in Travel Diary, July–Nov. 1964, MXC, Diaries, box 9, folder 6.

³⁹ Malcolm X's visits to the Universities of Manchester and Sheffield on subsequent days fueled existing local controversies, too. "Malcolm X Row," *Yorkshire Post*, December 2, 1964, 5; "Malcolm X to Meet Colour Row Students," clipping from *The Sun*, December 2, 1964.

mer.⁴⁰ Thus in a sense, the trips to England were intended to be the third leg of his travels to the Middle East and Africa.

What was true in Oxford was true across the country. The U.S. civil rights movement was not simply transferred to a blank canvas with regard to domestic British anti-racist activism. The historically small black British community had a long history of organization, as, indeed, did white anti-immigration activists and pacifist/internationalist members of the British Labour Party.⁴¹ Black and white Britons had long-standing international connections, too, with both anticolonial movements and the U.S. black freedom struggle. Heirs of the British abolitionist tradition had welcomed African American visitors since the nineteenth century.⁴² During the 1930s, a left-leaning anticolonial transatlantic network, including such luminaries as Trinidadian intellectual C. L. R. James and future Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah, had emerged with London as its hub.⁴³ As its foremost African American spokesman, the Communist sympathizer and brilliant actor Paul Robeson, put it, "I discovered Africa in London." Although the American arm of that network collapsed during the early Cold War, London would remain an important site for black Atlantic intellectuals and anticolonial organizing. Hence Malcolm X's visits to the Council of African Organizations, and the attention he would devote to magazines that were based in London but oriented to the Caribbean and Africa.⁴⁴

Indeed, a new wave of mass migration and the rise of nationalist and civil rights struggles during the mid-twentieth century reinvigorated the salience of the so-called black Atlantic world, and the strategic position of Britain within it.⁴⁵ By the time of

⁴⁰ Kojo Amoo-Gottfried to Malcolm X, December 22, 1964, MXC, box 3, folder 15. See *Magnet: The Voice of the Afro-Asian Caribbean Peoples*, February 27–March 12, 1965, 1.

⁴¹ David Killingray, "'To Do Something for the Race': Harold Moody and the League of Coloured Peoples," in Bill Schwarz, ed., *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain* (Manchester, 2003), 51–70; S. Lawrence to W. H. Cornish, March 18, 1953, Public Record Office, Kew, UK [hereafter PRO], Home Office Records, HO 344/106. See also Winston James, "The Black Experience in Twentieth-Century Britain"; Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, trans. Ann Keep (London, 1974); Hakim Adi, *West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism* (London, 1998); Ron Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain* (Aldershot, 1987); and Schwarz, *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain*. Labour MP Fenner Brockway (who introduced a racial discrimination bill—to no avail—virtually every year from 1955) could trace his heritage back to Victorian Nonconformity. Anti-immigration activists stood in the tradition of Oswald Mosley's interwar British Union of Fascists—indeed, Mosley remained one of the leading advocates of immigration restriction during the 1960s.

⁴² Frederick Douglass, James Weldon Johnson, Booker T. Washington, Ida B. Wells, and Ralph Bunche all made their mark in Britain. The Jubilee Singers caused a sensation in the mid-nineteenth century. Support for the anti-lynching campaign was particularly strong, especially in Wales. On earlier connections, see Gosse, "'As a Nation, the English Are Our Friends.'" On the interconnected history of British and Anglo-American imperial thought during the later nineteenth century, see Paul Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002): 1315–1353.

⁴³ The list of young leaders who were resident in Britain and attended the fifth Pan-African Conference in Manchester in 1945, presided over by W. E. B. Du Bois, reads like a Who's Who of future giants of national independence movements. See A. Sivanandan, "From Resistance to Rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean Struggles in Britain," *Race and Class* 23, no. 2–3 (October 1981): 111–152; Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); and Susan D. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (Princeton, N.J., 2012).

⁴⁴ On the collapse, see Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*, 118–120. Robeson, though, remained a fixture on the BBC.

⁴⁵ For calls to consider the relevance of Atlantic history beyond the usual early-nineteenth-century end date, see Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (New York, 2009), 21; and Donna Gabaccia, "A Long Atlantic in a Wider World," *Atlantic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2004):

Malcolm X's visit, rapid non-white immigration into Britain—more than half a million people in the preceding decade, from the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia—meant that for the first time there were direct connections between African Americans and a sizable community of resident non-white Britons.⁴⁶ As transnational scholarship reminds us, how these connections were made, and the very process of connecting, mattered. Some Caribbean-born British immigrants had lived in the U.S., notably Claudia Jones, a Communist exiled from her home in Harlem, who became one of London's most influential anti-racist organizers in the late 1950s.⁴⁷ More generally, the new ease of air travel enabled African American leaders to make short trips across the ocean.⁴⁸ In reverse, white students and both liberal and conservative politicians flocked to the United States to see civil rights protests first-hand.⁴⁹ Some of the JACARI members who welcomed Malcolm X to Oxford had spent time with the Freedom Riders in the American South.⁵⁰

For those who could not afford to make the journey, the revolutionary changes taking place in the media meant they did not have to. The classic years of civil rights protest coincided with the first generation of mass British and American television ownership.⁵¹ With the set-piece demonstrations of the U.S. civil rights movement

1–27. On the black Atlantic, see Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*. For this essay, though, “racial” would be a more appropriate adjective than “black,” since white politicians, journalists, and social scientists were influenced by developments in race relations around the Atlantic. Due to high-speed communications and the reach of the British Empire, the modern racial Atlantic connected continents rather than coastlines, and was directly linked to South Asia, too (though as Greene and Morgan argue, the salience of the Atlantic need not be set in opposition to other framings).

⁴⁶ The estimated number of Commonwealth immigrants for 1952–1962 (from the start of mass immigration to the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigration Act) was 485,300, including 272,450 from the Caribbean. The United States had a long history of Caribbean immigration, too, although the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 restricted such immigration, and inadvertently hastened emigration from the Caribbean to Britain. American race leaders during the 1960s often had their own direct links to the Caribbean. Stokely Carmichael, for example, was born in Trinidad.

⁴⁷ On the influence of Claudia Jones on British activism, and the effect on her of moving to London, see Carole Boyce Davies, *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones* (Durham, N.C., 2008); Claudia Jones, “The Caribbean Community in Britain,” *Freedomways* 4, no. 3 (Summer 1964): 341–357. Other influential Caribbean-born immigrants who had lived in the United States included Amy Ashwood Garvey, whose Association for the Advancement of Coloured People spearheaded the first response to the Notting Hill riot (her late husband, “Back to Africa” leader Marcus Garvey, who was deported from America, also ended up in London, from 1935 until his death in 1940), and Kelso Cochrane, whose murder (and the fact that the killers were not brought to justice) sparked an important stage in black British organizing. Police report, forwarded by Gvnr Leeward Islands to Secretary of State, September 21, 1959, from Police, Antigua, June 9, 1959, PRO, Central Office Records, CO 1031/2541. Paul Robeson and his wife, Eslanda, were also mainstays of Britain's black cultural and political scene for much of this period.

⁴⁸ For example, JACARI also lined up U.S. student leaders James Forman and Bob Moses. Trinity Term 1964 and Hilary Term 1966 term cards, John Johnson Collection, box J5.

⁴⁹ Numerous British visitors recall the transformative impact of seeing the U.S. movement firsthand. Recollections by Jonathan Steele, Lady Carla Carlisle, and Anthony King, “Movement and Memory,” Oxford Centre for Research in US History (OxCRUSH) conference, 2004. The presence of British visitors occasionally influenced local U.S. race struggles. The arrest of a British student, Constance Lever, in Monroe, North Carolina, sparked a riot. Lever, “Monroe Doctrine,” *The Spectator*, September 15, 1961, 348. Bristol activist Paul Stephenson—by virtue of being a foreigner—was the first black visitor at an all-white hotel in Virginia. Author interview with Paul Stephenson, June 16, 2011.

⁵⁰ Author interview with former JACARI president Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, May 18, 2011. See also Mary Proudfoot to Anthony Shaw, May 7, 1964, JACARI Files.

⁵¹ In 1947, fewer than 15,000 Britons had a television license. Within a decade, 4.5 million did (and twice that number had a radio license). Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge, 2005), 191–195.

staged for dramatic effect, it is no surprise that the mainstream British media followed the action like a soap opera. So, too, did the fast-expanding black British print press—not least because the editors of the most influential newspaper, the *West Indian Gazette*, and the most popular glossy magazine, *Flamingo*, had both come to London from the United States. In turn, the American press began to cover British race news in depth after anti-immigrant riots in Notting Hill, London, and Nottingham in 1958. By the time Malcolm X came to Oxford, then, news and ideas and people traveling between Britain and the United States were barely delayed by the Atlantic crossing.⁵² More important, though, is why the ocean was so regularly crossed in connection with the issue of black equality, and what difference the crossings made.

TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY MAY HAVE started out (at least in its ca. 1990s American incarnation) as something of a protean buzzword, but scholars have begun to pay closer attention to the ways in which such history should be written.⁵³ In particular, proponents of entangled and comparative histories have taken their stand. At root, the debate involves calls by advocates of entangled history for studies that can “escape the weight of . . . pre-established national formatting,” and by comparativists for studies with global reach that can avoid becoming “merely speculative or feuilletonistic.”⁵⁴ What is striking about the British-American transnational relationship over race, though, is that both approaches are applicable, compatible—and necessary.⁵⁵

In the first place, for all the inspiration that black Britons and African Americans

⁵² On the changing nature, and influence, of the modern Atlantic crossing, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik Seeman, eds., *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2006); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

⁵³ On protean use, see David Thelen, “The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History,” *The Nation and Beyond*, Special Issue, *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999): 965–975, here 968; Ian Tyrrell, “Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice,” *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 3 (2009): 453–474.

⁵⁴ Jürgen Kocka, “Comparison and Beyond,” *History and Theory* 42, no. 1 (2003): 39–44, here 44; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45 (February 2006): 30–50, here 46. Kocka argues that “Analytically, the comparative approach is indispensable for asking and answering causal questions” (40). For an earlier defense of comparison, see George M. Fredrickson, “From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History,” *Journal of American History* 82, no. 2 (1995): 587–604, here 590. See also Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor, “Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History: Definitions,” in Cohen and O’Connor, eds., *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (London, 2004), ix–xxiv; C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History,” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1441–1464; the articles in “AHR Forum: Entangled Empires in the Atlantic World,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (June 2007): 710–799; Kiran Klaus Patel, “‘Transnations’ among ‘Transnations’? The Debate on Transnational History in the United States and Germany,” Center for European Studies Working Paper Series, no. 159 (2008), https://ces.fas.harvard.edu/#/publications/docs/pdfs/CES_159.pdf.

⁵⁵ The call to combine comparison with connection has a long history. Indeed, Marc Bloch argued that comparison worked best in countries that were connected, contemporary, and “exercising a constant mutual influence.” Bloch, “A Contribution towards a Comparative History of European Societies,” in Bloch, *Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe: Selected Papers*, trans. J. E. Anderson (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), 44–81, here 47. See also Patel, “‘Transnations’ among ‘Transnations’?”; and Tyrrell, “Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History,” 18.

may have drawn from anticolonial movements, their own situations were much more analogous. Both black Britons and African Americans were minority non-white groups demanding equality in Western capitalist democracies that prided themselves on their liberal creeds. More analogous, though, does not mean neatly comparable. There were important differences between the two contexts. The U.S. had a domestic history of removing, enslaving, and subjugating its non-white population, but in the British imperial imagination, “coloured people” were subjects to nurture, even a source of pride. (This imagination, of course, ignored Britain’s historic role in the slave trade, and was rudely exposed when immigrants from former colonies took up British citizenship in large numbers. The government swiftly passed an act restricting non-white immigration in 1962.)⁵⁶ In the United States, African Americans had a highly developed institutional structure, while mass protest and litigation had won important victories before the civil rights movement.⁵⁷ The British non-white population, by contrast, began to increase significantly only in the 1950s, with immigration from the Caribbean, South Asia, and Africa. As a result, people of color in Britain were lumped together (and self-identified) as black, whereas in the United States, Asian, Hispanic, and African American groups often asserted their differences.⁵⁸ One Indian immigrant complained to a British interviewer, “When I was in U.S.A. I was not considered as a coloured man.”⁵⁹

Yet for all the differences, many Americans and Britons came to perceive their racial situations as comparable. Malcolm X was struck by the common portrayals of African Americans and black Britons in the media. “Press calls us racists, imagery bad, crime stats fed, white communities actually high crime, false image, justify police state,” he wrote in his notebook, “leads to vandalism, hoodlumism, same in Britain, colored communities, divide and conquer.”⁶⁰ On the British side, the title of a lead editorial in 1963 in the black London weekly the *West Indies Observer* described British racial discrimination as “Mr James Crow, Esq.”⁶¹ British sociologists of race tested their nation’s development against the American example. Dr. Kenneth Little, founding father of the discipline in the UK, popularized the concept of a “British dilemma” (imperial creed of equal citizenship but discrimination in practice) akin to Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal’s influential 1944 study *An American Dilemma*.⁶² Politicians and journalists—on the left and right—frequently spoke of the

⁵⁶ The Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed under a Conservative government and upheld by the Labour government of 1964. Controversially, it did not apply to (white) Irish immigrants. On U.S. immigration, see Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, N.J., 2004). On U.S. immigration policy and civil rights, see Hugh Davis Graham, *Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Immigration Policy and Affirmative Action in America* (New York, 2002).

⁵⁷ See, for example, Adam Fairclough, *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890–2000* (London, 2002); Robert J. Norrell, *The House I Live In: Race in the American Century* (New York, 2005).

⁵⁸ On the U.S., see Stephen Tuck, *We Ain’t What We Ought To Be: The Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010). On Britain, see Karen Fog Olwig, *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (Durham, N.C., 2007).

⁵⁹ W. W. Daniel, *Racial Discrimination in England: Based on the P.E.P. Report* (London, 1968), 48.

⁶⁰ Notes, Outlines for Speeches, 1964–1965, MXC, box 9, folder 8.

⁶¹ “Editorially Speaking: Mr James Crow, Esq.,” *West Indies Observer* 1, no. 16 (March 23, 1963): 4.

⁶² K. L. Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London, 1947). See also Clarence Senior, “Race Relations and Labor Supply in Great Britain,” *Social Problems* 4, no. 4 (1957): 302–312.

"American-style" situation that Britain found itself in, and assumed that the countries were on the same path. Commonwealth leaders, including Jamaican premier Norman Manley, drew the comparison between the British and U.S. situations, too.⁶³

Those making the comparison had a compelling narrative to tell. Some of the landmark moments of racial strife in the two countries did seem to be uncannily similar. The anti-black riots in Nottingham and London in 1958 followed hot on the heels of mobs defending white schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, and white neighborhoods in Levittown, Pennsylvania. The outrage that followed the murder of Antiguan immigrant Kelso Cochrane in London in 1959 paralleled that surrounding Emmett Till's murder in Mississippi in 1955—in both cases the obvious perpetrators were not brought to justice. Southern U.S. politicians who played the "nigra" card had their counterparts in British anti-immigrant politicians who warned, "If you want a nigger for your neighbour, vote Labour." The British Race Relations Act of 1965 followed the American Civil Rights Act of 1964. Striking, too, were the similar justifications for racial discrimination. In angry letters to the proctors, Oxford's landladies defended the housing color bar by unwittingly invoking the American shibboleths of homeowners' rights and anti-Communism. And above all, like U.S. segregationists, they raised the specter of black men's sexual promiscuity.⁶⁴

It was because of these contemporary assumptions about comparability that the two stories became deeply entangled. British Black Power activists used Malcolm X's slogan "By any means necessary" even though they had no intention of pursuing an armed struggle.⁶⁵ In everyday British language, some black neighborhoods were called Little Harlems, and the word "coloured" to describe non-white peoples was a U.S. import. Political decisions about civil rights and immigration legislation—particularly by Britons—were often made in the light of perceptions about the other side of the Atlantic. During an interview in 2010, Godfrey Hodgson, the London *Times* correspondent on racial conditions in the 1950s, chuckled when he recalled the "rush to bring inappropriate remedies across from America."⁶⁶ He had good reason to recall the rush. For example, when the prime minister appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury to head a committee on racial conditions, the prelate declared that he was "anxious to learn of similar problems in America first hand." So when the Motown vocal group the Temptations came to London in 1970 to promote their

⁶³ "Coloured Audience Shouts Down M.P.," *The Guardian*, September 8, 1958.

⁶⁴ Miss M. Eagle to Secretary of the Delegacy of Lodgings, Mrs. Lord to Secretary, and Anonymous to Secretary, November 26, 1964, DLH, Overseas Students File. Abrahams and Ali were pictured in the local Oxford press sipping champagne with scantily clad young white female aristocrats at the Union Ball. "I was assured [that] six topless girls [would come]," Abrahams told reporters, tackling the issue head on. "I am very disappointed." Photograph and caption, *Oxford Mail*, December 5, 1964, 5. See also "Love in a Cold Climate," *Spear*, November 1963, 15. On U.S. homeowners' rights, see Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, N.J., 2005). On gender and American segregation, see Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

⁶⁵ See, for example, *Black Power Newsletter: Voice of the Universal Coloured Peoples' Association*, n.d., 4, Institute of Race Relations, London [hereafter IRR], folder 01/04/03/02/044, and numerous other black power pamphlets in adjacent files. British MPs debated whether Malcolm X should be allowed into the country. "Mr. Malcolm Little," HC Deb 18 February 1965, vol. 706, c264W, 81 and 82, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1965/feb/18/mr-malcolm-little.

⁶⁶ Author interview with Godfrey Hodgson, May 20, 2010.



FIGURE 3: Vicky [Victor Weisz], *Daily Mirror*, September 5, 1958. Commentators on both sides of the Atlantic suggested that those involved in anti-immigrant violence in Nottingham and London in 1958 had drawn inspiration from Arkansas governor Faubus's defense of segregation at Little Rock Central High School the previous year. © Mirrorpix.

new album, he was quick to invite them to Lambeth Palace—before blessing them ahead of their upcoming tour.⁶⁷

Hodgson was right to recall the inappropriateness, too. The Race Relations Act of 1965, which was modeled on far-reaching U.S. federal and state legislation against *de jure* discrimination, made little impact on *de facto* employment and housing discrimination in Britain (this critique of the legislation's limitations was, in fact, al-

⁶⁷ "The Archbishop of Canterbury Talks with the Temptations," *Chicago Defender*, February 3, 1970, 11; "The Archbishop of Canterbury Receives Motown's Temptations," *Philadelphia Tribune*, February 3, 1970, 18. See also Mark Bonham Carter, "Measures against Discrimination: The North American Scene," *Race* 9, no. 1 (1967): 1–26, here 5; Anthony Lester, *Justice in the American South* (London, 1964).

ready being made by many African American leaders).⁶⁸ By the same token, U.S. protest techniques did not travel well to a different context.⁶⁹ Because Britain did not have Jim Crow-style segregation, the classic tactics of the civil rights movement were not applicable.⁷⁰ Black Power, with its explicit international vision, was a better fit for immigrants angered by immigration restrictions and frustrated by the moderate response of major black equality organizations. Its Islamist connections appealed to London's East End Bengali community, too. Even so, U.S. Black Power's calls for black community control, cultural nationalism, and armed self-defense were lost in translation because non-white Britons represented less than 3 percent of the population, half were from Asia with long-established cultural traditions, and virtually none owned guns.⁷¹ As for Oxford, Malcolm X's message would have been more directly relevant to the immigrant workers in the car plants than to his hosts in the Union. The privileged non-white Oxford students he networked with were anything but eager to turn on the power structure—they were expecting to return home to high-ranking leadership positions in postcolonial governments.

CONTEMPORARY COMMENTATORS INVARIABLY portrayed the transfer of ideas and tactics for protesting (or defending) racial hierarchies as one-way traffic from the United States across the Atlantic. In this line, British activism was merely a British version of the story proper. Atlanta-based civil rights journalist Calvin Trillin wrote of Britain in the *New Yorker* in 1965 that he felt he was “watching an old familiar play performed by an inexperienced road company.” Even a death threat sent by a “Deputy Wizard” of the British Klan, mocked Trillin, ended in impeccably polite British terms: “Faithfully yours.”⁷²

In headline terms, it may have seemed that British activists took their cue from their counterparts in the United States. Many of the major British protest organi-

⁶⁸ Keith Hindell, “The Genesis of the Race Relations Bill,” *Political Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (1965): 390–405. A British Caribbean Association survey in 1967 found that virtually all employment complaints by its members fell outside the board's remit. *British Caribbean Association Newsletter*, no. 10 (February 1967): 5, IRR, folder 01/04/03/02/063. On the impact of inadequate government remedies in the U.S. on the radicalization of black politics in reaction to the inadequacy of government remedies, see Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, N.J., 2003); Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of different contexts of citizens' expectations of the U.S. and British states, see Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 342.

⁷⁰ For example, the black church in Britain, unlike that in the United States, was not a mobilizing center for black politics. Cf. Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York, 1984); and Harry Goulbourne, *West Indian Political Leadership in Britain* (Warwick, 1988), 6.

⁷¹ There were few black-only neighborhoods in Britain, too. For discussions of Black Power's transferability, see Wild, “‘Black Was the Colour of Our Fight’”; Angelo, “The Black Panthers in London”; and Leila Kamali, “The Sweet Part and the Sad Part: Black Power and the Memory of Africa in African American and Black British literature,” *Atlantic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2009) 207–221.

⁷² Calvin Trillin, “A Reporter at Large: Color in the Mother Country,” *New Yorker*, December 4, 1965, 115–165. The limited historical literature on the subject has also tended to focus on the impact of the U.S. on Britain, although without the patronizing tone. See Sherwood, “Malcolm X in Manchester and Sheffield”; Street, “Malcolm X, Smethwick, and the Influence of the African American Freedom Struggle”; Sewell, “British Responses to Martin Luther King”; and Ward, “A King in Newcastle.” Cultural studies analyses have tended to focus primarily on American influences on Britain, too. See, for example, Stuart Hall, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London, 1978).

zations of the 1960s were formed in response to American visitors.⁷³ Trinidad-born Michael de Freitas changed his name to Michael X and created the Racial Adjustment Action Society—its acronym, RAAS, was a Jamaican obscenity.⁷⁴ Despite the different contexts, tactics associated with American protest regularly turned up in Britain, too. The Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 was matched in 1963 by a bus boycott in Bristol; it was led by local activist Paul Stephenson, who had recently visited the United States at the invitation of civil rights leaders. The student sit-ins in American restaurants had their counterparts in the unsurprisingly popular freedom drink-ins in British pubs. Operation Guinness in Lewisham was a particular hit.⁷⁵ There was a London Black Panther group.⁷⁶ And there were plenty on the American side, including Malcolm X on his lecture tour, who presumed that it was their job to teach. Even a Ku Klux Klan spokesman boasted to British reporters, “We have told them how to organise.”⁷⁷ Such assumptions fit the American exceptionalist self-image during the early Cold War.⁷⁸ As historian Mark Mazower noted, “Most American policy-makers regarded the USA as providing a model for the resolution of social and economic conflicts.”⁷⁹ For large segments of the African American leadership, this outward focus also stemmed from a tradition of assuming global leadership and a postwar belief in their material and social progress.⁸⁰

A closer look at a particular person in a particular place, though, immediately shows that Britons were rarely passive recipients of American ideas. In Oxford, Malcolm X was shocked to be lectured—at a distance of barely six feet—by a white conservative opponent. By his own admission, Tariq Ali then talked at Malcolm X,

⁷³ Martin Luther King met with activists ahead of the formation of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD). Benjamin W. Heineman, Jr., *The Politics of the Powerless: A Study of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination* (London, 1972), 19–21. Stokely Carmichael met with leaders of the newly formed United Coloured People’s Association. For the UCPA’s founding statement, see clipping from *Aframerican News Service*, January 3, 1968, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers (microfilm) [hereafter SNCC Papers], Subgroup B: New York Office, 1960–1969, Series II: International Affairs Commission, 1964–1969, 19, reel 51. See also Obi Egbuna, *Destroy This Temple: The Voice of Black Power in Britain* (London, 1971), 18. There were numerous other U.S. visitors, including Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin. The first major modern protest organization for new immigrants, the Standing Conference of Organisations Concerned with West Indians in Britain, was founded in 1959 following a visit by Norman Manley. *Standing Conference Newsletter*, vol. 1, ed. Claude Ramsey, Bulletin 21, April 1962, Modern Records Centre, University Library, University of Warwick, Trades Union Congress, 1960–70, Race Relations Predominantly 1960–70, MSS.292B/805.91/1, Commonwealth Workers in Great Britain (Mainly Coloured), 1960–4.

⁷⁴ See John L. Williams, *Michael X: A Life in Black and White* (London, 2008).

⁷⁵ Author interview with Paul Stephenson. John Ross, “Operation Guinness,” *Flamingo*, February 1965, 9–11; letter to the editor, *Flamingo*, April 1965, 2. See also “West Indians Stage an American Style Sit-In,” *Chicago Defender*, July 9, 1963, 4; “Strikers Protest Firing,” *Chicago Defender*, July 16, 1963, 16; “Shabby Protest,” *Chicago Defender*, June 22, 1963, 14; “Watch to Be Kept on Colour Bar Premises,” *Irish Times*, April 9, 1965, 10. The March on Washington of 1963 prompted a solidarity march in London. Banners proclaimed, “Your Fight Is Our Fight.” “UK Supporters Visit US Embassy,” *West Indies Observer*, June 15, 1963, 1. The London protest was but one of many such demonstrations at U.S. embassies.

⁷⁶ There were also Black Eagles. Clipping from *Black Eagles*, n.d., IRR, folder 01/04/04/01/04/01/01–05. See also Wild, “‘Black Was the Colour of Our Fight’”; R. E. R. Bunce and Paul Field, “Obi B. Egbuna, C. L. R. James and the Birth of Black Power in Britain: Black Radicalism in Britain, 1967–72,” *Twentieth Century British History* 22, no. 3 (2011): 391–414; and Angelo, “The Black Panthers in London.”

⁷⁷ “The Lunatic Fringe,” *Flamingo*, September 1961, 41; W. J. Weatherby, “A Guest of the Ku Klux-Klan,” *The Guardian*, December 3, 1960, 6.

⁷⁸ See Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*.

⁷⁹ Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999), 313.

⁸⁰ See Richard Iton, *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and Popular Culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era* (New York, 2008).

rather than vice versa, long into the night. Far from idolizing Malcolm X (Ali was anything but a devout Muslim and thought the Nation of Islam a “gigantic public relations swindle”), Ali tried to convince him that no religion could solve social problems, “while he consumed his tea and I sipped my brandy.”⁸¹ Moreover, when Britons did look abroad for inspiration, their gaze was often elsewhere. JACARI students demonstrated against apartheid.⁸² Across Britain, many mid-century immigrants had been involved in anticolonial struggles at home, continued to follow news from home, and often expected to return home.⁸³ The *West Indian Gazette*’s full title, *West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian Caribbean News*, revealed the breadth of the preeminent black British newspaper’s international vision.

Rather than import the American movement wholesale, then, activists in Britain often used the special relationship on race for their own purposes—as did their U.S. counterparts. In particular, both sets of activists sought to exploit the assumption that the two countries were on a common trajectory in terms of race relations. How they did so, though, and the extent to which they succeeded, often varied. In Britain, activists styled their campaigns as American in order to legitimize them. In the United States, activists used news from Britain to add weight to their arguments. Meanwhile, when African American leaders visited Britain, both the hosts and the guests hoped to boost their own prestige by association and to raise resources, though it would be the American visitors who took the money home.

When British activists used American civil rights or Black Power-style tactics, they were selective in their choices and used them at their own timing. The first British sit-ins began three years after their American counterparts, they were few and far between, and members of the Operation Guinness group met no opposition in the first ten or so pubs they visited. Reports are not clear on whether members of the group were eventually barred because of their color or because they had already drunk almost a dozen pints of beer by that stage.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Black Power groups used Malcolm X’s image and words on their mastheads even though his slogans did not, in fact, easily translate to British contexts. The British Black Panther Party formed before the American Panthers had begun to establish international affiliates, and most likely without their knowledge.⁸⁵

In other words, American styling was a strategic choice by British activists, a choice designed to strengthen their campaigns.⁸⁶ British civil rights campaigners sought to ride the coattails of the American movement to legitimize their complaints. Sympathy for the U.S. civil rights movement was widespread across Britain. After the church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963, for example, residents of

⁸¹ Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 103, 105.

⁸² In March 1964, for example, JACARI sponsored a fundraising Freedom Concert by Pete Seeger “to aid the causes of civil rights in America and the Anti-Apartheid movement.” Frank Parker to Senior Proctor, March 4, 1964, JACARI Files.

⁸³ The founding chairman of CARD, David Pitt, had cut his political teeth as founding president of the West Indian National Party, and first came to Britain to lobby for independence. See also *West Indian Gazette*, September 1962, 2.

⁸⁴ The Bristol bus boycott occurred eight years after its counterpart in Montgomery, and the issue was the employment color bar rather than passenger segregation.

⁸⁵ See Angelo, “The Black Panthers in London.” Also, British Black Power included South Asians. Editorial reply to letters in *Flamingo*, December 1963, 1; Daniel, *Racial Discrimination in England*, 48.

⁸⁶ Indeed, the *West Indies Observer*, which coined the phrase “Mr James Crow, Esq.,” actually focused on Caribbean news.

Llanstephan, Wales, raised funds to replace the main stained-glass window.⁸⁷ But British support for the U.S. civil rights movement was not matched by support for British civil rights campaigners. Indeed, British commentators routinely contrasted American horrors with British decency—the Welsh stained-glass artist sent to Alabama was “entirely dismayed by what I discovered” over there.⁸⁸ Hence black British civil rights activists asserted connections with fellow activists in the U.S. Similarly, liberal British politicians and so-called race relations lobbyists openly borrowed ideas directly from their American counterparts not simply to develop their proposals, but to increase the likelihood of getting them accepted.⁸⁹ During the Bristol bus boycott, Paul Stephenson took the comparison with the U.S. civil rights movement further, telling reporters, “People are saying that it is worse [here] than it is in the deep south of America,” because of restrictions on immigration and the British denial of discrimination.⁹⁰ Such complaints found their way into the mainstream British press.⁹¹ (As for Michael de Freitas, a man on the make, by taking the surname X, he briefly gained outsized media interest.)

Most British Black Power activists, by contrast, stressed connections with the U.S. to gain legitimacy with black rather than white Britons. Black Power groups initially struggled to gain followers in the British context. The British Panthers numbered less than a dozen members in their first year.⁹² But by importing the Black Power aesthetic, they allied themselves with a powerful brand.⁹³ Nonetheless, such American styling earned the small, unarmed cadre of British Black Power activists unwarranted attention from white authorities. Such attention was exacerbated by news of American riots, which triggered yet another wave of visits to the United States by politicians seeking to import legislation that would preempt riots in Britain (even though, evidently, it had failed to do so in the U.S.). Meanwhile, British anti-immigration campaigners used news of American violence and ghettos for their own propaganda. The British government passed a more restrictive immigration act in March 1968.⁹⁴ Conservative MP Enoch Powell was not satisfied. The following month, after his first

⁸⁷ A plaque with the inscription “Donated by the people of Wales” is still positioned beneath the stained-glass window with an imposing black messiah on a cross. Bill Patterson, “Alabama Window,” *Flamingo*, December 1964, 9–12.

⁸⁸ The public support for African Americans but not black Britons echoed an observation made by the African American journalist Roi Ottley a decade before. See Ottley, *No Green Pastures* (London, 1952), 8. Patterson, “Alabama Window,” 11.

⁸⁹ The chairman of the new Race Relations Board, Mark Bonham Carter, went to the U.S. in 1967 to learn “lessons [from the] American experience,” the main lesson being “the necessity for a positive policy on the part of the central government.” The revised British Race Relations Act of 1968 duly included more enforcement powers. Carter, “Measures Against Discrimination,” 5. For details of the legislation, see www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/rp2000/rp00-027.pdf.

⁹⁰ “Busmen Heckle Marchers,” *Bristol Evening Post*, May 2, 1963, 12. On complaints that racism was worse in Britain, see Inderjit, “Britain’s Coloured Outlaws,” *Hindustan Times*, September 7, 1951, 7; Edward Scobie, “Black Englishman,” *Flamingo*, November 1962, 32; letters to the editor, *The Guardian*, December 8, 1960, 10.

⁹¹ W. J. Weatherby, “Alma Mater,” *The Guardian*, March 18, 1963, 7; Peter Searle, “Bristol—After the Bus Dispute,” *IRR Newsletter*, July 1963, 13–16; “A President Decides,” *West Indies Observer*, May 18, 1963, 1. See also Poppy Cannon White, “Another Birmingham,” *New York Amsterdam News*, May 27, 1965, 19.

⁹² Egbuna, *Destroy This Temple*, 21.

⁹³ See, for example, *Black Ram*, December 15, 1968, 1, IRR, folder 01/04/03/02/046.

⁹⁴ The act restricted entry to those born in Britain, or who had a parent or grandparent born in Britain.



FIGURE 4: Michael Cummings, *Daily Express*, March 3, 1965. Oxford students complained to the British Press Council that this cartoon, warning of the dangers of immigration, “distorts historical, political and social realities to express a view which is not merely the lowest taste, but is a direct and calculated insult to coloured peoples both in Britain and America” (“Newspaper Picture Brings Censure,” *London Times*, May 26, 1965, 8, col. 6). British Cartoon Archive and Express Pictures.

visit to the United States, he delivered his infamous anti-immigration “Rivers of Blood” speech, warning of the “horror on the other side of the Atlantic . . . coming upon us here by our own volition and our own neglect.”⁹⁵ A yet more restrictive act was passed in 1971.⁹⁶

For their part, African American leaders used news from Britain to undermine

⁹⁵ See Andrew Roth, *Enoch Powell: Tory Tribune* (London, 1971).

⁹⁶ This act restricted entry to those with a work permit relating to a specific job.

segregation in the U.S. Malcolm X publicly denounced American racism as “a cancer spreading all over the world” that was manifesting itself in Britain.⁹⁷ His entries in his journal suggest that this assumption of American responsibility was, indeed, his viewpoint. But for others, such rhetoric was entirely tactical, used to pile pressure on southern segregationists. During the 1950s, virtually all African American press coverage of the black experience in Britain had actually been negative.⁹⁸ This framing reflected anti-imperial sentiment, and seems to have been part of the broader Cold War rebuttal of the claim by overseas black radicals that discrimination against African Americans in the U.S. was akin to colonial-style oppression.⁹⁹ The rise of the American civil rights movement—and particularly the massive resistance to it—marked an about-turn in reportage. “Race relations in England, in the past, have been on a higher plane of conviviality,” reported the influential African American newspaper the *Chicago Defender* after the anti-immigrant riots of 1958—thereby ignoring virtually all of its own past reports from the previous decade. “Nevertheless, America’s brazen, vulgar display of racial hatred has assumed the virulence of a communicative disease which is infecting the mind and soul of the stolid Englishman.”¹⁰⁰

Mainstream white American commentators, by contrast—to the exasperation of African American journalists—used news of British anti-immigration agitation to debunk U.S. exceptionalism in the matter of racist mob violence. “Radio station announcers,” a West Indian visitor to New York noted ruefully, would “interrupt a programme to splash—not without satisfaction—the news of Britain’s race riots.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ See Malcolm X, personal notebook, Notes, Outlines for Speeches, 1964–1965, MXC, box 9, folder 8. “The Fight against Racism from South Africa to Australia to the U.S.A.,” interview with the Johannesburg *Sunday Express*, February 12, 1965, in Malcolm X, *The Final Speeches: February 1965* (1992; repr., New York, 2010), 68–77, here 76.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Langston Hughes, “Scholar Finds England No Racial Bed of Roses,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, May 17, 1952, 9; “Negroes in Britain,” *Chicago Defender*, May 17, 1952, 2; “Britons Strike against West Indian Employees,” *Cleveland Call and Post*, January 10, 1953, 1; “Promotion of Negro Resented,” *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, January 10, 1953, 7; George Fisher, “Pastures Not Getting Any Greener in England,” *Chicago Defender*, June 31, 1953, 4; “British Unions Show True Colors,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, December 4, 1954, 3; Oliver Harrington, “Black Flood Spurs British Jim Crow,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 11, 1954, 16; Edward Scobie, “Unmask Hypocrisy of Britain’s No Color Bar,” *Chicago Defender*, March 19, 1955, 4; “British Bus Drivers Strike over Hiring of West Indian,” *Atlanta Daily World*, March 8, 1955, 2; “West Indians Find England No Paradise,” *Chicago Defender*, July 16, 1955, 12; “KKK Reported to Be Organizing in London,” *Cleveland Call and Post*, June 1, 1957. Such negative reporting continued a longer tradition. Roi Ottley wrote, “The English, who regard themselves as above the turbulence of racialism, actually are the most cruelly prejudiced people abroad—a profound fact because of the many black millions who come under the British flag”; *No Green Pastures*, 8.

⁹⁹ At the Congress of Black Writers and Artists, convened in Paris in September 1956, Aimé Césaire made the provocative assertion that American blacks were subjected to colonial-style oppression. African American delegates angrily disagreed, including James Baldwin, who insisted that there was something exceptional about the condition of black people. See Brent Hayes Edwards, “Introduction: Césaire in 1956,” *Social Text* 28, no. 2 103 (2010): 115–125, and the translation of Césaire’s analysis that follows; and James Baldwin’s report on the First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, “Princes and Powers” (1957), reprinted in Baldwin, *Collected Essays* (New York, 1998), 143–169.

¹⁰⁰ The *Defender* called it the “Little Rock anti-negro epidemic.” “The London Riots,” *Chicago Defender*, September 11, 1958, 11.

¹⁰¹ See *News Chronicle*, September 9, 1958, 1, clippings file, Modern Records Centre, Warwick; “Jump on It,” clipping from *London Observer*, September 14, 1958; Weatherby, “Alma Mater,” 7. The African American *Pittsburgh Courier* reckoned that the “amazing alacrity in picking up on all the gory, gruesome tidbits that could be extracted from the recent series of ‘race riots’ in England” represented an attempt by “some white Americans to expiate their own sins.” “Don’t Laugh Too Soon,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 20, 1958, 6.

As for Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas, orchestrator of the Little Rock crisis, he enjoyed telling British reporters to shove it. "What about that shindy in Nottingham?" he asked the *Daily Express*. "We have sympathy for you."¹⁰² Hence the African American press fought back. The *Afro-American* warned Faubus not "to chortle too much over Notting Hill." There were no troops there blocking children from going to school, and even the worst offenders received only four-year sentences from the courts.¹⁰³ The *Defender* noted how few votes were cast for Britain's own Faubus figure, Sir Oswald Mosley, in an election in Notting Hill the following year. "Even a metropolitan dogcatcher would have done better. London, of course, is not Little Rock."¹⁰⁴ White supremacist groups in the American South disagreed, inviting Enoch Powell to lecture in Mississippi.

Meanwhile, the high-profile visits of African American leaders to Britain enhanced the prestige of both the hosts and the guests. The ambitious Eric Abrahams reveled in the comparisons made between him and Malcolm X.¹⁰⁵ In turn, Malcolm X used his speech at one of Europe's most sacred institutions to bolster his demands to be heard in the United States—at rallies before leaving for England, he talked about his invitation to the Oxford Union to the exclusion of all other parts of his itinerary. Indeed, his speech at the Union, which focused on the Western media's misframing of the race question, revealed just how frustrated he had become at the American media's dismissal of him as a dangerous extremist.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Martin Luther King, by speaking at St. Paul's Cathedral, enhanced his status as an international religious statesman at a time when southern opponents were denouncing him as a Communist. He also met with the Lord Chancellor at the House of Lords.¹⁰⁷

The self-promotional purpose of such visits by U.S. leaders is underscored by the time that both men devoted to publicity while in England. Malcolm X spent much of his first visit arranging for media events on his return—from the BBC to black British magazines.¹⁰⁸ Benefiting from a Church of England public relations officer, King's two-day London visit in 1964 included seven media interviews.¹⁰⁹ Speaking abroad also provided American leaders with a platform to espouse their philosophies to a wider audience. Malcolm X tried to go to Paris to connect with black French

¹⁰² Fenner Brockway, "Racial Discrimination," *Labour Monthly* 39, no. 2 (1957): 61–64; Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, 135. For broader discussions of southern segregationists' interaction with global racial politics, see Alfred O. Hero, Jr., *The Southerner and World Affairs* (Baton Rouge, La., 1965); and Thomas Noer, "Segregationists and the World: The Foreign Policy of White Resistance," in Brenda Gayle Plummer, ed., *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1988* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 141–162.

¹⁰³ Don Iddon, "Dear Governor Faubus," *Afro-American*, September 27, 1958, 1; "Don't Laugh Too Soon."

¹⁰⁴ "Negro Question in Britain," *Chicago Defender*, October 27, 1959, 10.

¹⁰⁵ "Oxford Union Election of West Indian," *London Times*, June 11, 1964, 8; "Ceylon Leader Cheered," clipping from *Oxford Mail*, October 16, 1964.

¹⁰⁶ See the FBI records on the rally in New York, <http://vault.fbi.gov/malcolm-little-malcolm-x/malcolm-little-malcolm-x-hq-file-13-of-27/view>. His subsequent visits to Sheffield and Manchester were arranged only once the Union date had been set. "Malcolm X to Visit Sheffield," clipping from *Sheffield Telegraph*, December 2, 1964.

¹⁰⁷ Full itinerary available in "London Programme for Dr Martin Luther King, 5–8 December 1964."

¹⁰⁸ These included the popular glossy African magazine *Flamingo* and a much-trumpeted new black British newspaper, *Magnet*. On building up his media contacts, see Lillian Lang to Malcolm X, December 15, 1964, MXC, box 3, folder 15.

¹⁰⁹ "London Programme for Dr Martin Luther King," *Washington Post*, December 7, 1964, 1; "Dr. King Preaches Negro Restraint," *New York Times*, December 7, 1964, 1.

and Francophone anticolonial activists. When he was denied entry at the airport, he addressed them via a live telephone link.¹¹⁰ King's speechwriter, Clarence Jones, recalled that King and his colleagues "accepted the invitations to England to get their message out."¹¹¹ By preaching that "the doctrine of black superiority is just as dangerous as the doctrine of white superiority," noted the *New York Times*, King also sought to counter the "activities of Malcolm X . . . who [was] also in London."¹¹² The black British press praised both men, fairly uncritically. Britain's white press, though, favored the nonviolent, reconciliatory approach of Martin Luther King to the confrontational black pride of Malcolm X, especially after the latter traveled to Birmingham and said of an anti-immigration MP, "I wouldn't wait for them to set up gas ovens."¹¹³

Time in Britain allowed African American leaders to build up their international networks, too. Malcolm X visited the Council of African Organisations, and King met with a delegation of international students, while Stokely Carmichael, who had overseen the main U.S. student protest organization's adoption of Black Power in 1966, came to London in 1967 to participate in an international congress to explore "new forms of action" to challenge violent social systems. There was also the money question. For Malcolm X, who was in dire financial straits after leaving the Nation of Islam, the prospect of support must have been tantalizing. His letters reveal just how much he had celebrated every gift during his Middle Eastern and African tours. As a Protestant minister, though, King was better placed to harness support from British churches. "In the dark hours," King wrote to one donor, "we will always remember the many people in England who encouraged our work . . . by their very tangible expressions by which our movement is continued."¹¹⁴ British students supported their American counterparts financially, too. JACARI hosted a fundraising exhibition of photographs of student civil rights work in Mississippi. There was even talk of the Beatles playing a fundraising concert.¹¹⁵

EVEN AS THEY USED THE special relationship for their own purposes, activists in Britain and the United States were also changed by their interaction with each other. In particular, the perception of a shared trajectory with Europe heightened the sa-

¹¹⁰ "Transcripts and articles about Malcolm X's cancelled speaking engagement in France as a result of being rejected by French authorities shortly before his assassination," Carlos Moore Collection, Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, Series: Intellectual Works/Published Interview, 1964–1965, box 6.

¹¹¹ Author interview with Clarence Jones, January 18, 2011. CARD was duly fashioned on King's nonviolent, pro-integration model.

¹¹² "Dr. King Preaches Negro Restraint."

¹¹³ See Street, "Malcolm X, Smethwick, and the Influence of the African American Freedom Struggle."

¹¹⁴ Christian Action of London gave \$561.25. Payment Order, January 5, 1962, Records of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1954–1970 (microfilm), Part 2: Records of the Executive Director and Treasurer, reel 14, box 51:12, frame no. 0359. See also Wyatt Tee Walker to Canon Collins, January 24, 1962, *ibid*.

¹¹⁵ Dinky Romilly to Joan Baez, July 9, 1965, SNCC Papers, Subgroup B: New York Office, 1960–1969, Series I: Fund Raising, 1960–1968, Administrative Files, 1960–1968, 11. Beatles, July 9–Sept. 24, 1965, reel 45. Information on volunteer support from author interview with Doris Derby, October 20, 2010. On solidarity support for the SNCC, see "News from Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," March 2, 1961. My thanks to Peter Ling for providing me with a copy of this press release.

lience in the U.S. of what would come to be known as Black Power, even at the earliest, optimistic stages of the nation's civil rights movement at the start of the 1960s. As is well known, it was good news of anticolonialist movements abroad, especially Ghanaian independence in 1957, that helped galvanize the mass nonviolent protest against segregation that erupted across the United States in 1960. But bad news of anti-immigrant campaigns in Britain, especially the riots of 1958, served as a bleak counterpoint, and strengthened the arguments of those, such as Malcolm X, who advocated self-defense and rejected integration from the outset.¹¹⁶ Malcolm X's expulsion from France, a country with a reputation for transcending the color line, rammed the foreboding home two years before the Black Power slogan first came to prominence in Mississippi. Or rather, Malcolm X rammed it home with characteristically punchy one-liners: "I have never been prevented from entering Mississippi," he told reporters. "General de Gaulle has too much gall."¹¹⁷ In turn, news of American inequality and segregationist violence underscored the fears of British immigrants in the early 1960s that politicians' promises of equal citizenship would prove illusory.¹¹⁸ "The term democracy, in its current usage in the West, is what meaning you give to it," thundered the *Spear*, the organ of the London-based African World Congress, in 1962. "The American type of democracy is sensitive to . . . the colour variations of the human skin."¹¹⁹

The fact that the relationship between Britain and the United States involved the travel of so many people as well as the exchange of news, though, meant that its transformative aspect was most pronounced in particular places and individual lives. Malcolm X's views of racism would be challenged by his time in England even as his presence in Oxford would affect the dynamic of student activism there. What is most striking, however, especially considering the assumptions that Britain and the U.S. were on a shared trajectory in terms of the place of black citizens, was just how unexpected the transformative aspects of this transnational relationship proved to be.

When Malcolm X came to Oxford, he—perhaps more than any other African American leader—already had a well-developed global vision of the causes of racial discrimination and the possibilities of anti-racist protest. But his time in England refined that vision. Before then, he had spoken of two categories of black people: those fighting colonial rule and those under quasi-colonial rule in the United States, with no mention of black Europeans. As he put it in speeches before his visit to

¹¹⁶ On Black Power's salience during the early civil rights movement, see Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999). On angry reactions in the Caribbean and India to British anti-immigrant violence, see, for example, Telegram to Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Garnett Gordon), From the West Indies (from the Rt. Hon. Lord Hailes), September 25, 1959, "Racial Disturbance: Notting Hill Activities," PRO, HO 325/9; "Draft report to cabinet, BFM Samuel, Sec. Working Party to report on the social and economic problems arising from the growing influx into the United Kingdom of coloured workers from other Commonwealth countries," December 1, 1959, and telegram to CRO, Delhi, August 16, 1958, PRO, Dominions Office Records, DO 35/7990. On British awareness of international criticism, see Labour Party statement, "Racial Discrimination," 1958, 1, Labour Party Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford.

¹¹⁷ "Aid to Malcolm X by B.B.C. Assailed," *New York Times*, February 14, 1965, 24. Malcolm X sent a telegram to the U.S. secretary of state to demand an investigation. Telegram to Dean Rusk, February 18, 1965, MXC, box 3, folder 4.

¹¹⁸ See Donald Hines, *Journey to an Illusion: The West Indian in Britain* (London, 1966).

¹¹⁹ Clipping from *Spear*, December 29, 1962.

England, "Only Americanism is more hypocritical than colonialism."¹²⁰ After spending time with black Britons and (via the telephone) Parisian activists, he began to speak in terms of "4 types of blacks in West, under Spanish, British, French or U.S. influence," all facing common problems. By adding new categories to his list of the non-white oppressed, he sharpened his thinking about discrimination and anti-racist possibilities. There were "over 100 million Afros in West," he noted while in Britain, "inside the Western Power Structure."¹²¹

This observation hastened Malcolm X's shift from an anticolonial framework to a more nuanced international socialist position, dovetailing with lessons learned in the Middle East and Africa.¹²² From 1965, his speeches spoke optimistically of internal resistance within America and Europe working in harmony with the external resistance to the Western power structure.¹²³ "During 1965," he wrote in his notebook, "we shall see the longest, hottest and bloodiest summer yet witnessed, by . . . the Black Revolution."¹²⁴ "It's trouble for old John Bull," he mused.¹²⁵ Malcolm X looked forward to seeing that trouble in person on return visits.¹²⁶ He did not get the chance. In February, one week after his return to the United States, he was assassinated by members of the Nation of Islam during a rally in Harlem. Indeed, it was because Malcolm X's visits to Europe came so late in his life that he did not have time to reflect on them publicly, in the way that he was able to after his trips to Africa and the Middle East.¹²⁷ But that need not prevent historians from doing so.

Martin Luther King's outlook would be similarly challenged by his travels. King's globally focused Nobel lecture, written before he made his stop in London, did not even mention black Europeans—he only referred, optimistically, to the "black brothers of Africa and brown and yellow brothers in Asia, South America, and the Caribbean."¹²⁸ His speechwriter recalled that the subject never came up.¹²⁹ Yet after meeting British activists, King hastily edited—on hotel paper—the version of the speech he would deliver in London, denouncing the "segregation and discrimination that is emerging [and] that you have quite rightly deplored in others."¹³⁰ Travels abroad hastened King's transformation from an advocate of the American dream

¹²⁰ Miscellaneous Speech Notes, n.d. (pre-1964), "African-Asian Unity Bazaar," reel 10, MXC, box 10, folder 1.

¹²¹ See Malcolm X to Miss Sandra Devoto, December 15, 1964, MXC, box 3, folder 4; Ali, *Street Fighting Years*. Notes, Outlines for Speeches, 1964–1965, MXC, box 9, folder 8. See "There's a Worldwide Revolution Going On," speech at Audubon Ballroom, Harlem, to OAAU rally, February 15, 1965, in Malcolm X, *The Final Speeches*, 120–161, here 123. (He also recycled his Hamlet joke in speeches to students in the United States.)

¹²² Transcript of telephone conversation with Lebert Bethune and a gathering in Paris, February 6, 1965, Carlos Moore Collection, box 6. His evolving idea of a black diaspora in Europe probably owed something to his Garveyite heritage, too. See Ted Vincent, "The Garveyite Parents of Malcolm X," *The Black Scholar* 20, no. 2 (March/April 1989): 10–13.

¹²³ See Malcolm X, "Educate Our People in the Science of Politics," Detroit, Mich., February 14, 1965, in Malcolm X, *The Final Speeches*, 81–119, here 86.

¹²⁴ Notes, Outlines for Speeches, 1964–1965, MXC, box 9, folder 8.

¹²⁵ "There's a Worldwide Revolution Going On," 138.

¹²⁶ See, for example, "Malcolm X Off to Smethwick," *London Times*, February 11, 1965, 7.

¹²⁷ Nor were the trips to England mentioned in his autobiography.

¹²⁸ *Nobel Lecture by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, Oslo, Norway, December 11, 1964* (New York, 1964).

¹²⁹ Author interview with Clarence Jones.

¹³⁰ "Rough Notes," Bayard Rustin Papers, reel 3, no. 0258.

into a critic of unfettered capitalism and militarism.¹³¹ Stokely Carmichael had reached that point before he came to London in 1967. Indeed, he accepted the invitation precisely because he hoped to meet, and learn from, “Black Power formations [that] had begun to emerge in the African/Caribbean immigrant communities in Britain.”¹³² Back in 1958, the *Chicago Defender* had insisted: “London, of course, is not Little Rock.”¹³³ Less than a decade later, Carmichael’s rejection of American exceptionalism in the matter of racial discrimination and black protest had become commonplace. “We’re talking now about the U.S.,” he told reporters when he was asked about urban discrimination, but “you can apply a little of it to London.”¹³⁴

In turn, American visitors affected British activism—not least when Malcolm X came to Oxford. However, Malcolm X’s contribution to the students’ anti-racist campaign was anything but straightforward. Indeed, the authors of the JACARI report had actually feared that his visit—at the invitation of the Union rather than the JACARI leadership—would be counterproductive. JACARI’s demonstrations against the South African ambassador earlier in the summer had gained a lot of publicity but achieved little. So the authors had tried a different tack: “Could this university be shamed?” Hence the idea of a scientifically rigorous study, in order “to make a splash.” The presence of Malcolm X, though, inadvertently bound up an ostensibly dispassionate survey with revolutionary politics and, to the authors’ frustration, led some journalists to dismiss them as “trendy lefties” rather than engage with the problem of housing discrimination.¹³⁵

Ultimately, though, the media attention that accompanied Malcolm X’s visit enhanced the shame factor more than it undermined the survey’s credentials. The very week of the debate, Oxford’s Lodging House Delegacy met in something of a panic. The secretary of the delegacy wrote to other universities seeking urgent advice. Mrs. E. M. Talbert at the University of London, not picking up the tone of the request, replied, “I have always ‘got away with it’” by explaining that “almost everyone is barred one way or another—60% of [the] landladies won’t take women . . . three won’t allow lodgers with beards.” (“I sometimes wonder whether it is a bit hypocritical,” she confessed, “but it has worked up to now.”)¹³⁶ In the end, the delegacy rejected JACARI’s proposal to remove any landlady who was unwilling to promise to accept “coloured” students, but it agreed to issue nondiscrimination guidelines. In 1970, after continued complaints and protest, the university resolved its dilemma by relinquishing control of undergraduate residences.¹³⁷

¹³¹ On King’s emerging human rights vision, see Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia, 2006).

¹³² Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)* (New York, 2003), 572.

¹³³ “Negro Question in Britain.”

¹³⁴ Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks: From Black Power to Pan-Africanism* (New York, 1971), 78–91. Also, *Black Panther Miscellany: Stokely Carmichael in London, 1967*, dir. Peter Davis (DVD, Vilionfilms, 1967), in possession of author.

¹³⁵ Conversation with, and e-mail from, Clive Sneddon, June 11, 2010.

¹³⁶ “Minutes of the Meeting on 27 November 1964,” DLH, Minutes and Meeting Papers, 1868–1970, Minutes and Papers of the Delegates, 1960–70, LHD/M/2/8; Mrs EM Talbert to Miss Davies, February 4, 1965, DLH, Overseas Students File.

¹³⁷ For example, non-white participants at a student United Nations forum were denied lodging a few months after the delegacy’s statement, provoking protests. “Minutes of the Meeting on 11 June 1965,” DLH, LHD/M/2/8.

The tumult of 1964 spurred JACARI to form a national body, the Student Conference on Racial Equality (SCORE), to fan “similar action in other Universities.”¹³⁸ In Oxford, organization around race equality issues continued, too.¹³⁹ The most far-reaching legacy of the ferment in Oxford, however, was not related primarily to the issue of black equality. Rather, it was the undermining of the system of university discipline.¹⁴⁰ Throughout 1964, JACARI leader Anthony Shaw had found himself at loggerheads with the proctors over the right to protest about apartheid.¹⁴¹ He was hampered by the fact that JACARI’s “senior member” (a tutor designated to act as mentor) was working in cahoots with the proctors. Mrs. Mary Proudfoot, a lecturer in Caribbean history, professed sympathy for Shaw’s views but warned him that confrontation “is not a suitable technique for a serious university group,” and threatened, “the end might be the dissolution of JACARI.” Shaw backed down, incandescent. Proudfoot wrote triumphantly to the senior proctor with misplaced condescension. “I think that he is just very young, very earnest [*sic*], and from a rather illiterate background.”¹⁴² When the South African ambassador came to town, though, JACARI members refused to be restrained. When the proctors singled out Ali and Abrahams for the worst punishment, the students demanded a change to the proctorial system.

Abrahams orchestrated the challenge in the media with aplomb.¹⁴³ He quickly became the lightning rod for nationwide student demands for civil liberties. The quarter-million-strong National Union of Students condemned the proctors’ claim to be “judge, jury and defending counsel.”¹⁴⁴ And then JACARI released its survey, Malcolm X swung into town, and Abrahams gained more attention. The university set up a review committee. The outcome was a compromise: undergraduates won the right to defense, no longer in Latin, but the proctors still assumed that “citizens of Oxford have to be protected from abuse.”¹⁴⁵ The fact that there were any concessions at all emboldened the students even as the token nature of those concessions exasperated them.¹⁴⁶ A series of demonstrations during the next few years culminated in a mass sit-in—fueled by anti-Vietnam War militancy—at the proctors’ offices in

¹³⁸ SCORE ran successful campaigns in Leeds and Sussex; SCORE flyer, n.d., IRR, folder 01/04/04/01/04/02/01–14; clipping from *New Independent*, February 2–15, 1967, 4, *ibid.*, 01/04/03/02/110.

¹³⁹ Hannan Rose to Junior Proctor, June 10, 1964, JACARI Files; SCORE flyers, IRR, folder 01/04/04/01/04/02/01–14. Demonstrations continued, too. “Student Demonstration in Bid to Save Gypsy Homes,” *Cherwell*, February 15, 1967, 1. In 1968, students were among the three dozen protesters arrested for sitting down at the entrance of a hair salon that excluded black customers. “39 held in Oxford Sit-Down,” *London Times*, June 8 1968, 2. JACARI remains engaged in community work around racial equality to this day, with members teaching English to immigrant children.

¹⁴⁰ The issues of black equality and student rights were also—and profoundly—intertwined during the protests on historically black campuses in the later 1960s.

¹⁴¹ See, for example, A. F. Shaw to Proctors, n.d.; Senior Proctor to Shaw, May 25, 1964; Shaw to Proctors, June 2, 1964; and Senior Proctor to Shaw, June 6, 1964, all JACARI Files.

¹⁴² Mary Proudfoot to A. Shaw, June 7, 1964; Proudfoot to Senior Proctor, June 16, 1964, and June 18, 1964, all JACARI Files.

¹⁴³ Letter to *Cherwell*, October 7, 1964, 2; “Proctors at It Again,” *Cherwell*, October 28, 1964, 4.

¹⁴⁴ “Curb Proctors’ Powers, Say Students,” *The Guardian*, November 24, 1964, 7.

¹⁴⁵ Hannan Rose, “A Tactical Retreat,” *ISIS*, October 27, 1965, 4.

¹⁴⁶ “Students achieve nothing by talking to the authorities over wine and cheese.” “LSE-Style Protesters Plan Sit-in,” clipping from *Cherwell*, May 24, 1967; “Cherwell Ban: Students Hand in Ultimatum,” *Daily Express*, October 18, 1967, 4.

1968.¹⁴⁷ The proctors backed down. Student newspapers hailed the inspiration of recent sit-ins at the London School of Economics rather than those in the American South in 1960—an example, if one were needed, of how transatlantic tactics were appropriated and repackaged for domestic purposes. Nor did they remember the origin of the Oxford protests—the reaction to the arrest of a militant Jamaican president of the Union, a student who drew renown from the visit of America's most famous black radical.

¹⁴⁷ "Students on Parade," *Sketch*, October 21, 1967, 7; "A Sitdown at Oxford; Protesting Students Win Concessions at Oxford," *New York Times*, June 4, 1968, 1.

Stephen Tuck is a University Lecturer in U.S. History at Oxford University and the Director of the Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities. His most recent book is *We Ain't What We Ought to Be: The Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama* (Harvard University Press, 2010; supporting website www.weaintwhatweoughttobe.com). He is currently working on projects exploring the relationship between the rise of Jim Crow and the so-called secular age, the connections between the United States and Europe over civil rights, and the effect of national location upon American historical writing.

Phantoms of the Archive:
Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the
Contingencies of Postcolonial History-Writing

JEAN ALLMAN

IN MARCH 1962, AS THE WEST AFRICAN nation of Ghana marked five years of independence from British colonial rule, the country's most popular newspaper, the *Daily Graphic*, introduced readers to yet another in a long list of high-profile international visitors. This visitor, however, was not the usual diplomat, artistic performer, or anticolonial freedom fighter. A prominent headline and accompanying photo announced her as "The Woman Who Dares the Heavens."¹ And who was this daring woman? She was, according to the news story, the famous West German pilot Hanna Reitsch, who was visiting the nation's capital, on President Kwame Nkrumah's invitation, to "advise" the government on flight and gliding. In addition to providing brief biographical information, which noted Reitsch's "carrying out [of] dangerous test flights" during the war and the fact that she had been awarded the Iron Cross First Class, the "highest German decoration," the article focused primarily on the reason for her visit to Ghana and her notably demure appearance. "Anyone who has heard of Hanna Reitsch," journalist Edith Wuver informed local readers, "would expect her to be tall and perhaps masculine in build. But she is only a small woman, hardly above five feet and feminine in every way . . . Hanna has the feminine approach to her profession."²

What the journalist did not mention—nor any of her colleagues in the national news service who covered the visit—was that Flight Captain Hanna Reitsch was not just an extraordinary woman pilot, "feminine in every way," in a profession dom-

This article began life as a short paper delivered at the "Revisiting Modernization" conference held at the University of Ghana in 2009. Over three years, it has been expanded, recast, and reconfigured in dialogue with colleagues at numerous gatherings: the Love and Revolution II and III conferences in Minneapolis and New Delhi; the African Studies Seminar at Emory University; the History Seminar at Johns Hopkins University; and the Archives of Post-Independence Africa conference in Dakar. In addition to those audiences, I wish to thank Jeffrey Ahlman, G. Arunima, Sara Berry, Peter Bloom, Antoinette Burton, Shefali Chandra, Clifton Crais, Divya Dwivedi, Andrea Friedman, Jane Guyer, Patricia Hayes, Anne Hugon, Premesh Lalu, Pier Larson, Takiwaa Manuh, M. J. Maynes, Stephan Miescher, Gary Minkley, John Mowitt, Tim Parsons, Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, Ciraj Rasool, David Roediger, Pamela Scully, and Corinna Treitel. I extend a special thanks to Bernhard Rieger and Matthias Röschner for helping me navigate Hanna Reitsch's papers in Munich.

¹ *Daily Graphic*, March 7, 1962.

² *Ibid.*

inated by men.³ In the post–World War II era, Reitsch was best known for her very close connection to Adolf Hitler. Perhaps most famously, in the last days of the war, she undertook a dramatic flight into Berlin, landing near the Brandenburg Gate under heavy Soviet army fire. Colonel-General Robert Ritter von Greim (reputedly Reitsch’s longtime lover) had requested that she fly him to a meeting with Hitler, who intended to make von Greim the head of the Luftwaffe. Reitsch spent two days in the Führer’s infamous bunker and was one of the last to leave alive. Although initially given a vial of poison by Hitler, she was subsequently ordered to fly out with von Greim in a last-ditch effort to reconstitute the Luftwaffe. She did so—departing under Soviet fire heavier than that which had greeted her two days earlier. Reitsch’s was the last German plane to fly out of Berlin in the final days of the war. Shortly thereafter, both she and von Greim were captured by Allied forces. Reitsch was held and interrogated by U.S. military intelligence for eighteen months; von Greim committed suicide.⁴

After her initial visit to Ghana in 1962—a visit covered almost daily in the press—Reitsch would relocate there and devote her considerable energies to setting up a gliding school about fifteen kilometers from the capital, Accra, in the small town of Afienuya. The West German and Ghanaian governments jointly supported her work. During Reitsch’s years in Ghana, however, her notorious past did not feature once in the regular and extensive media coverage given her school by the daily press. Rather, she appeared as just one of the many energetic and devoted expatriates, from a diverse range of places and political persuasions, who were assisting with the work of nation-building and modernization in Nkrumah’s newly independent state. Yet those individuals, for the most part, seemed to share at least some part of Nkrumah’s nationalist and pan-Africanist dream—George Padmore, Conor Cruise O’Brien, W. E. B. and Shirley Graham Du Bois, Geoffrey Bing, and Maya Angelou, to name just a few.⁵ How do we fit Flight Captain Hanna Reitsch into this list? How might we connect lofty dreams of flight and modernization in what was known as the “Black Star of Africa” to someone remembered by many and to this very day as an unrepentant Nazi and an “apologist for the Third Reich”?⁶

These are not, as it turns out, simple questions—certainly not for a historian of

³ Reitsch was the first woman to fly a helicopter, a jet, and a rocket. She held multiple awards in gliding—for altitude and endurance—and she was the first woman to glide across the Alps. She served as a test pilot on several Nazi bomber planes, as well as on the rocket-propelled Komet, and she was one of only two women to whom Hitler awarded the Iron Cross First Class.

⁴ For biographical information on Reitsch, see Judy Lomax, *Hanna Reitsch: Flying for the Fatherland* (London, 1988); Dennis Piskiewicz, *From Nazi Test Pilot to Hitler’s Bunker: The Fantastic Flights of Hanna Reitsch* (Westport, Conn., 1997); Hanna Reitsch, *The Sky My Kingdom: Memoirs of the Famous German World War II Test-Pilot* (London, 1958); Bernhard Rieger, “Hanna Reitsch (1912–1979): The Global Career of a Nazi Celebrity,” *German History* 26, no. 3 (2008): 383–405. At the end of the war, Reitsch’s father killed her mother, her sister and her sister’s children, and then himself, rather than face the prospect of living under Soviet rule.

⁵ George Padmore served as Nkrumah’s chief adviser on African affairs until his death in 1959; Conor Cruise O’Brien served as vice-chancellor of the University of Ghana from 1962 to 1965; W. E. B. Du Bois and Shirley Graham Du Bois settled in Ghana in 1961 and became Ghanaian citizens (W. E. B. Du Bois worked on the *Encyclopedia Africana* project, and Shirley Graham Du Bois, after her husband’s death in 1963, became the founding director of Ghana TV); Geoffrey Bing served as Nkrumah’s legal adviser from 1955 to 1966 and as Ghana’s attorney general from 1957 to 1961; Maya Angelou resided in Ghana from 1961 to 1964 and taught at the University of Ghana’s School of Music and Drama.

⁶ Rieger, “Hanna Reitsch,” 383.

Africa's postcolonial past. Almost immediately, they generate yet further and often fundamental questions—about historical evidence, about archives (their locations and their temporality), and about the very writing of postcolonial African histories. Beyond the question of how an infamous Nazi pilot could animate Ghana's early nation-building and modernization initiatives, there is the labyrinth of postcolonial documentary evidence that is exposed by the search itself: the layers and locations of evidence, the traces, the silences, and the dead ends. As fifty-year anniversaries of African independence come and go (seventeen former British, French, and Belgian colonies in 2010 alone), it is time to think more critically and imaginatively about what we might term "Africa's postcolonial archive," about the documentary record with which the continent's postcolonial/national histories can and will be written.

Scholars, especially of South and Southeast Asian history, have, of course, debated at length the nature of the "archive," but their focus has been almost exclusively on the colonial archive, as it was constituted by the imperial state.⁷ Africanists have, until recently, engaged that earlier archive debate only marginally.⁸ For the most part, they have considered the biases of the colonial archive a methodological given and have focused their attention on seeking out and developing alternative kinds of evidence, especially in the form of oral traditions and life histories. As Frederick Cooper wrote in his important contribution to the 1994 *AHR* Forum on Subaltern Studies, scholars of Africa's past have tended to greet critical reflections on the colonial archive by theorists such as Ranajit Guha "more as sound practice than a methodological breakthrough. African historians cut their teeth in the 1960s on the assertion that colonial sources distorted history . . . and they saw the use of oral sources—as well as reading colonial documents against the grain—as putting themselves on the path to people's history."⁹ Africanist historians of the colonial period, in other words, have been more concerned with seeing "how far one could push with non-documentary sources," especially oral sources, than with considering whether colonial records allow the subaltern to speak.¹⁰ There are of course exceptions to this characterization. The works of Cooper himself, along with historians such as Luise White and William Cohen, well demonstrate Africanists' ability to

⁷ See especially Nicholas B. Dirks, "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive," in Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia, 1993), 279–313; Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, N.J., 2009); Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form," in Carolyn Hamilton et al., eds., *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town, 2002), 83–100. See also Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (New York, 2003).

⁸ Several recent and important exceptions can be found in Hamilton's *Refiguring the Archive* and in Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

⁹ Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1516–1545, quotation from 1528. "African historians, since the 1960s," Cooper has written, "have trumpeted that oral tradition is the antidote to the Eurocentrism of the written record—popular memory set against elite documents." Cooper, "Memories of Colonization: Commemoration, Preservation, and Erasure in an African Archive," in Francis X. Blouin, Jr., and William G. Rosenberg, eds., *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2006), 257–266, quotation from 257.

¹⁰ Cooper, "Conflict and Connection," 1528.

creatively “read” the colonial archive both against and along the grain.¹¹ But it is also true that, as area-based scholars, Africanists have contributed far more to comparative, theoretical discussions of oral sources, “voice,” agency, and subjectivity than they have to critical examinations of or theoretical engagements with the colonial archive.¹²

But as historians take up the challenge of writing postcolonial and new national histories, do Africanists have something to contribute to discussions of the documentary archive, or will our primary methodological contributions to the discipline of history continue to be in the realm of the “oral,” the material, or the performed? For the postcolonial period, we are grappling with documentary sources no longer penned, categorized, or deposited by a colonial officer or his missionary counterpart. Does that matter? If colonial archives, as Stoler has argued, “are products of state machines . . . technologies that reproduced the states themselves,” do the national archives of Africa’s postcolonial states simply reproduce or mimic those originary colonial archives?¹³ Are they, to borrow from Nkrumah, essentially neocolonial archives—the public buildings and the files within, which, according to Achille Mbembe, are the “organs of a constituted state”?¹⁴ Or are they a beast of a very different order, presenting both new possibilities and new challenges for the writing and the teaching of African history?

There are three different registers in which the story of Kwame Nkrumah and Hanna Reitsch can be told, based on three different sets of written evidence. In the first instance, the details of Reitsch’s time in Ghana can be reconstructed through the use of both published and public primary documents. Next, a range of secondary sources can allow us to contextualize and enrich that story by placing it within a global discussion of flight, air-mindedness, and modernity. But we can also follow Nkrumah’s and Reitsch’s shared tale along a twisted trail of mislabeled and unlisted files in Ghana’s “national” archive and into a vast transnational network of repositories, extending from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Munich, Germany. Tracing the strange story of Kwame Nkrumah, Hanna Reitsch, and the Afiénya Gliding School

¹¹ See, for example, David William Cohen, *The Combing of History* (Chicago, 1994); Frederick Cooper, “Africa’s Pasts and Africa’s Historians,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 34, no. 2 (2000): 298–336; Cooper, “Conflict and Connection”; Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Hamilton et al., *Refiguring the Archive*; Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000).

¹² The literature on this score is massive, but see, only by way of example, Susan N. G. Geiger, “Women’s Life Histories: Method and Content,” *Signs* 11, no. 2 (1986): 334–351; Isabel Hofmeyr, “We Spend Our Years as a Tale That Is Told”: *Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1994); Karin Barber and P. F. de Moraes Farias, eds., *Discourse and Its Disguises: The Interpretation of African Oral Texts* (Birmingham, 1989); Joseph C. Miller, ed., *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History* (Hamden, Conn., 1980); Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History* (Cambridge, 1992); Charles van Onselen, *The Seed Is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894–1985* (New York, 1996); Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (London, 1965); Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis., 1985); Luise White, Stephan Miescher, and David William Cohen, eds., *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History* (Bloomington, Ind., 2001).

¹³ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 28. See also Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, 1995); and Achille Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive and Its Limits,” in Hamilton et al., *Refiguring the Archive*, 19–26, here 23.

¹⁴ Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive and Its Limits,” 19.

in these three registers exposes not only the dispersed, destroyed, fragmented, and accidental nature of independent Africa's documentary archive, but the very illusion of a postcolonial "national archive." While it is an illusion worthy of consideration by all historians of the formerly colonized world, it is not without its implications for those concerned with global power and the consolidation of postwar nation-states generally, including those of the U.S., the USSR, and China, and with the challenge of crafting histories less anchored in or dependent upon the archiving technologies of the modern state.

LET US BEGIN BY EXAMINING that first layer of documentary evidence: published Ghanaian newspaper accounts and Reitsch's own memoir, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah* [*I Flew for Kwame Nkrumah*]. From these sources we learn that Nkrumah first heard of Reitsch from the Indian prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, under whose patronage she had set up a gliding school in India in 1959. In a January 1962 letter, Nkrumah invited Reitsch to Accra to meet with him and other government officials in order to consider establishing a similar flight school in Ghana.¹⁵ During her visit in March, Reitsch met with Nkrumah on several occasions, as well as with members of Parliament, the commander of the Ghanaian Air Force, the head of the Young Pioneers (the youth group of the ruling Convention People's Party [CPP]), and members of the Accra Gliding Club, making plans to open a flight school on the site in Afiencya where the club operated. She also met with Major-General S. J. A. Otu about selecting three young officers who could study to be gliding instructors in West Germany, at that government's expense.¹⁶ Although the initial plan for the school to open in January 1963 turned out to be overly optimistic, Reitsch was back in Ghana in February 1963, and over the next months she oversaw the construction of buildings for instruction, eating, carpentry and mechanic workshops, a hangar, and accommodations for staff and up to forty students. She and her organizing committee also established the Ghana National Aero Club, so that Ghana could affiliate with international pilot associations. From the beginning, Reitsch's work was closely tied to powerful figures in the government and military. The minister of defense, for example, became the chair of the Aero Club, and the ministers of education and transport became vice-chairs. The leader of the Young Pioneers and the head of the Air Force also sat on the club's executive committee.¹⁷

Although Reitsch was in Afiencya every day to supervise the work there, she was accommodated, at Ghanaian government expense, in Accra, in what was known as "Asante House"—the rather infamous palatial residence built by Krobo Edusei, a former government minister whose extravagances had led to his dismissal.¹⁸ From there, she made the daily drive to the school site in a red Volkswagen Karmann Ghia lent to her by Nkrumah's wife, Fathia.¹⁹ Her work was also well-supported by the West German government, which, in the context of the Cold War, was seeking to

¹⁵ Hanna Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah* (Munich, 1968), 15.

¹⁶ Ibid., 25. The quoted passages from Reitsch's memoir were translated into English by Leah Chizek and Corey Twitchell in the German Department at Washington University.

¹⁷ Ibid., 40–41.

¹⁸ For her account, see *ibid.*, 42.

¹⁹ Ibid., 41–43.

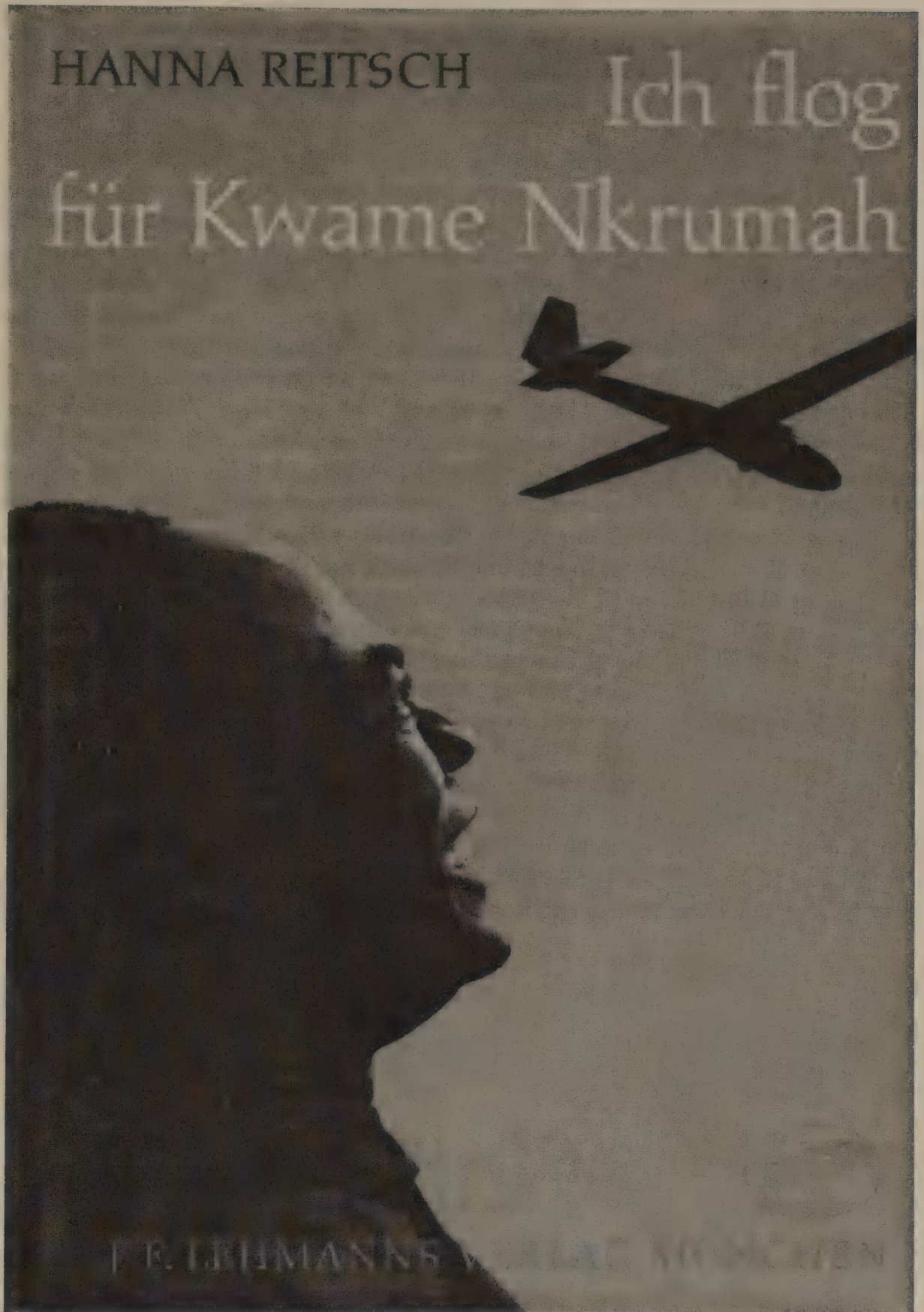


FIGURE 1: Jacket of Hanna Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah* (Munich: J.F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1968).

make its “development policy,” as Bernhard Rieger has written, “an important tool for forging ties with new states in Africa and Asia.”²⁰ As a “supposedly unpolitical expert” on gliding and aviation, Reitsch not only supervised construction at the Afi-enya site, she also gave lectures throughout the capital, speaking before Parliament, at the university, and before youth groups and women’s organizations as part of her recruitment drive.²¹

On May 18, 1963, even though construction was not yet complete, the Afi-enya school was officially opened, and “anyone who was anyone,” according to Reitsch, “showed up.”²² In attendance were members of the international press corps, West German and Ghanaian dignitaries, ambassadors from foreign missions, chiefs and their advisers, and representatives from the Young Pioneers. The West German ambassador, on behalf of his government, presented a glider, christened *Akroma* (“The Hawk”), to President Kwame Nkrumah, and Nkrumah, in turn, “dedicated the glider to the youth of Ghana and wished all those who would fly in it ‘many hours of enjoyment, recreation and spiritual upliftment.’”²³ As a Ghana newsreel reported live, after the dedication of the glider, spectators were treated to a “magnificent aerobatic display” by the woman responsible for the establishment of the school, “that famous German air pilot Flight Captain Hanna Reitsch.” “With the establishment of a national gliding school,” the newsreel continued, “one can be sure that the youth will pick up the challenge and head for the sky.”²⁴

Over the next three years, the school’s achievements were chronicled in the papers (often on the front page or with a center spread and multiple photos)—from construction of the new hangar, to graduation ceremonies, to the visits of various foreign dignitaries.²⁵ By the time of the school’s first anniversary in May 1964, it was training future flight instructors, as well as flight students, and had established a program with the Ghana Air Force to train officer cadets.²⁶ In fact, at the first-anniversary celebration, the school coordinated with the Air Force in presenting an elaborate air show featuring gliders, as well as planes and jets, that flew to the program site from the International Airport in Accra.²⁷ It was on this first anniversary that Nkrumah provided the school with its motto: “To dare, to do, to serve.”²⁸ It was clear to everyone, Reitsch remembered, that the gliding school was Nkrumah’s “pet

²⁰ Rieger, “Hanna Reitsch,” 393.

²¹ The phrase “supposedly unpolitical expert” is Rieger’s; *ibid.*, 404.

²² Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 47.

²³ *Ghanaian Times*, May 20, 1963. “Visit Afi-enya Gliding School,” Ghana Newsreel Side One, box 49, tape 23, Kwame Nkrumah Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C. [hereafter Nkrumah Papers].

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ See, for example, *Daily Graphic*, July 10, 1963, July 22, 1963, October 18, 1963, November 5, 1963, December 3, 1963, March 13, 1964, April 30, 1964, May 21, 1964, June 12, 1964, November 15, 1964, December 3, 1964, June 25, 1965, October 2, 1965, October 25, 1965, November 23, 1965, December 2, 1965, December 3, 1965; *Evening News*, March 22, 1965, December 2, 1965, December 3, 1965; *Ghanaian Times*, May 17, 1963, May 20, 1963, June 13, 1963, August 17, 1963, October 12, 1963, December 9, 1963, February 18, 1964, April 24, 1964, May 13, 1964, May 21, 1964, May 23, 1964, September 3, 1964, September 28, 1964, October 13, 1964, October 26, 1964, February 10, 1965, February 23, 1965, March 22, 1965, March 26, 1965, May 10, 1965, May 25, 1965, October 25, 1965, December 3, 1965.

²⁶ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 82.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 113. See also *Daily Graphic*, May 21, 1964.

²⁸ *Ghanaian Times*, May 21, 1964. See also *Daily Graphic*, May 21, 1964; and Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 113.

project.”²⁹ The press at the time certainly agreed. Wrote a *Times* staff reporter shortly after the anniversary celebration, “surely no institution in Ghana today deserves praise for its wonderful achievement and its unparalleled capability to infuse the spirit of adventure more into our youth than the National Gliding School at Afienya near Tema . . . the credit goes to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah whose foresight gave birth to the school.”³⁰

Not all of Reitsch’s energies were focused on gliding itself. Very early on, when she realized that many students were not particularly enamored with the idea of flight, she turned her attention to model-building, which became a core component of the school’s mission. Initially, model kits were imported from West Germany, but by 1965 they were being assembled locally, and the building of model gliders was fully incorporated into the curriculum.³¹ In addition, the school began conducting model-building workshops for other schools—beginning with Achimota and then Tema Secondary—and moved on from there.³² The idea behind this effort was that eventually the students would be able to instruct others in model-making, and in turn they would introduce “their future student pilots to the theoretical physics of flight as well as to its application in practice by flying models.”³³ By the beginning of 1966, model-making had been initiated at ten secondary schools in Ghana, and an additional twenty schools were to be added in March 1966. “As far as I know,” Reitsch wrote in her memoir, “Ghana was unmatched in this respect by any other country in the world.”³⁴

It is worth noting at this juncture that Reitsch’s efforts—despite her general concerns with children’s education—were not aimed at challenging Ghana’s gender regimes or at opening up a space for female gliders.³⁵ Despite being a member of the “fairer sex,” as she termed herself, she had no interest in training women glider pilots, even at a time when women were beginning to have a small presence in the Ghanaian military. (The first women soldiers completed training for the women’s auxiliary of the Ghana Armed Forces in October 1963.)³⁶ She believed that in Ghana, “women and girls had numerous other important tasks [before them] in order to prepare themselves for raising children, to acquire the mental skills necessary for educating their children, to learn to create a tasteful home, and to become partners in marriage—which they by no means were.”³⁷

As a project very much focused on young men, then, the Afienya Gliding School became a public centerpiece of Nkrumah’s modernization efforts, second only to the ongoing construction of the Akosombo Dam, with which it vied for headlines in the daily papers. It increasingly coordinated with the Air Force, not only in model-building, meteorology, and the training of air cadets, but in grand spectacles of flight

²⁹ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 113.

³⁰ *Ghanaian Times*, May 23, 1964. The story sits right above another miracle-of-modernization tale—that of “The Man-Made Volta Lake and Its Benefits.”

³¹ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 64–65, 132–135, 159–160, 201.

³² *Ibid.*, 61, 132.

³³ *Ibid.*, 135.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 201.

³⁵ Despite the claims of a headline in the April 15, 2012, *British Guardian*, “Hitler’s Pilot Helped Ghana’s Women to Fly,” Reitsch had absolutely no interest in training young women in aviation.

³⁶ *Ghanaian Times*, October 14, 1963.

³⁷ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 103, emphasis added.



FIGURE 2: Nkrumah and Reitsch at the flight school's first anniversary. From Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 35.

performed for a “spellbound” public.³⁸ In October 1964, the school and the Air Force put on a display in honor of Air Force Day.³⁹ Several months later, in March 1965, Ghana’s first air show took place at the Accra International Airport. It was a massive display, whose aim, according to Reitsch, was to “familiarize the population with aviation and awaken young people’s interest in it. Moreover, it should strengthen the Ghanaians’ self-confidence—they all had reason to be proud of what they had already achieved through hard work in the few years since their independence.”⁴⁰ The display was widely and extensively covered in the press on the following Monday, with one of the highlights being Reitsch’s “breathtaking aerobatics” in the presidential glider, *Akroma*.⁴¹ As the *Evening News* reported, “The success of the show is a pointer to the fact that the country’s socialist programme being executed by the Party and the Government under the leadership of Osagyefo is really bearing fruits.”⁴²

But Afienva was not just a part of Nkrumah’s nation-building project. By 1965, the gliding school was increasingly envisioned as part of his pan-African agenda for African unity, for building a United States of Africa. “Since our school had . . . become the ‘pride of Ghana,’” Reitsch recalled, “the President had announced in 1965 that a tour of the school was to be part of every official state visit from then on.” (The president of Gambia was the first to make an official state visit.) In addition, as early as March 1965, plans were underway to organize a youth camp at Afienva to coincide with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit in October. Reitsch explained that her plan was for youth leaders from throughout the continent to have the “opportunity to experience gliding for themselves, as well as to try out model-making.”⁴³ She attended the opening of the OAU and in her memoirs writes of the profound impact of that experience:

Deeply impressed, the words of Dr. Du Bois, the great Pan-African fighter who died in Accra in 1963, came to me as I drove home after the ceremony. He once wrote: “There can be no doubt that Kwame Nkrumah is, more than anyone alive at present, the voice of Africa. He expresses the thoughts and ideals of the Dark Continent and makes it clear to everyone that this continent will move into the frontlines of world events.”⁴⁴

Several dignitaries visited Reitsch’s school, and an air display, again combining the efforts of the Afienva school and the Air Force, was presented in connection with the October OAU summit.⁴⁵

With the close of 1965 and the beginning of 1966, the school’s achievements continued to be heralded in the press. In November, two Ghanaian glider pilots established a national record for four and a half hours of non-stop flight, and three

³⁸ *Ghanaian Times*, March 22, 1965.

³⁹ “Air Force Day” (printed program), October 24, 1964, Record Group [hereafter RG] 17/2/94, Public Records and Archives Administration Department, Accra, Ghana [hereafter PRAAD]. See also Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 151; and *Ghanaian Times*, October 26, 1964.

⁴⁰ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 152–158, quotation from 152–153.

⁴¹ On that occasion, her glider nearly crashed. She was able to land safely, but “I myself was paralyzed by pain, the audience by fear.” *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴² *Evening News*, March 22, 1965.

⁴³ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 164.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 163–164. I have not been able to trace the source of the quote or to check its accuracy.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 161, 165. See also *Daily Graphic*, October 25, 1965; and *Ghanaian Times*, October 25, 1965.

teachers in training flew model planes to a height of 1,600 feet.⁴⁶ When Nkrumah visited the school in early December, the *Evening News* story declared: "Patriotic Able-Bodied Ghanaians: They Set Out with Wings as Eagles." Center-page coverage in the December 4 *Daily Graphic* included multiple photos, with shots of a new glider being assembled by students, Air Force pilots completing their training, and models being constructed.⁴⁷ In her memoir, Reitsch described the momentum she believed the school had achieved. Plans were well-developed for model-making to be introduced into all secondary and middle schools, so that all students would "learn to work nimbly with their hands . . . they would learn endurance, precision, cleanliness, and self-discipline."⁴⁸ She had arranged for a physical education expert to visit the school weekly in order to introduce sports. She had also organized yoga instruction for the students (perhaps an artifact of her time in Delhi) and literacy classes for the townspeople in Afiénya. A meteorological observation station was about to go into operation. But all of these plans, as she wrote, "came to an end with the coup" on February 24, 1966.⁴⁹ The Afiénya Gliding School was one of the first CPP projects shut down by the new military government, the National Liberation Council, in the wake of Nkrumah's overthrow. Shortly thereafter, Reitsch and her two German compatriots were deported to West Germany.⁵⁰

BUT PUBLISHED NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS and Reitsch's memoir tell us very little about how or why this former Nazi pilot became a critical player in the grand narrative of Ghanaian nation-building and modernization. Indeed, for the contemporary reader, the memoir is quite unnerving, as it moves seamlessly from quoting Du Bois and extolling Nkrumah's foresight and the promises of pan-African unity to describing the "uncomplicated *joie de vivre* . . . and the simple naturalness of . . . Ghanaians."⁵¹ While Reitsch writes of a profound epiphany in her understanding of race, as a result of her work in India and then Ghana, it is an epiphany filtered through a modernizing and profoundly racist discourse about what is "natural," what is "lacking," and how "progress" can be achieved. Indeed, many of her passages resonate powerfully with the postwar racial revelations of Leni Riefenstahl, the famous Nazi filmmaker-turned-ethnographic photographer of the Nuba. Reitsch writes, for example, "For me, the blacks had occupied a sphere that lay somewhere much lower than that of white men. Earlier in my life, it would have never occurred to me to treat a black person as a friend or partner or to invite him into my parents' home." She describes being seized by a "feeling of guilt" about what she describes as her "presumptuousness and arrogance." "Apart from an equivalent level of education and intelligence, I encountered among these people values that we virtually no longer possess: reverence and kindness, humanity and true brotherliness, the capacity for religious

⁴⁶ *Daily Graphic*, November 23, 1965.

⁴⁷ *Daily Graphic*, December 4, 1965.

⁴⁸ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 201.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁵⁰ See *Ghanaian Times*, March 8, 1966; and *Evening News*, March 7, 1966. For her description of the coup and the events immediately after, see Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 205–216.

⁵¹ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 16.

experience, and deep faith.”⁵² In an especially revealing section of her narrative, Reitsch describes her fondness for, and the great success of, one of her first flight students, an African American youth named Kwesi who had spent his first ten years in the U.S. For Reitsch, it was Kwesi who “proved” that, given exposure to the forces of modernization and technology, anything is possible. He became an “instructive” example, in her words, that disproved the “beliefs” held by Europeans. “The technology and civilization in the U.S., as well as the exposure to the people and their customs, bestowed upon [Kwesi] . . . qualities that we found lacking in the Ghanaians who came to us for instruction. Especially important are discipline, the ability to react quickly, technical know-how, and a sense of purpose.” After only two weeks of instruction, Kwesi was “advanced enough” to venture out on his “first solo flight.”⁵³

Several Europeanist scholars have sought to make sense of Reitsch’s work in Ghana, although most of them are far more concerned with her role in German history—especially her flying exploits during the war and her days in Hitler’s bunker—than with her years in India and Ghana, which usually appear as footnotes to the main narrative of her life.⁵⁴ Some, including Dennis Piskiewicz, argue that Reitsch was drawn to Nkrumah and Nehru by the same “pathology that led her to her friendship with Hitler”: in other words, she was drawn to “charismatic” and “authoritarian men.”⁵⁵ Others explain her Ghana years in terms of her efforts to rebuild a reputation that had been severely damaged by her association with the Nazis. As she herself opined in the postscript to her memoir *The Sky My Kingdom*, “The slurs continue to this day whenever my name appears in a newspaper. I was and still am, again and again, put into a political arena where I never belonged . . . [T]hese so-called eyewitness reports ignore the fact that I had been picked . . . because I was a pilot and a trusted friend, and instead call me ‘Hitler’s girl-friend.’”⁵⁶ Judy Lomax, for example, in her sympathetic portrayal *Hanna Reitsch: Flying for the Fatherland*, describes a patriotic but naïve Reitsch who got entangled in a political world that she did not understand: “Her admiration for Nkrumah was perhaps as politically naïve as her acceptance of Hitler, but was based on a far closer acquaintance. Unwittingly, and as usual with the most sincere of motives, Hanna had again set herself on a political stage.”⁵⁷

The most recent treatment of Reitsch, an insightful 2008 article by Bernhard Rieger in *German History*, sets out to explain precisely how a woman with Reitsch’s history in the Third Reich could go on to a successful global career during the height of decolonization and the Cold War. Rieger finds his answers in the “global obsession with human flight,” gliding’s public image as a “peaceful technology,” the politics of decolonization and modernization in the context of the Cold War, and the constitution of a German diaspora of technological experts, which allowed for the reha-

⁵² Ibid., 29–30. See Leni Riefenstahl, *The Last of the Nuba* (New York, 1974); and Rainer Rother, *Leni Riefenstahl: The Seduction of Genius* (New York, 2002).

⁵³ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 30, 31.

⁵⁴ Reitsch is portrayed in several films about the Second World War: *Operation Crossbow* (1965).

⁵⁵ Piskiewicz, *From Nazi Test Pilot to Hitler’s Bunker*, 125.

⁵⁶ Reitsch, *The Sky My Kingdom*, 219–220.

⁵⁷ Lomax, *Hanna Reitsch*, 180.

bilitation of Nazis and Nazi sympathizers and the diffusion of technology after the Second World War.⁵⁸ In his view, Reitsch

turned Ghana into a site of personal atonement as part of a private displacement strategy that diverted attention from her problematic past by underlining her purportedly compassionate character. Moreover, due to Germany's loss of overseas possessions in 1919, she did not have to wrestle with the issue of colonialism. Africa, then, provided an ideal arena for Reitsch's efforts at moral self-reinvention: it allowed her to parade herself as a racially unprejudiced humanitarian, thereby sidestepping the very political questions of responsibility and guilt that marred her biography.⁵⁹

Still, if Ghana constituted the "ideal arena" for Reitsch's efforts, it was no *tabula rasa* upon which she could simply write the script for her new rehabilitated life. If Ghana worked for Reitsch, how and why did Reitsch work for Ghana? What did those Afienya dreams entail for Ghana? For the ruling CPP? For Nkrumah himself?

The public story as we have constructed it so far, when placed in a comparative, transnational context, provides some compelling answers. Both Reitsch (b. 1912) and Nkrumah (b. 1909 or 1912) were born into an era when aviation prowess was the real "index of national vitality and thus national destiny."⁶⁰ By the mid-1930s, when Nkrumah moved to the United States and Reitsch was establishing her career as a pilot in Germany, aviation was "a crucial part of the modernist experience," and "air-mindedness" featured centrally in the public consciousness of both countries.⁶¹ As Peter Fritzsche has written, "airplanes and airships were the measure of nations at the beginning of the twentieth century, distinguishing not only European genius from an African or Asian mean, but also the truly great powers among the European nation-states."⁶² That flight would therefore become central to Ghana's modernization discourse should come as no surprise. It was hard-wired into the modernist master plan. Indeed, more than any other technological innovation of the twentieth century, as Fritzsche has written, aviation clarifies for us the powerful connections between "national dreams and modernist visions."⁶³ Nkrumah and the CPP's national dreams in the postwar era were very much entangled with what James Scott has termed a "high modernist" vision—"a strong . . . muscle-bound version of . . . self-confidence about scientific and technical progress." That progress—instantiated in and measured by dams, hydroelectric plants, industries, and mechanized farming,

⁵⁸ Rieger, "Hanna Reitsch," 386, 404.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 403.

⁶⁰ Nkrumah explains that the priest who baptized him recorded his birth year as 1909, but his mother had always calculated his birth year as 1912; *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (London, 1957), 1. Peter Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers: German Aviation and the Popular Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 2.

⁶¹ For a comparison of air-mindedness in the U.S. and Germany, see Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers*, 134. For related sources on air-mindedness and the spectacle of flight, see Joseph J. Corn, *The Winged Gospel: America's Romance with Aviation, 1900–1950* (New York, 1983); David Edgerton, *England and the Aeroplane: An Essay on a Militant and Technological Nation* (Basingstoke, 1991); Scott W. Palmer, *Dictatorship of the Air: Aviation Culture and the Fate of Modern Russia* (Cambridge, 2006); Jonathan F. Vance, *High Flight: Aviation and the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto, 2002).

⁶² Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers*, 3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 5, 3.

but also gliders, flight, and air-mindedness—was capable, so the argument went, of catapulting Ghana into the arena of competing nation-states.⁶⁴

Gliding, which was to play such an important role in Ghana's modernizing vision, had its own specific history. What Reitsch imbibed as a young pilot in the 1930s resonated profoundly and directly with Nkrumah's own lived experiences and with his plans for building a modern Ghana with the First Republic. In Germany, gliding had "served as a congenial allegory for nationalist revival" even before the rise of National Socialism. By the time Reitsch took her first flight in 1932, it was viewed as "preparing young students for the reckonings of the machine age. Observers honored gliding for promoting technical thinking and providing affinities to the 'technological age.'" ⁶⁵ During the Third Reich, gliding and model-making were added to the curriculum of most schools based on the belief that gliding "taught all sorts of virtuous lessons about self-reliance and patriotism" and that model-building provided "invaluable lessons in craftsmanship, collaboration, and persistence."⁶⁶

As Nkrumah moved toward building socialism after the inauguration of the First Republic in 1960, he viewed the mobilization of youth around projects of self-reliance, patriotism, and discipline as of paramount importance. The founding of the Young Pioneers in 1961 was aimed at facilitating youth mobilization and severing connections with the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides—organizations that were viewed as reinforcing imperialist connections with Britain. In profound ways, the discourse surrounding the Pioneer movement echoed the very same "virtues" that Reitsch had been exposed to in her own youth. As former Pioneer M. N. Tetteh has written, the Pioneer Code of Discipline emphasized patriotism, discipline, obedience, honesty and morality, punctuality, respect for state property, reliability, comradeship, love of work, fieldcraft, and self-control.⁶⁷ With Hanna Reitsch in place, these codes of conduct could be inculcated into Ghana's youth as they stood in the vanguard of Ghana's modernization, ready—with motors or without—to "take to the sky." As Nkrumah explained in 1963, gliding "is an education in itself," which "develops in men and women qualities of self-discipline, a sense of adventure, self-reliance and responsibility. These are qualities so necessary in the building of personal character and in the general development of a new nation like Ghana."⁶⁸

⁶⁴ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 4.

⁶⁵ Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers*, 123.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 201–202.

⁶⁷ M. N. Tetteh, *The Ghana Young Pioneer Movement: A Youth Organisation in the Kwame Nkrumah Era* (Accra, 1999). Interestingly, Tetteh completely excludes Reitsch from his account and provides a very different chronology for gliding in Ghana. He considers gliding central to the training of the Young Pioneers, but argues that Pioneer gliding began in Takoradi before it moved to Afienu (80–81). In addition to the Code of Discipline, the Young Pioneers pledged to "live by the ideals of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Founder of the State of Ghana, and Initiator of the African Personality. To safeguard by all means possible, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Ghana from internal and external aggression. To be always in the vanguard for the social and economic reconstruction of Ghana and Africa. To be in the first ranks of men fighting for the total liberation of and unity of Africa, for these are the noble aims guiding the Ghana Young Pioneers. As a Young Pioneer, I will be a guard of workers, farmers, co-operatives and all other sections of our community. I believe that our dynamic Convention People's Party is always supreme and I promise to be worthy of its ideals." The pledge is quoted in Robert Yaw Owusu, *Kwame Nkrumah's Liberation Thought: A Paradigm for Religious Advocacy in Contemporary Ghana* (New York, 2005), 133–134.

⁶⁸ *Ghanaian Times*, May 20, 1963.

One year before the 1966 coup that overthrew Nkrumah, a long article in the *Ghanaian Times* laid out in detail the necessary connections between youth, flight, and nation-building. It began by noting that most Ghanaians were probably wondering, “‘What is the need for gliding: what benefit does one derive and what are the prospects for those taking to gliding?’” The answers were simple and straightforward and are worth quoting in full:

Gliding helps to produce men of character who must be needed in Ghana today to implement the policies of the Government. A nation is not judged only by its fortifications, its material resources and skyscrapers. It is also judged by the quality and character of its citizens and that is exactly the aim of the Gliding School. To be a successful glider pilot requires the qualities of self-discipline, reliability, punctuality, courage and humility.

These qualities are vital for nation-building and especially so in a developing country and it is hoped that the Gliding School will be the nursery from which will bloom modest young men of virtue and self respect.

Secondly, gliding encourages air-mindedness in the youth. With the establishment of the school, the youth of Ghana will also acquire the skills for the mysteries of “the world above the ground . . .”

The third and most important role of the Gliding School is that it serves as a link between the Armed Forces, particularly the Air Force and one could rightly say that it is a pre-initial training wing of the Air Force, that is it gives the first “taste of the air” to the Air Force cadets.⁶⁹

In many ways, then, Reitsch’s work at the gliding school resonated powerfully with Nkrumah’s modernizing agenda. Not only did the school help to inculcate discipline and courage in the nation’s youth, it served to build a national military, with air capabilities, to replace the colonial army of old. As Rieger notes, “gliding was . . . by no means merely a romantic form of soaring in the wind . . . it provided a cost-effective means of training and research that proved integral to civil and military aviation.”⁷⁰ Gliding, as part and parcel of a high modernist vision, was thus critically situated at the core of both nation-building and the consolidation of state power.

The connections between the high modernist visions of Nkrumah and Reitsch underscore two perhaps obvious but fundamental points. First, when those connections are set in a global and comparative context of nation-building and modernization, Reitsch appears not as some strange anomaly in the story of African nationalism, African liberation, and pan-Africanism, but as part of a broad transnational process whereby German technological expertise, for which many in the world hungered, was dispersed across the globe in the postwar era. (Let us not forget the former Nazi aeronautical engineers who populated the U.S. space program!) That expertise was inextricably linked to what John Kelly and Martha Kaplan have called “the routinization of the nation-state” after 1945.⁷¹ Reitsch’s presence in Ghana, therefore, makes absolute sense, not only and simply because of her own personal quest for refuge and rehabilitation, but because the message she brought and the modern baggage she carried fit, for the most part, quite comfortably, and

⁶⁹ *Ghanaian Times*, February 23, 1965.

⁷⁰ Rieger, “Hanna Reitsch,” 388.

⁷¹ John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan, *Represented Communities: Fiji and World Decolonization* (Chicago, 2001), 9.

in many ways predictably, within the borders of Nkrumah's aspiring high modernist state. Secondly, the fact that Reitsch-in-Ghana makes sense only in this transnational, postwar context has important implications for how we can imagine or understand the constitution and the expanse of Africa's postcolonial archive. At the very least, it suggests that the documentary sources for reconstructing African postcolonial histories extend well beyond the depositories of "national archives"—whether of the postcolonial nation-state or of the former colonizing power. In other words, tracing the technological and ideological genealogies that connect "nationalist dreams and modernist visions" globally—including in and through Nazi Germany—should propel historians to new and perhaps unexpected places, to new archive possibilities, which in turn might shift the contours of postcolonial history-writing in quite dramatic ways.

IN THE SPECIFIC CASE OF Kwame Nkrumah, Hanna Reitsch, and the Afienya Gliding School, then, what and where are the primary documentary sources for telling a far more complicated postcolonial story—a story that is both deeply and specifically national and yet profoundly global? As Antoinette Burton has written, "Crucial to the task of re-materializing the multiple contingencies of history writing is the project of historicizing the emergence of state and local archives; interrogating how archive logics work, what subjects they produce, and which they silence in specific historical and cultural contexts."⁷² None of the contemporary documentation on Reitsch and her school that circulated in the public sphere within Ghana (newspaper accounts or programs from various events) makes mention of her Nazi past or of her connections to Hitler. She is simply a member of that strange and diverse cast of expatriate characters who worked to fulfill some of Ghana's early modernization dreams. But when we look to the Ghana national archive, which is now called the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD)—to class listings, government documentation, and the ministry files, minutes, and correspondence upon which many of us hope to rely for constructing more nuanced historical narratives—we find that the record is spotty at best. After the coup that ended Nkrumah's rule in 1966, the military ransacked Flagstaff House, the seat of presidential power, and most of the executive files, including the correspondence of Nkrumah and many of his closest colleagues, were carted off and subsequently disappeared. To date, very few documents from Ghana's Ministry of Defense have made their way into the national archive.⁷³

Although military rule wreaked havoc on the official national archive of Ghana's First Republic—and has thus profoundly circumscribed the kinds of histories that can and will be written—soldiers were not as systematic or as thorough in their confiscation and destruction as one might imagine. There are two collections now at the PRAAD in Accra that are giving current researchers their first look at the inner workings of Nkrumah's government.⁷⁴ Indeed, some extremely sensitive materials,

⁷² Antoinette Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," in Burton, *Archive Stories*, 1–24, quotation from 9.

⁷³ RG 14, Ministry of Defense, PRAAD.

⁷⁴ The two new series are RG 17/1 and RG 17/2. They both consist of a rather haphazard collection

which undoubtedly would have been reclassified by a government archivist in the 1960s as “top secret” and placed on a fifty- or one-hundred-year hold or even “destroyed by statute,” have accidentally survived in bits and pieces in the national archive. In addition, not a few of the scores of expatriates who were drawn to Ghana in the 1960s (Reitsch included) have written memoirs and deposited their papers in archives across the globe—at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York City, the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University in Washington, D.C., the Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the University College Dublin, the Deutsches Museum in Munich, and Rhodes House in Oxford, to name just a few. (Unfortunately, there has not been a sustained or systematic effort to archive, publicly or privately, the papers of Ghanaians who were politically active during these same years.)⁷⁵ These scattered fragments—either buried in mislabeled files in Ghana’s national archive or dispersed in what might be called its “shadow archive”—do not only and simply “fill in the gaps” in a linear story of modernization and nation-building. In many cases, the fragments destabilize a “high modernist” narrative and point toward new history-writing possibilities—possibilities far less anchored in, far less dependent upon, and thus far less likely to be overdetermined by the archiving apparatus of the postcolonial nation-state.

We can begin, for example, with Reitsch’s own papers, which were placed on deposit by her family in the archives of the Deutsches Museum in Munich after her death in 1979.⁷⁶ Although very little documentation on the Afienva school has survived in Ghana, Reitsch’s papers contain extensive official correspondence (including Ghana government correspondence not available in Ghana) that meticulously documents the establishment of the school. Included are Nkrumah’s original correspondence with Reitsch and expansive government correspondence about the buildings at Afienva, the importation of gliders and modeling kits, West German funding, and the training of Ghanaian students both in West Germany and in Ghana. Indeed, much of the official Ghana government documentation cited by Reitsch in her memoir is available in Munich; almost none of it is available in Accra.⁷⁷ Admittedly, much of Reitsch’s material appears to have been very carefully vetted, so

of original records, published documents, and correspondence from Flagstaff House. RG 17/2 was originally thought to constitute the papers of the Bureau of African Affairs. The first listing for the series is therefore SC/BAA. It is currently being renumbered as RG 17/2. In addition, there are truckloads of files in the various ministries, many dating back to the First Republic, that have survived Ghana’s succession of military coups but have not yet made their way into the government archival repository.

⁷⁵ In addition to official government collections in Britain, the U.S., and elsewhere, the papers of private individuals who spent extensive time in Ghana are incredibly rich. See, by way of example, the papers of St. Clair Drake, William Alphaeus Hunton, and Julian Mayfield at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture; the Kwame Nkrumah Papers at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center; the Conor Cruise O’Brien Papers at University College Dublin; or the Shirley Graham Du Bois Papers at the Schlesinger Library. Of course, there are countless collections of private papers held by Ghanaians in Ghana, but these remain in the hands of family members and have yet to be put on public deposit. To my knowledge, there has been no sustained or coordinated effort by the university or the national archives (PRAAD) to collect and archive the private papers of key political actors from the early independence era to the present.

⁷⁶ NL 130, Hanna Reitsch Papers, Archiv des Deutschen Museums, Munich [hereafter Reitsch Papers]. Several boxes in the collection, for example, 130/112, 114, 115, and 116, were made available to researchers only in 2009.

⁷⁷ See especially *ibid.*, NL 130/28.

that it adheres closely to the published/public narrative of institutional modernization, but it is surely worthy of some methodological reflection that the bulk of documentation for telling this particular story of nation-building is not located in the nation in question!

Although there is very little in Reitsch's own papers to indicate just how controversial her presence in Ghana indeed was, there is at least one letter, sent to her in July 1965 by an anonymous "Nkrumahist," that accuses her of being involved in "spying activities" and acting in "alliance with the agents of imperialism." It warns that she is "unconsciously preparing the ground for [her] . . . own demise."⁷⁸ There is one small fragment of similar evidence in a mislabeled correspondence file originally seized by the military from Flagstaff House in 1966 and now on deposit in Ghana's national archive. In an unpublished letter to the *Ghanaian Times*, someone who signed himself "A Comrade" notes that the newspaper might be interested to learn that there are some "high ranking Nazis now in high places in Ghana." The writer suggests that the *Times* "find out what you can about that Glider Woman, Hanna Reitch [*sic*], a famous test pilot in Hitler's Luftwaffe, now teaching young Ghanaians." The author then directs the paper to William Shirer's *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* and asks, "What is she doing in Ghana, among the *Untermenschen* she so despised twenty-five years ago?" A marginal note written on the letter, probably by someone in Flagstaff House, suggests, "This may be from a nosey-poker."⁷⁹

But evidence from Ghana's transnational shadow archive reveals that Reitsch's presence was especially controversial among members of the large African American community who had settled in Ghana beginning in the mid-1950s.⁸⁰ As Julian Mayfield describes in his unpublished memoir "Tales of the Lido":

Many of us were thrown off our balance when . . . the President himself announced that he had invited Hannah [*sic*] Reitsch to be the director of Ghana's new gliding school. Miss Reitsch, some readers may recall, was the crack Nazi woman test pilot, and one of the last persons to see Adolf Hitler alive. Indeed, she had flown to the Fuehrer's Berlin bunker and urged him to let her fly him out to safety. According to her account, she argued, "The Fuehrer must live so that Germany can live." Then she prepared herself with poison and grenade to die with her beloved leader. Now here she was in black Africa, a little over 15 years later, about to take over the training of some of Ghana's youth. None of us at my level knew how to handle this. It was not our country, and nobody had asked our opinion anyway. We wanted to give Nkrumah the benefit of the doubt, but that was stretching loyalty too far. She was a frail, little gray woman whose hand I shook at Shirley Graham's house before I knew who she was. A few nights later when Shirley telephoned Ana Livia [Mayfield's wife and a physician] to say that her house guest, Hannah, had a terrible headache and was there anything my wife could do, she answered, "I don't treat Nazis," and hung up. I think Hannah Reitsch was one of the strangest of the strange people who passed through Ghana.⁸¹

⁷⁸ "Nkrumahist" to Hannah [*sic*] Reitsch, July 5, 1965, NL 130/28.1, *ibid*.

⁷⁹ "A Comrade" to Mr. Harry Nimbus, *Ghanaian Times*, Accra, February 22, 1964, SC/BAA 402, PRAAD. *Untermenschen* literally translates as "under-man" or "under-human" (subhuman). It was a term widely used in Nazi Germany for those deemed to be of the "inferior races."

⁸⁰ For an excellent account of this community, see Kevin K. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006).

⁸¹ Julian Mayfield, "Tales of the Lido," 74–75, box 14, file 11, Julian Mayfield Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Yet other evidence—again from transnational “shadow” collections—reveals that there were those both within and outside Ghana’s African American community, including Shirley Graham Du Bois, who knew of Reitsch’s past but did not share Mayfield’s feelings, and who in fact nurtured close friendships with Reitsch, including well after the 1966 coup.

Both Reitsch and Du Bois were members of Nkrumah’s inner circle and had direct access to him on a daily basis. They were also very close to Erica Powell, his private secretary. How was Reitsch’s Nazi past understood by those who became her closest confidantes in Ghana? Again, the transnational shadow archive offers some interesting answers. A letter from Shirley Graham Du Bois to Nkrumah in 1968 (one of many between the two that speak of their common affection for Reitsch) provides a clear sense of their shared understanding of this “dear innocent”:

Hanna truly lives high in the heavens, among the stars, above gleaming mountain tops. *Flying is her life*. To her the craigs and rocks and tortuous tangles through which you and I must struggle look very small and insignificant. Hanna simply does *not know*. Her total ignorance about her own country was clearly indicated when she was with us. They completely fooled her!⁸²

Indeed, in the years after the coup, Shirley Graham Du Bois and Reitsch kept up their friendship, and many of their letters, through 1975, are among the correspondence now collected in Du Bois’s papers at the Schlesinger Library.⁸³ In October 1968, Du Bois spent considerable time with Reitsch in Germany, traveling through the countryside with her and helping her to revise an English edition of *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, which was never published.⁸⁴ In describing Hanna to Nkrumah during this visit, Du Bois wrote, “She is so sweet . . . and trusting. It almost makes me cry. How wonderful it would be if the world were what she thinks it is!”⁸⁵ When Reitsch had a fairly serious gliding accident in July 1969, Du Bois flew from Cairo to be at her side and reported to Nkrumah, “Here I am in Frankfurt visiting our precious Hanna. Yes, she is lying flat on a hard board for five weeks already, but her magnificent soaring spirit is untouched.”⁸⁶

⁸² Shirley Graham Du Bois, Peking, to Kwame Nkrumah, June 28, 1965, box 3, file 57, Kwame Nkrumah Papers, emphasis in the original. There is also a good deal of correspondence between Du Bois and Nkrumah in the Shirley Graham Du Bois Papers at the Schlesinger Library [hereafter Du Bois Papers]. See especially box 22, files 15, 16, 17. In one letter to Du Bois, Nkrumah (who at that time, presumably for security reasons, signed his letters “Rodnick”) wrote of Reitsch, “I am glad you had a nice time with H. You are right; she is a marvel, only sometimes her persistence and impatience get on my nerves a bit.” Kwame Nkrumah, Conakry, to Shirley Graham Du Bois, November 2, 1968, box 22, file 17. After the 1966 coup, Nkrumah and Du Bois also developed a close and, for a time, very intimate relationship, which included Du Bois visiting Nkrumah in Conakry. See especially box 22, Du Bois Papers.

⁸³ Du Bois died in 1977. Reitsch died two years later. See especially boxes 19, 20, 21, and 22, Du Bois Papers. Perhaps for security’s sake, Du Bois sometimes addressed her letters to “Anna,” not “Hanna,” or to “My Dear Little Friend.”

⁸⁴ Extensive correspondence on the manuscript, including a roughly translated English version, can be found in NL 130/120 and 121, Reitsch Papers.

⁸⁵ Shirley Graham Du Bois, Frankfurt, to Kwame Nkrumah, October 10, 1968, box 3, file 57, Nkrumah Papers. For Du Bois’s description of her work on the manuscript, see also Du Bois, Cairo, to Nkrumah, October 17, 1968, box 3, file 57; Du Bois, Cairo, to Nkrumah, August 23, 1969, and August 5, 1969, box 3, file 58.

⁸⁶ Shirley Graham Du Bois, Frankfurt, to Kwame Nkrumah, July 29, 1969, box 3, file 58, Nkrumah Papers.

June Milne, Nkrumah's research assistant, publisher, and literary executor, wrote of Reitsch in similar terms in the introduction to her edited collection of Nkrumah's correspondence from his years of exile in Conakry:

Hanna was no diplomat. Nor did she have a great deal of political knowledge . . . If she was convinced of anything . . . Hanna would vehemently and repeatedly express her views, which could be tiring as well as irritating. But when she committed herself to any person or to any project, her loyalty and courage were limitless. If Nkrumah had asked her to fly him to Accra when she visited him in Conakry, she would gladly have faced the extreme danger. As her friend Erica Powell, once said to me, "If I was stranded at the North Pole, Hanna would come and get me out."⁸⁷

That Reitsch was a precious innocent who had been caught in a tangle of political forces she could not possibly understand was clearly a view shared by at least some who knew her in and through her time in Ghana.⁸⁸

But what of Nkrumah? What were his thoughts about Reitsch? The few bits and pieces of his correspondence that survive in Du Bois's papers echo this perspective on "precious Hanna."⁸⁹ From the German Foreign Office archives, Rieger cites a report from the West German ambassador suggesting that "Nkrumah himself held an ambiguous attitude to Hitler" and that he "saw in Reitsch a 'great humanist' devoid of 'ideological fixations,' and 'above all politics.'" ⁹⁰ There is certainly nothing in Reitsch's papers to indicate otherwise. Indeed, for the most part, it is difficult for the historian to follow any official documentary trail, within or beyond Ghana's borders. Part of the problem is the loss of the official records and correspondence that were destroyed in the wake of the 1966 coup. There is, in other words, no "presidential library" in Accra housing the documentary minutiae of Nkrumah's years in office, and Nkrumah makes no mention of Reitsch in his published work. But here and there, scraps of evidence have survived—although there are none in Reitsch's own papers—which not only detail a very close and affectionate relationship between the two, but also point to the purposeful destruction of correspondence by a range of individuals, especially after the coup, that might lend insight into the more intimate aspects of their association. From Reitsch's published memoir, we know that in March 1966 she flew to Conakry, in disguise, to see Nkrumah and report to him "what had happened in Ghana."⁹¹ Milne describes this trip as Reitsch's one and only visit to Conakry, and a most unfortunate one because of her "lurid descriptions of the 'jubilation' of Ghanaians at his overthrow."⁹² Milne acknowledges that Nkrumah and Reitsch wrote to each other over the years, and that Reitsch sent him food parcels and "the rose bushes which bloomed in the large concrete pots lining the verandah at Villa Syli" in Conakry, but that is where Milne ends the story of the

⁸⁷ June Milne, comp., *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years, His Life and Letters* (London, 1990), 14.

⁸⁸ As we have seen, it was the explanation that Reitsch herself professed in the postscript to *The Sky My Kingdom*, and which her primary biographer, Judy Lomax, echoed in her account.

⁸⁹ Kwame Nkrumah, Conakry, to Shirley Graham Du Bois, August 5, 1969, box 22, file 17, Du Bois Papers.

⁹⁰ Rieger, "Hanna Reitsch," 401 and n. 106, citing report from Ambassador Lüders to Auswärtiges Amt, March 25, 1963, B94/1081, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, Politisches Archiv.

⁹¹ Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 217.

⁹² Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 14. Cf. Reitsch's account of the visit in *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 217–218.

relationship.⁹³ She states that among the papers Nkrumah left behind in Conakry, there was one letter from Reitsch, as well as a postcard, but no copies of the letters that Nkrumah wrote to Reitsch.⁹⁴

However, Milne also notes in her introduction that when she visited Reitsch in Frankfurt in 1978, Reitsch showed her a "pile" of letters from Nkrumah, "hand-written on the familiar blue airmail paper Nkrumah used in Conakry," but when Milne returned to Frankfurt after Reitsch's death in 1979, Reitsch's brother told her that he had not found a single letter from Nkrumah among Reitsch's letters. "I can only surmise that she destroyed the letters herself," Milne wrote, "or arranged for them to be destroyed after her death, probably by her faithful housekeeper and secretary, Fraulein Walter."⁹⁵ Certainly none of these letters are currently available in Reitsch's papers in Munich. But what of her letters to Nkrumah? Milne reports that she found almost nothing in Conakry, although she "was not surprised to find . . . so little evidence of their correspondence . . . For Nkrumah kept personal letters himself, and from time to time burned them."⁹⁶ Nkrumah's destruction of personal letters is corroborated by another of his close women confidantes, Genoveva Marais, who wrote in her 1972 memoir, *Kwame Nkrumah: As I Knew Him*, that he "destroyed most of them, careful not to leave the smallest shreds and fragments to be picked up by others."⁹⁷

We can surmise, then, from Milne that there was an extensive correspondence between Nkrumah and Reitsch (and we can infer the same from references in Shirley Graham Du Bois's correspondence with Nkrumah), and yet there are also strange inconsistencies in Milne's story and in the evidence that, as literary executor, she has left us. Oddly, in the very papers Milne deposited at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, and out of which she drew her compilation for *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years*, there are in fact two very long letters from Reitsch to Nkrumah and several letters, businesslike in tone, from him to her, regarding her Ghanaian memoir and the number of his letters that had reached her, and also enclosing a copy of W. E. B. Du Bois's autobiography.

In her edited compilation, Milne includes a letter that Reitsch wrote to Nkrumah on December 13, 1970. It is extremely interesting to compare the original with what Milne chose to publish. The published version is brief and heavily edited; we are presented with three short paragraphs that describe Reitsch's reaction to the news that the Portuguese had invaded Guinea from Guinea-Bissau and her concern for

⁹³ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 14.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 14–15. At present, it is not possible to determine whether Nkrumah's letters were actually destroyed or have simply not been released, though I suspect they were destroyed. As noted above, a fairly thorough collection of Reitsch's papers is on deposit in the Archiv des Deutschen Museums in Munich (NL 130), but even among the materials made available in 2009, there are no *personal* letters of the type described by Milne and no post-1966 correspondence with Nkrumah.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁹⁷ Genoveva Marais, *Kwame Nkrumah: As I Knew Him* (Chichester, 1972), 80. There was much speculation in the early 1960s about Nkrumah's relationship with Marais. She herself was arrested shortly after the coup. In a *Life* magazine article, she was described as "Nkrumah's slender mulatto mistress"; "Newsfronts: Nkrumah's Friends Are All in Trouble," *Life*, March 18, 1966, 45. In her memoir, she writes: "I feel that I am peculiarly suited to write about him because I was his friend . . . In fact, he wanted to marry me and I could have been his wife. I preferred instead to be his special confidante, in the widest sense of the term"; *Kwame Nkrumah*, 2.

Nkrumah's safety.⁹⁸ No opening salutation or closing is included. Yet the original is a lengthy handwritten letter that begins "Dearest BB"—a pet name Reitsch used that was an abbreviation of "Big Bush." (He, in turn, called her "LB," or "Little Bush.") She goes on to describe some of the lectures she had given about Ghana and a surgery she had had to undergo and then shares news about common friends. She expresses her worries about Nkrumah and about what she should send him for Christmas. "In the beginning of your exile," she writes, "it was easier for me to know—I really do not know what to do. If you would send me a list what you want, I would be soooooo happy!!! Enough for today. I am always with you—thinking of you—praying for you, loving you and—being worried about your safety. With deepest love, Ever, Your LB/LG."⁹⁹

It would be easy enough to accept Milne's characterization of this relationship, or at least the evidence she has left us of the relationship, if it were not for the files and files of cables, also now on deposit at Howard, that catalogue a very close, on-going relationship right through to 1971—the year before Nkrumah died in Romania. Cables flew back and forth between Conakry and Frankfurt (or wherever Reitsch was at any given time), often several times a week. Through these frequent communiqués, the two kept track of letters and parcels sent and received. Sometimes they addressed each other as "BB" and "LB"; sometimes they resorted to pseudonyms, which Nkrumah often used in other correspondence because of the problem of mail tampering. He would sign off as "Sana," the name of his protocol officer and interpreter, and she would sign off as "A. Walter," her secretary and housekeeper.¹⁰⁰ Some examples, out of the hundreds of those cables, include:

VERY HAPPY 158 AND 159 ARRIVED THANKS BEAUTIFUL PHOTOS LOVE SANA
MANY THANKS CAN OPERATE RECORDER LISTEN TO TAPE ALONE WONDERFUL CONGRATULATIONS HAPPY WRITING MUCH LOVE SANA

HAPPY 28 ARRIVED MUCH LOVE EVER LB

BUSH PARCEL ARRIVED TODAY HAPPY THANKS LOVE LB

THANKS CABLE LAST RECEIVED LETTER DATED 26 FEB WORRIED LOVE LB¹⁰¹

Obviously, the cable messages are ambiguous at best, but they at least suggest, among other things and contrary to what Milne reports in the introduction to her book, that Reitsch may very well have visited Conakry on more than one occasion.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 385.

⁹⁹ Hanna Reitsch, Frankfurt, to Kwame Nkrumah, December 3, 1970, box 7, file 82, Nkrumah Papers. I have not puzzled out what "LG" stands for. As for the origin of the nickname "Bush," there are not many clues. Lomax notes that Reitsch read Nkrumah's autobiography before going to Ghana for the first time in 1962 and formed a "favourable impression of a 'son of the bush'"; *Hanna Reitsch*, 168.

¹⁰⁰ On the various pseudonyms that were devised, see Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 7.

¹⁰¹ The cables can be found in boxes 10, 11, 12, and 13, Nkrumah Papers. The specific cables cited here are Sana to Mrs. A. Walter, October 20, 1967, box 11, file 9; Sana to Mrs. Walter, September 2, 1967, box 11, file 9; LB to Sana, March 12, 1968, box 13, file 12; LB to Sana, March 16, 1968, box 13, file 10.

¹⁰² See especially "Bush" to Reitsch, July 30, 1966, box 10, file 55, Nkrumah Papers; Sana to A. Walter, March 20, 1967, box 11, file 4; Sana to A. Walter, July 12, 16, and 20, 1967, box 11, file 7. Note also that in *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, Reitsch intimates that she visited Nkrumah in Conakry on several occasions: "Every time my plane departed and Osagyefo saw me off, he radiated the same benevolence and poise" (218).

In what remains of Nkrumah's correspondence *in* Ghana—correspondence that was lost, for the most part, when the military ransacked Flagstaff House in 1966—there is some surviving, fragmentary evidence of a growing intimacy between the two. A few personal letters from Reitsch to Nkrumah survive in the SC/BAA series in Ghana's national archive from the period in late summer 1965 when Reitsch returned to Germany for medical treatment for what turned out to be hepatitis A. In these letters, she addresses him as "B." In the first, written from Rome on her way to Frankfurt, she thanks him for the "lovely little pink rose" he sent to her before her departure. It "was during the whole flight my consolation and joy and I will keep it pressed and dried with me until I am safely back."¹⁰³ In her next letter, sent August 27, 1965, from Frankfurt, she tells him of her diagnosis: "it seemed impossible . . . when I heart [*sic*] this only tears were running over my cheeks, like a little girl. To come back to you and to all my so deeply beloved work for you, is my only burning wish."¹⁰⁴ In a letter dated September 2, 1965, she thanks him for his unexpected phone call and promises to listen to the doctors. She signs off, "Ever yours, Hanna." In a postscript, she sends a request:

B.- I have a great burning wish: Lying here for several weeks means quite a long time. Could you make me the *great joy* and send me this black leather foto-etui, which I gave you before my departure, in which you wanted to put copies of the fotos of the children. And when it would be possible, put in it some fotos from *you*. It is a very unmodest wish? Perhaps with diplomatic mail or via Frankfurt Kettenhofweg 55 you could send it. I would be deeply happy to have those fotos near me. Yours. H.¹⁰⁵

That is the last piece of personal correspondence we have between them until the days after the coup.

Clearly bits and pieces of documentation such as these, dispersed across the globe in shadow archives or randomly batched in mislabeled or unlabeled files in Ghana's national archive, raise certain kinds of questions that we will likely never be able to answer: Were Reitsch and Nkrumah lovers? Was there a cover-up of some sort, a conspiracy of silence? If so, who was complicit? In many ways, the answers to such questions are beside the point. As Mbembe has observed, "destroying or prohibiting the archive has only provided it with additional content."¹⁰⁶ What these destroyed letters and evidentiary fragments also, and more importantly, do is expose the uneven expanse of what constitutes, in fact, Ghana's postcolonial archive—its hidden corridors and unlikely repositories. They propel us to track new evidentiary pathways that are not always self-evident and to interrogate the contingencies of postcolonial history-writing. This postcolonial archive is not the easy and direct descendant of the colonial archive project. It is not a "national archive." It does not reside in one place, or even two or three. It is a global, transnational archive, ranging from Accra to Beijing, from New Delhi to Frankfurt, from Moscow to Bucharest, from Tel Aviv to Harlem. The archival skills that Africanist historians have honed in London, Aix-en-Provence, and Lisbon—in Accra, Dakar, and Luanda—surely require refashioning in order to meet the linguistic, logistic, financial, and conceptual challenges posed

¹⁰³ Hanna Reitsch, Rome, to Kwame Nkrumah, August [n.d.], 1965, SC/BAA 402, PRAAD.

¹⁰⁴ Hanna Reitsch, Frankfurt, to Kwame Nkrumah, August 27, 1965, *ibid*.

¹⁰⁵ Hanna Reitsch, Frankfurt, to Kwame Nkrumah, September 2, 1965, *ibid*.

¹⁰⁶ Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," 23.

by this vast shadow archive, much of it generated by the transnational policing mechanisms of the Cold War surveillance state.¹⁰⁷ The promising work of a new generation of scholars is already demonstrating the power and possibility of archival work that moves beyond the older area studies, colony/metropole template, but far too many graduate programs and funding opportunities in the U.S. (the Fulbright Program, for example) remain tied to a “fieldwork” model that limits archival work to the national archive of the postcolonial state and the former imperial power.¹⁰⁸ And for scholars based at often underfunded African institutions, the challenges posed by transnational shadow archives are especially formidable. If nothing else, surely research centers and funding agencies need to rethink, in elastic and perhaps dramatic ways, just what area studies “fieldwork” means when some of the most important documentation for a postcolonial African history project sits in Havana, New York, or Moscow.

And if evidentiary fragments such as the ones recounted here help to reveal the expanse of postcolonial “shadow” archives, they also provide insight into the constitution, the nature, the illusion of the “national” archive, and its vexed relationship to the postcolonial state. For Mbembe, one of the leading theorists of the postcolonial archive, the state and the archive are forever locked in an ambivalent embrace: “On the one hand, there is no state without archives—without its archives. On the other hand, the very existence of the archive constitutes a constant threat to the state.”¹⁰⁹ At least in Ghana’s case, the state has not adopted the same role as the colonial state in naming, preserving, categorizing, classifying, withholding, or destroying its records. As importantly, it appears to be either unable to do so or uninterested, especially compared to its predecessor, in the archives’ panoptic potential. Multiple, abrupt changes in state power, military rule, economic structural adjustment, and the underfunding of civil service and records management have profoundly affected the constitution of the state’s archive to the degree that one is sometimes left wondering whether the postcolonial state requires archival technologies to exercise rule and reproduce its power, as Mbembe suggests, or, alternatively, whether the primary symptom of what eventually becomes a “failed state” is its inability to deploy archiving technologies.

In either case, for Ghana the bottom line is the same: many official state records, through willful destruction or as a result of negligence or deterioration, have been lost forever. Others have never made it out of a department or ministry and into the state archiving process at all. And yet others, which would or should have been destroyed or at the very least withheld, because of their top secret classification by one set of state actors, have survived subsequent coups by other state actors and IMF-conditioned structural adjustment plans—hidden, perhaps, in an unmarked file in

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America’s Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, Wis., 2009).

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Christopher J. Lee, ed., *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives* (Athens, Ohio, 2010), especially James R. Brennan, “Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of East Africa, 1953–64,” 173–195. See also Meredith Terretta, “Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global: From Forest *Maquis* to a Pan-African Accra,” *Journal of African History* 51, no. 2 (2010): 189–212. Gaines’s *American Africans in Ghana* powerfully demonstrates for both Americanists and Africanists the global expanse of the postcolonial archive.

¹⁰⁹ For a very different set of questions, see Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive and Its Limits,” 23.



FIGURE 3. Reitsch with Nkrumah, his wife (Madame Fathia), and their two children, Gamal and Yabah, on Easter. From Reitsch, *Ich flog für Kwame Nkrumah*, 18.

the state's national archive. In Ghana, these records constitute, in many ways, an accidental archive, for the state has been far less involved in shaping how we can and will remember Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, than, for example, June Milne, Hanna Reitsch, and Shirley Graham Du Bois have been. Indeed, if South Asian histories, as the Subaltern Studies Group began to argue in the 1980s, were overdetermined by the archiving colonial state, then surely—answering a set of very similar questions—we might conclude that postcolonial African histories may very well be underdetermined by the postcolonial state, which has so often been incapable of or uninterested in deploying an archive, *its* archive, as a “technology of rule.”¹¹⁰

And if the postcolonial African state and its “national” archive are not in a po-

¹¹⁰ Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance,” 83.

sition to burden history-writing, what are the possibilities and the contingencies for writing postcolonial histories, including histories of the state? If our search for Nkrumah, Reitsch, and the meanings of motorless flight reveals anything, it is that the destroyed, fragmented, accidental, and dispersed nature of Ghana's postcolonial archive, while it precludes certain kinds of history-writing, may allow for other and new forms of history-writing that are far less subject to the archiving technologies of a panoptic nation-state. If we avoid the unlabeled files, the hidden corridors, and the unlikely shadow repositories of this expansive, dispersed archive, the relationship between the world's leading pan-Africanist and Nazi Germany's most famous female pilot remains locked inside a simple narrative of motorless flight, nation-building, technology, and modernization in the postwar world—a linear narrative that is strikingly and profoundly un-human. Nkrumah stands, perhaps just as he intended when he set alight bits and pieces of his personal correspondence on the veranda at Villa Syli, as the two-dimensional man: the Modernizing Man, the Revolutionary Hero. His story can contain no sadness, no desire, no longing or loss. It is stripped of emotion and affect—a cold, hard tale of Cold War development politics. But if we refuse to be fooled by the idea of a “national” archive, if we seek out those fragments of evidence not just by perusing the archival categories and lists but by scouring the strange unlabeled files, tracing the expansive and often surprising networks of people, and following the unexpected pathways through that globally dispersed shadow archive, we might catch glimpses of some of the phantoms within—faint, but in all of their human dimensions. We might even begin to imagine histories of states and of state power in which there is interpretive and exigetic space for affect and sentiment, for devotion and desire. A decade ago, and in the context of colonial history-writing, Ann Stoler reminded us that “matters of intimacy” were “matters of state.”¹¹¹ The story of Kwame Nkrumah, Hanna Reitsch, and the wonders of motorless flight point to the obverse: that “matters of state” could also be “matters of intimacy,” and that there are stories of decolonization, of modernization, and of nation-building that can be told—perhaps are best told—when freed from the archiving imperatives, the technologies of rule, of a singular postcolonial nation-state.

¹¹¹ Ann Laura Stoler, “Matters of Intimacy as Matters of State: A Response,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (December 2001): 893–897.

Jean Allman teaches African History and chairs the Department of History at Washington University. Her recent books include *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress* (Indiana University Press, 2004) and *Tongnaab: The History of a West African God* (with John Parker, Indiana University Press, 2005). Her research on gender, colonialism, and African nationalism has appeared in the *Journal of African History*; *Africa*; *Gender and History*; the *Journal of Women's History*; *History Workshop Journal*; and *Souls*. Allman co-edits, with Allen Isaacman, the New African Histories series at Ohio University Press and is currently writing a book on gender, intimacy, and the state in Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

Comment: The Futures of Transnational History

MATTHEW PRATT GUTERL

IN THE THREE CONTRIBUTIONS to this *AHR* Forum, the life is a stand-in for something else: for the nation, for the world, for the trans-nation. The “life” here is different. It is not offered up in the sense of your typical biography, where the goal is to unearth the minutiae of the everyday, to plot a single human being’s circumstance in all of its cradle-to-the-grave detail, and in doing so to explain his or her consequence. Instead, the purpose of the “life” in these projects is to contain and focus an answer to a question that might, were it not appropriately consolidated, expand without end, and to reveal, through that containment and focus, something new—something exciting—about the relations of the self to place, time, and space. Each in their own way, the three essays in this forum reveal where we—historians of the trans-nation—are today, and suggest where we might need to go. Every life tells us something new and exciting; every life has consequences for what we can write and imagine.

This trio arrived on my desk this past fall, catching me by surprise, and in a moment of somber reflection. I had recently given a public talk about Josephine Baker, the object of my attention for the past six years—and a “life” to match, in spirit, the group here. After recounting my travels over this period of research and laying out what remained to be done, I had half-jokingly described my biography of the famous African American expatriate, performer, and human rights activist as the single most expensive humanities project ever conceived. Baker had adopted a dozen children from around the world, and their collective and individual stories had sent me on the road an awful lot. During the discussion that followed the talk, a hand was raised, and a listener asked me whether this sort of project—admittedly necessary and important—was accidentally privileged, whether by establishing this sort of “conspicuous” project as the right kind of work for the future, we had unwittingly created a professional standard that could not be met by anyone outside of elite private and top-drawer public universities. In a moment of profound financial compression, when the humanities are under direct assault, this question, I thought, should haunt us all. Certainly, it haunted my reading of these three extraordinary essays.

For a generation now, scholars have taken up the banner of transnational inquiry. In an age of global connection, they have pushed for work that matters more, that

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illuminates a “usable past,” or that better explains the borderless present.¹ History, even as it adds what is often called a “transnational dimension,” has tightly embraced chronotope.² Moving more slowly to unearth the roots of the present in all of their tangled, weird complexity, and with as much verifiable evidence as possible of the circuits and networks of each transnational moment, the practice of history already requires a much longer period of evidence accumulation and sober reflection. Archive-intensive and suspicious of thinly sourced conclusions, history is generally seen as the study of change over time, and not the scrutiny of, say, genre or theme over place. The transnational approach, for historians, is costly and time-consuming. So while the historical storyscapes get bigger, wider, and more richly detailed, the temporal plot points generally stay the same. Or, put another way, to bend space, to “go” transnational, historians often recommit to the hegemony of time. In the end, this recommitment is a source of important short-term strength—and also, perhaps, of debilitating long term-weakness.

Mining this vein, a generation’s worth of work has been done with great results—covering territories and centuries not represented in this forum. The isolationist, cartoonish vision of the colonial settlers has been replaced, too, with a densely networked, globally interconnected Atlantic world. Histories of slavery, of the Civil War, of Reconstruction, have been recontextualized, their backdrops changed forever.³ The Harlem Renaissance—an example, for Nathan Huggins, of the pluralist potential of American culture—is now seen as a feature of a global awakening.⁴ The civil rights movement, once framed as a domestic dispute, is now thoroughly internationalized, with richly documented connections to the Americas, to Europe, to Africa, and to histories of human rights and radicalism around the globe.⁵ The long-lived emphasis on foreign policy and gentlemen diplomats is now coupled with a

¹ For great demonstrations, see Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Durham, N.C., 2008); Martha Hodes, *The Sea Captain’s Wife: A True Story of Love, Race, and War in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2006); Kirsten Silva Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing* (Princeton, N.J., 2002).

² In contrast, within the busy landscape of transnational inquiry, literature’s long-lived focus on genre allows it to slip free of time, to break up conventional framings and plotlines; the thematic relations of William Faulkner and Gabriel García Márquez, for instance, do not fit an agreed-upon chronology or periodization, and acknowledging those relations changes our sense of the “when” and “where” of American literature. If transnational literary critiques often fail to carefully uncover the actual, on-the-ground networks that make those relations possible, moving beyond national borders still allows the study of literature to break away from oft-reprinted calendar bookends: neatly framed periods with names such as “Victorian” and “Modern.” Deborah N. Cohn, *History and Memory in the Two Souths: Recent Southern and Spanish American Fiction* (Nashville, 1999); George B. Handley, *New World Poetics: Nature and the Adamic Imagination of Whitman, Neruda, and Walcott* (Athens, Ga., 2010); David Luis-Brown, *Waves of Decolonization: Discourses of Race and Hemispheric Citizenship in Cuba, Mexico, and the United States* (Durham, N.C., 2008).

³ Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); Edward E. Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida’s Plantation Frontier before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Edward Bartlett Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge, 2009).

⁴ Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Michelle Ann Stephens, *Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the United States, 1914–1962* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

⁵ Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Kevin K. Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Brenda Gayle Plummer, ed., *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1988* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003); Penny Von Eschen, *Race*

focus on the cultures of empire at home and abroad, on soft power as an extension of military might, and on non-state actors acting as proxies for other interests in informal settings. The history of immigration—once yoked to a nationalist narrative of assimilation, and once written only from a U.S. perspective—is now opened up to include circulation or seasonal migrations, cultural synergies and persistent links across national borders, and a kaleidoscopic mosaic of identifications and allegiances.⁶ Everywhere you look, various specializations have been imaginatively reconstructed, and the Cold War myth of an extensive comity and solidarity and American “exceptionalism,” all neatly contained and inwardly focused, has been—happily—forever spoiled.

Transnational history is, though, right now a modest, methodologically conservative venture, acting “like a transparency laid over a familiar map.”⁷ The emphasis is typically on trans-nation as a “dimension,” as a value added to a product already certified as grade A. The ingenuity of much of this work (and I will not dismiss its deep seriousness or its incredible ingenuity; this stuff, I know, is tough to imagine, to research, and to write) often flows from the willingness of historians to revisit familiar sources that are easily available and already well-used; a cache of letters deposited in a major collection in the 1940s, for instance, may well have been used a hundred times before, but never with an eye toward cosmopolitan or transnational or international themes and details. In these cases, the transnational dimension is an “a-ha!” intervention, dramatically altering the telling of a well-rehearsed story. Of course, the retelling of these stories has also required the discovery of new categories of evidence, or a conceptualization of the archive that goes beyond your garden-variety special collections library and includes “fugitive” or “migrant” pieces. And, always, these reimaginings demand a new vantage point, a new way of seeing old things, a reflection of their inherent revisionism. But it remains true that if most transnational histories endeavor to broaden or shift the archive, the viewpoint, and the canon, they do not labor—as, say, cultural history once did—to re-periodize the decades and centuries. There is no equivalent in this new literature for the massive, reorienting sweep of, say, Jackson Lears’s *Fables of Abundance*, published in 1995, which yoked the history of advertisement to a profoundly different timeline.⁸

THIS TENDENCY TO CHANGE the meanings of old stories (and not, say, to tell fundamentally new stories) is on prominent display in these three essays, each a marvel of thoughtful compression and pragmatic framing. Generally, they thoroughly revise—but

against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

⁶ Ifeoma Kiddoe Nwankwo, *Black Cosmopolitanism: Racial Consciousness and Transnational Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2005); Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migration Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900–1936* (Chicago, 2001); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

⁷ I confess: I am critiquing myself here, too. The quote comes from Matthew Pratt Guterl, *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008), 11.

⁸ One partial exception is Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai’i* (Philadelphia, 2012). Skwiot’s work is notable for its two-hundred-year sweep, and for its startling comparative method.

do not replace—an original historiographical script. All three are beautifully argued, flawless in some real sense, demonstrating a mastery of form and effort.

Consider Nancy Cott's piece: she notes, at the start, that Malcolm Cowley, the famous literary critic and author of *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*, provided more than a few of the important metaphors for transnational inquiry. Stressing the coming together of a social class of writers and thinkers—all of them abroad in a time of dramatic transformation—Cowley was attentive to the role of travel in cementing a sense of “home” as well as a sense of “exile.” In his telling, the return stateside was the final act in a long drama, and ended up reshaping the history of American modernist literature. Cowley's language of “exile” is an oft-repeated feature of our current work, as is his notion that a group of sojourning expatriates might find a clearer sense of “nation” in foreign climes. His chronology—his conceptualization of the postwar generation, and through them the 1920s, as stumbling toward a new kind of worldliness—is a long-lived, well-established “truth” of modern American historical thinking.

As Cott reveals, Cowley was hardly an objective narrator of his tumultuous decade. If he emphasized the work of men, the evidence shows that women went abroad in equal numbers. Where Cott stresses the importance of sexual rebellion, Cowley seems prudishly unwilling to include it fully as part of the zeitgeist. Where he emphasizes the revolutionary sensation of exile for the postwar generation of poets and novelists, she reminds us that journalists had been traveling abroad for far longer, and with a different history in Europe. Most importantly, Cott reveals how insignificant Cowley's book was at first publication, and how steadfastly he worked over the decades that followed to shape the memory of the 1920s—prioritizing, from his perch as the dean of the literary establishment, the work of those who fit his story—so that it better matched his portrait. But for the hard work of Cowley himself, Cott concludes, we might not remember *Exile's Return* as anything other than a vanity publication.

As a counter to Cowley's propaganda, Cott revisits his now-forgotten contemporary Vincent Sheean, whose *Personal History* was published a year later than *Exile's Return*, and to significantly greater praise. Cowley's self-promotion is, for Cott, an “obstruction to historical understanding,” because it distorted what actually happened in order to spotlight “the circuit of return.” She finds Sheean's narrative more revealing, more complex, because it is a decompressed vision of the full landscape of the postwar world. Sheean is “a better guide,” in Cott's phrasing, to a generation's “orientation to the world.” Substituting Sheean for Cowley does little, if anything, to alter the big picture of an international community shocked to its very core, to borrow from Yeats, by the loosing of the “blood-dimmed tide” and the drowning of “the ceremony of innocence,” and an American legion of sojourning travelers trying desperately to make sense of it all, to find a place for themselves and their nation amidst the rubble of European civilization.⁹ But it adds to the new interest in stripping away the romanticism that has for too long colored our portraits of the 1920s.¹⁰

⁹ William Butler Yeats, “The Second Coming” (1920), reprinted in Richard J. Finneran, ed., *The Collected Works of W. B. Yeats*, vol. 1: *The Poems* (New York, 1989), 187.

¹⁰ For a fuller example, see Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (New York, 2011).

The portrait of Cowley as a self-serving, even a scheming, careerist is fresh and fun, but the temporal narrative—the periodization—is quite familiar. Cott’s ambition here is to sap the strength of the closed circuit of exile and return described by Cowley, rooted in a disillusioned wartime generation’s quest for meaning abroad, and to proffer, instead, a more continuous, less cyclical quest for global position. In this, she is fabulously successful. The internationalisms of the interwar decades—as captured by Cott in Sheean’s *Personal History*—are, by now, well established in the historical literature.¹¹ Cowley’s puffed-up narrative holds no serious sway, I think, beyond the pages of the *New Yorker*. Familiar, too, is the story of the birth of American studies, framed by Cowley’s strategic revisions of *Exile’s Return*, whose tones and subtexts slowly and calculatingly shifted from the radicalism of the interwar decades to the consensus-oriented Cold War language of the 1940s and 1950s. Even Cott’s exposure of the “lie” of Malcom Cowley’s prescience is a common trope: the ritual skewering of the Cold War-era *paterfamilias* is, after all, a regular occurrence in American studies, whether the father figure is Malcolm Cowley or, as used to be more routine, Perry Miller.¹² My point here is not to critique Cott for not doing what she did not set out to do in the first place, but to appreciate those tasks she completed, and to assess what her thoughtful labors reveal.

WE COULD MAKE THE SAME diagnosis after a reading of Stephen Tuck’s piece. Elegantly shifting back and forth between vantage points, Tuck reminds us that Malcolm X’s appearance at the Oxford Union marked an intersection of known British and American “civil rights” histories. True enough, the visit has attracted relatively little attention from historians. As Tuck notes, Malcolm X’s arrival was part of a pattern, as a number of other activists arrived within the same general period, all of them determined not just to share ideas, but also to build durable working alliances across national contexts, to ensure that the rising tide of human and civil rights efforts could not be so easily halted. What made Oxford such a rich site, Tuck concludes, was its function as a transnational node in the postcolonial network, as a place where progressives from the Caribbean, Africa, and throughout the old British Empire could be linked up with each other, and, of course, with any famous African Americans who happened to be traveling through. Here was a place, then, where Malcolm X could find the best and the brightest of the revolutionary generation, all prepped for connection and exchange.

The payoff for Tuck’s considerable archival work is that it also allows him to write of Malcolm X’s visit from the perspective of those postcolonial progressives and activists. As the essay moves along, its original premise—“the importance that Malcolm X attached to visiting Oxford, and the gains that he hoped to make”—gets

¹¹ For example, Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*; see also, variously, Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000); David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois, 1919–1963: The Fight for Equality and the American Century* (New York, 2001); Jacobson, *Special Sorrows*; Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women’s Movement* (Princeton, N.J., 1997).

¹² The classic example is Amy Kaplan, “‘Left Alone with America’: The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture,” in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 3–21.

subtly displaced by an emphasis on what Tuck routinely calls “British Black Power activists.” It then becomes clear that the interests of Malcolm X and the interests of the students at Oxford were not one and the same, and that the latter group was hardly a passive “audience” eager to receive uncritically the wisdom of anyone, even if that “anyone” was the world’s most dangerous black Muslim. It may be true, as Tuck writes, that “By adding new categories to his list of the non-white oppressed, [Malcolm X] sharpened his thinking about discrimination and anti-racist possibilities.” It may also be true, as Tuck suggests, that in being so transformed, Malcolm X was more like Martin Luther King, Jr., and Stokely Carmichael—both of whom had the same experience—than we have previously recognized. Still, the story of Americans abroad, their newborn eyes opened by the older world around them, is such a conceit of U.S. travel writing that we should want to see far more proof of that “sharpening” than Tuck provides here. On the other hand, the essay leaves us completely enthralled with his preliminary excavation of the subaltern cosmopolitans of Oxford.

Once again, without critiquing Tuck’s essay unfairly, let us consider what it reveals about our current transnational practice. Tuck’s aim here is to reveal the impact of “British-American links during the civil rights era.” Not surprisingly, then, he is not concerned about anything that falls too far outside of that focus. He is considerably less interested, for instance, in Frederick Douglass’s antislavery tours of Britain or Ida Wells-Barnett’s turn-of-the-twentieth-century trip to London, because they seem so clearly to be the product of a different chapter in the history of American (and British) race relations. Nor is he keen to understand, say, the longer, patterned intertwinings of African American and Black British (or Irish, for that matter) histories. His project—exciting and important—is defined as a contribution to the history of the “civil rights era,” a temporal construct that needs, within the pages of his essay, neither interrogation nor explanation.

OF THE THREE ESSAYS in this forum, it is Jean Allman’s that most assertively addresses the hegemony of conventional periodizations. Her exfoliation of the archive—and through it, the relationship of postcolonial Kwame Nkrumah and Hannah Reitsch—is a meditation less on the “life” and more on the various technical challenges posed by the project. Her poignant critique of the state of the archive is linked to “postcolonial” Africa, and to its presumably unique political landscape, but it also strays into Nazi Germany, and into the present. Though she does not reference Rodrigo Lazo’s concerns about the “migrant archive” in the history of greater Mexico and the American Southwest, she seems motivated by the same spirit of inquiry, and the same desire to refuse the official body of evidence as the only possible source of interpretation.¹³

As was true of Cott and Tuck, Allman has a problem to solve. Kwame Nkrumah, long admired as the herald of the world after colonialism, brought a famed Nazi pilot to Ghana to provide general help on planes and flying. This could be read as a savvy

¹³ Rodrigo Lazo, “Migrant Archives: New Routes in and out of American Studies,” in Russ Castronovo and Susan Gillman, eds., *States of Emergency: The Object of American Studies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2009), 36–54.

geopolitical move—akin to the U.S. collection of German scientists after the war. It might be seen, too, as evidence that Accra was another transnational node, like Tuck's Oxford, home to W. E. B. Du Bois, to Maya Angelou, and to Hanna Reitsch, all at once. It could be seen as an illustration of the history of technology as metaphor—the idea, as Michael Adas once put it, that machines were “the measure of men,” an idea with extraordinary power in the postcolonial moment.¹⁴ Or it could be read, as Allman carefully suggests, as proof of something else, of an unimaginable personal connection between these two people that has been, by design, hidden from public view. What begins, then, as a circumspect exploration of a relationship that was certainly metaphorical and geopolitical and that might also have been romantic becomes, gradually, a dissection of research methods.

In the midst of researching a pair of lives like this, what do you do when your various archives have gaping holes that do not line up, each the product of a distinct moment and place? When the biographical question reveals a methodological question? And when your answers stray across space *and* time? Allman might simply have relied on the official archive, on the published and the appropriately catalogued papers in Accra. But this safe approach would not be quite so revealing. She might have attempted to create a complete, alternative archive for Nkrumah, hoping to prove that he was (or wasn't) Reitsch's lover. This might have taken decades. Instead, for now, she allows her subject to drift away from the life, and allows herself to focus on the interlooping histories of discrete collections. “There are stories of decolonization, of modernization, and of nation-building that can be told—perhaps are best told—when freed from the archiving imperatives, the technologies of rule, of a singular postcolonial nation-state,” she concludes. This story—the story of Reitsch and Nkrumah—has to be told outside of nation time, because it is not merely the story of the aftermath of World War II, nor is it just the story of postcolonial Ghana, nor is it both told together: it is something else entirely. Our exploration of that “something else” is a doorway to a different kind of history.

Coming back to Josephine Baker, let me make myself complicit here. At the height of her fame, Baker—a contemporary to the subjects of these three essays, and the “life” of my present work—liked to show guests the top room in the tallest tower of her medieval castle, a glamorous dressing room lined with closets and mirrors and stained glass, and filled with the world's best designers. On the grounds of this French chateau, named Les Milandes, Baker raised her voluminous adopted family, entertained heads of state at her so-called “university,” flew her own flag, offered her own postage stamps, and drew receipts from a public willing to shell out a few francs to watch her hyper-racinated children in tangled play. Today, more than fifty years later, the fabled dressing room of Josephine Baker is reduced to a garbage dump. The walls are a soothing mint green. The stained-glass windows have a simple diamond pattern, and the bubbles and imperfections in the small panes suggest great age. A single long fluorescent bulb hangs from the ceiling. Every opened cabinet reveals a banner from some lost and forgotten pageant, or a sodden pile of water-damaged posters. In the middle of the room sits a tangled pile of old mattresses atop a layer of folded chicken wire. And in this decaying aggregation—all of it carried

¹⁴ Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).

from somewhere else to the top floor of the tallest tower of a fifteenth-century castle—there is a torn-off tawny profile with red lipstick and brown eyes, a mannequin's head from the museum exhibit—the so-called “Jorama,” documenting Baker's life—that was once prominently displayed in this half-state, this medieval castle, this utopia. At the center of her unprocessed archive, Baker's *faux* head is gruesomely stylish even in artifice and decapitation.

Baker's disparate, disconnected archive—exemplified by this head—seems so reminiscent of Allman's that reading the latter's essay made me hold my breath. I found this object in July of 2010, in the stuffy, unreconstructed top floor of the late medieval chateau Baker occupied between the 1930s and the late 1960s. In thinking about it—this mannequin's head—I have also been repeatedly reminded of those unofficiated collections described in this forum by Allman, and defined by Rodrigo Lazo as those “that have not yet been written into the official spaces of archivization, even though they weave in and out of the buildings that house documents.”¹⁵ Baker's discarded head represents the “migrant archive” at one extreme end—it is not the “fugitive” scrap authored in a supposedly foreign tongue and held in isolated captivity by the state, but a forgotten trifle, a piece of trash ready for the junkyard, a piece of a migrant archive on the threshold of incineration. As I write this, it may well already have been thrown in a dumpster. My memory and my photography are the archive.

Like Allman, in framing this life, I am instructed to pick a temporal surround. It would be relatively simple to situate her profile in black diasporic political space—to link it to geographies of expatriatism and transnational radicalism. I could talk about Baker's commitment to anti-racism, her gratuitous hobnobbing with Cheddi Jagan, Fidel Castro, and others. But, though these things are important, to locate my object in this fashion would also be self-satisfying in its already proven subversive convictions. The resulting portrait, if soothing and heroic, would be *almost* right, but still *mostly* incomplete, and *profoundly* undertheorized. So, then, I might profit by partially uprooting Josephine Baker from what we might call civil rights time, or from the storyline of freedom struggles and decolonization.

Baker's playful juxtaposition of the medievalism of the Dordogne and the utopianism of Les Milandes—represented here by the setting of a fifteenth-century tower and that dressing-room paradise-cum-trash heap—is a surprising complement to her easy, traditional association with civil rights time. Her attention to medievalism illuminates the strange co-equality of aristocracy and feminism in her creation. This was, in the end, no utopian commune but a quasi-fiefdom, ruled by a woman once named “Queen of the Colonies” by her adopted homeland. If Baker was an avant-garde feminist—building a daycare onsite for visiting mothers, fielding requests from single women with children for employment, and famously running the estate herself—she was also an enthusiast of the feudal aesthetic, creating a coat of arms for her entryway, cultivating a terraced garden of the sort one might find in Paris, and imagining a spectacular retreat from the capital that rivaled—in her presentation of it—the establishment of Versailles.

“Imagine that you have an object and that you want to study it,” Susan Gillman

¹⁵ Lazo, “Migrant Archives,” 37–38.

and Russ Castronovo write in the introduction to their collection *States of Emergency*.¹⁶ Wrap it in a method, they continue, choose a context, identify your politics, and engage an analytic that compares, and that highlights the discordant frames of time and space. Forget what you know about periods. Let your story get big. Whatever its political goals, Les Milandes—the place, the project, and the backdrop to my object—was deeply and self-consciously rooted in a very anti-democratic history. It is not easy to knit this strange discontent with the present, nostalgia for the unequal past, and celebration of the Benetton future into the flow of civil rights time. To make room for *this* Josephine Baker in our transnational histories, we will need to allow for multiple temporalities and spatialities to coexist, perhaps acrimoniously. We will need to make syntheses out of “wholes and parts” that actively resist our efforts. Certainly, from where I sit, the project is a failure if it does not, once complete, reject conventional “eras” and “periods,” even those we appreciate—like civil rights time—as radical and revolutionary.¹⁷

For whom, precisely, is the world borderless? For which subjects and objects? And, more broadly, for what class of historians? The near-term future of transnational history may well, I think, be determined by our careful husbandry of increasingly scarce resources, but it will also be shaped by our ability to find an even ground for the discipline as a whole to interrogate the interrelations of time and space, and by our commitment to challenge the received wisdom of historiography. In the long run, transnational lives like these might, once they fully shake off the dominance of nation time, provoke some profound re-periodizations. Imagine Sheean’s “life” as a chapter in a history of global internationalism, or Malcolm’s X’s life as a segment of a history of cross-national collaboration. Imagine the duet of Nkrumah and Reitsch as an example of European and African relations over two centuries. Imagine Josephine Baker as an example of the history of motherhood and power and celebrity. Imagine that the point of the transnational approach was not merely to reproduce the periods established within national histories as globally relevant, but to provide, as well, new “eras” to match the new mappings of time and space and change.

In an age of diminished funding opportunities for research and uneven development around the globe, it is not clear that many of those who are interested in lives like these can push too much further. This is especially true for the discipline of history when—as Allman reminds us—the necessary archive cannot be trusted or reasonably completed. In our present circumstances, where looking outward is a political act, and where anything international is too easily labeled “socialism,” I am not sure how many of these projects will get funded, unless it is through the support of elite private universities and their peers in the world of private philanthropy and foundation work. The digitization of materials is not likely to resolve this, either, given the cost and time required for that process, and given the global parallels between uneven development and unequal research infrastructure, and given the topical whimsy of these digitization efforts in the first place.

¹⁶ Russ Castronovo and Susan Gillman, “The Study of the American Problems,” in Castronovo and Gillman, *States of Emergency*, 1–16, here 3.

¹⁷ A reference, of course, to Thomas Bender’s fundamental essay “Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History,” *Journal of American History* 73, no. 1 (June 1986): 120–136.

To a certain extent, the biographical approach of this forum is a necessary cheat—a way around the financial and imaginative constraints of humanities research. This is generally what Cott, Tuck, and Allman do here, following in the footsteps of many others who have done the very same thing. These are not, as I wrote earlier, biographies. They are not comprehensive, cradle-to-grave portraits. They use biography strategically, like a levee, to direct a story that might spill sideways into other areas, to direct it forward and more forcefully along the transnational course. Operating within conventional narratives and periods, we need these human structures. Of course, it is equally important that the contributors to this forum use these lives in a spatially complex way, and that they claim the big stakes, making an effort to reveal the grander, deeper, more powerful significance of these very particular lives and these very particular intersections. But maybe we also need to let things spill out over the edges, just for a little while. When that happens, maybe we will see new features of the landscape. All such stories need to be told. All such lives need to be written. It may well be, however, that they will be better told when we step out of sync with time, when we try to imagine what a more righteous periodization would look like for our histories of the various singularities and networks and disjunctions and circulations that sit at their core. That is a task for the discipline as a whole. And fortunately, that reimagining does not require enough travel to earn elite flyer status.

What we have here, then, is an opportunity for a bold synthesis of this wealth of material, a synthesis that might try to break down the same old same old that lurks beneath each of these otherwise important essays. Their transnational reveal—and that of their cohort of historians—should be a catalyst for something bolder. And here is the best part: this gambit for a new set of syntheses with new periodizations is a flat terrain. It does not require the deep pockets of a limitless research budget, or twenty years of globetrotting, to create a project-specific archive. Instead, it requires us to challenge the reign of time. It demands a borderless imagination, a willingness to take twenty years of other people's work and transmute it into new narratives, new temporalities, and new periodizations. The payoff might well be a genuinely transformative view of the modern world's confusing history of circumnavigations across beloved localities, and a new generation of work—a second generation of transnational history, rooted in new conventions of time and space—might well spring forth.

Matthew Pratt Guterl is Professor of Africana Studies and American Studies at Brown University. He is the author of *The Color of Race in America, 1900–1904* (Harvard University Press, 2001) and *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation* (Harvard University Press, 2008). He is at work on a biography of Josephine Baker.

Featured Reviews

ALDO SCHIAVONE. *The Invention of Law in the West*. Translated by JEREMY CARDEN and ANTONY SHUGAAR. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 624. \$49.95.

In this monumental book, a translation of *Ius: L'invenzione del diritto in Occidente* (2005), Aldo Schiavone traces the history of Roman jurisprudence from the beginnings of Rome until the late classical period of Roman law in the third century C.E. Drawing on his considerable knowledge of Roman history, culture, and law, Schiavone focuses on arguably the greatest intellectual achievement of Roman society, the creation of a system of law, *ius*, that ordered society but remained under the direction of experts generally immune from immediate political considerations. Roman law was, in Schiavone's characterization, "an ineradicable singularity," a secularized system of law not immediately subject to politics and legislation, as in Greece, but one guided by elite experts with exclusive technical knowledge (p. 57). Such an orientation of law had profound implications for the legal history of the West.

The chief protagonists in Schiavone's story are the classical jurists, originally aristocrats learned in the law, who dispensed legal advice on an informal basis. The core of the book traces this struggle from the earliest of the classical jurists, Q. Mucius Scaevola (ca. 140 to 92 B.C.E.), whose treatise on the civil law, or *ius civile*, would influence how subsequent jurists would classify and analyze the law. The story ends with the late classical jurist Ulpian, who, like other jurists in the Severan period (193–235 C.E.), served in important posts in an imperial administration that was concerned with applying the law as uniformly as possible in an increasingly centralized empire.

Schiavone sees an unbroken connection between the classical Roman jurists and the pontiffs (*pontifices*) of the monarchical and the early republican periods in Roman history (down to the fifth century B.C.E.). The pontiffs, who interpreted the will of the gods, gave to fellow members of the ruling aristocracy "oracular responses" on the correct rituals connected with the legal relationships by which society was ordered. These included defining private property and the ways in which it could be alienated, the transfer of property between gener-

ations, and the personal status of individuals within a hierarchical family structure. The control by aristocratic wise men over law survived the challenge posed by the publication of the Twelve Tables in the mid fifth century B.C.E. Unlike many cities in the Greek world at this time, Rome did not experience a democratic revolution, and the authority to interpret the law remained with members of the aristocracy, first the pontiffs, and then, as Rome changed into an Italian and then a Mediterranean power in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., the praetors, magistrates who were responsible for the administration of law. This "elite of experts selected by an ancient tradition" imposed an order on society, one that retained a high degree of formalism and so was not controlled by democratic legislation (p. 285). The Roman legal authorities, including the republican praetors and the jurists, evolved in their conception of the law, moving beyond a purely formal application of what were originally ritualistic procedures, freeing the law to some extent from this pure formalism as a way of regulating private relationships among people. In their understanding of the law, the jurists wrestled with balancing respect for their tradition against the need to modify the law to accommodate an evolving understanding of fairness. At all times, the Roman jurists asserted the autonomy of their authority as learned experts capable of formulating rules to regulate society by looking to the past and stressing their connection to this ancient tradition.

The problem of maintaining the intellectual independence of the jurists was keenly felt under the principate, as Roman emperors came to play an increasing role in the creation of law and in the administration of justice. Schiavone illustrates this tension with two jurists, both of whom shared in the same intellectual tradition, but whose careers could hardly have been more different: Labeo, the great jurist under Augustus and Tiberius at the beginning of the principate, and Ulpian, one of the most important figures of the Severan age. As an opponent of the principate, Labeo sought to preserve Ro-

man jurisprudence as independent of the *princeps*, and his respect for the antiquity of the law and the profession of jurisprudence took on an ideological character (chapter seventeen). At the end of the classical period, by contrast, Ulpian, who held important administrative posts under several emperors, sought to reconcile the work of the jurists with the reality that the emperor played a decisive role in creating the law (chapter twenty-one). Between Labeo and Ulpian, the profession of jurisprudence underwent profound changes. The position of the jurist became a semi-official one, as emperors, beginning with Augustus, granted them the *ius respondendi*, or the right to issue responses to legal questions that would be binding for courts. In the second century, the emperors became directly involved in the creation and administration of the law. Emperors played an increasing role in responding to legal questions from citizens around the empire and in hearing cases on appeal, and their responses, or constitutions, created law. At the same time, the emperors sought to maintain authoritative legal institutions that would facilitate the administration of justice. Thus at the Emperor Hadrian's instruction, the jurist Julian redacted the praetor's edict. By the end of the Roman Republic, the praetor's edict had become a body of law, *ius honorarium*, based on new legal remedies introduced by the praetors, that substantially modified the *ius civile*, the product ultimately of the Twelve Tables as well as subsequent legislation. The emperor now loomed over the interpretation and administration of this law. Even so, in the early third century, Ulpian very much saw himself as operating in a long tradition of juristic independence going back to Q. Mucius Scaevola. The difference now was that the late classical jurists "were making their own technique the principal instrument of administration, inventing a form of State, and becoming protagonists of a world power" (p. 427). Ulpian and other late classical jurists recognized that their work had evolved from that of their predecessors, since they were intimately involved in the work of the Roman government in administering justice. Even so, in Ulpian's view, their work was characterized by a search for justice, and in this effort, he saw the jurists as true philosophers (pp. 423–428).

The intellectual principles on the basis of which the jurists developed their understanding of the law are quite complex, as Schiavone discusses in nine core chapters. Although profoundly influenced by the intellectual climate of the Greek world, especially Aristotelian and Hellenistic philosophy, the Roman jurists nevertheless created an intellectual field unique to itself and quite independent of Hellenistic models. The jurists tended to avoid grand theoretical analyses of the law, but instead they developed an abstract, casuistic method, informed, however, by broader principles based on a changing understanding of equity. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, an early first-century B.C.E. rhetorical treatise, expressed a principle that Schiavone sees as underlying this effort: "Justice is the equity that gives to each his own right, for the dignity of all" (p.

299). Schiavone illustrates how the jurists' understanding of equity influenced their interpretation of the law by focusing on their varying understanding of the principles underlying contracts. The central issue was their willingness to modify formal categories to create a more general theory of contracts that would accommodate all types of lawful agreements freely entered into by individuals. To take a specific example, in the law of partnership, or *societas*, Q. Mucius Scaevola sought to link this form of contract with an ancient institution, *consortium*, in which heirs would continue to hold and operate their property in common (pp. 216–220). In Scaevola's understanding of a *societas*, each party had to provide property and shared proportionally in all profits and losses. In the next generation, by contrast, Servius Sulpicius Rufus was willing to accommodate within the law of partnership more complex relationships arising from the commercial world. For example, he recognized as a partnership a relationship in which one party contributed only skills or services, not property, and was indemnified against any losses (Gaius, *Inst.* 3.149–50, p. 219).

The significant accomplishments of the classical jurists lead us to wonder whether they were successful at adapting the law to meet social needs, or even to change society. In approaching this question, Schiavone focuses on the complex interplay of law, social values, and the economy, and his ultimate verdict seems to be pessimistic. To be sure, innovations in the law of contracts and obligations facilitated the complex commercial relationships. At the same time, there was a limit to how far such legal innovation could go, as the Roman economy, and Roman law, remained dominated by the institution of slavery. Roman law never developed institutional arrangements oriented around production and the use of wage labor, which would seem to be essential for the economy to escape the constraints of one dominated by agriculture (pp. 362–365). Instead, the law concerned itself with the ownership of property and personal status. Thus a central issue in Roman commercial law revolved around the degree to which slaves (and other legal dependents) serving as business agents created liability for their masters. Schiavone may overstate the degree to which agricultural production in late republican and early imperial Italy revolved around slave labor (on this, see Alessandro Launaro, *Peasants and Slaves: The Rural Population of Roman Italy (200 B.C. to A.D. 100)* [2011]), and the common assumption that slaves comprised about one-third of late republican Italy's population is likely to be an exaggeration (see Walter Scheidel, "Human Mobility in Roman Italy, II: The Slave Population," *Journal of Roman Studies* 95 [2005]: 64–79). Still, the institution of slavery pervaded all aspects of Roman society, including the law. Indeed, one of the intellectual failures of Roman law, as Schiavone discusses in the final chapter, was that jurists never applied their understanding of natural law to develop a philosophical conception of individualism and human rights that would call into question the institution of slavery.

Schiavone seems unduly pessimistic in his judgment of the contribution that the jurists made to the governing of the empire. For Schiavone, the Roman Empire was in a long-term state of crisis, stemming from the gradual systematic collapse of its slave system and, perhaps more important, the need, beginning in the second century C.E., to create an increasingly centralized and bureaucratized administration in an empire whose economic resources were not expanding. The considerable power that the emperor wielded in the second and third centuries C.E. as legislator and judge seemingly diminished the independence of juristic thought, but at the same time the great late-classical jurists held positions of high responsibility in the imperial government and so were in a position to influence the administration of justice for the empire to a degree unthinkable for jurists of an earlier age. Schiavone sees the role of the emperor in responding to petitions on legal matters (in fact, the most important jurists of the Severan age, including Ulpian, headed the office that responded to these petitions) as fundamentally altering the role of the jurists.

It also seems to be the case, however, that this role of the emperor, as emphasized in several recent works, such as Serena Connolly's study of petitions under the Emperor Diocletian (*Lives behind the Laws: The World of the Codex Hermogenianus* [2010]), brought access to authoritative legal institutions to a vast class of people across the Roman Empire. The strength of the empire's legal institutions, ultimately resting on centuries-long work in Roman jurisprudence, was crucial in enabling the empire to survive its crises. If the jurists lost some of their independence in this process, they were the victims of their own enormous accomplishments.

With such a rich and challenging book, it is difficult for a reviewer to do justice to the author's learning. In *The Invention of Law in the West*, Schiavone not only traces the development of a lasting intellectual tradition but shows how central Roman law is to understanding Roman history from its foundation through the high empire.

DENNIS KEHOE
Tulane University

ROBERT S. WESTMAN. *The Copernican Question: Prognostication, Skepticism, and Celestial Order*. (A Fletcher Jones Book in the Humanities.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 681. \$95.00.

We have been Copernicans for almost half a millennium now. No one doubts that when the sun appears to climb above the eastern horizon in the morning it is not because it moves around the earth in twenty-four hours but because the earth rotates on its axis in that period of time. Yet we still say, "the sun rises" and "the sun sets," as people did before the advent of modern science. No school board has attempted to introduce a linguistic reform that would teach children to express themselves "scientifically" about the most important celestial phenomenon that we observe. In everyday conversation professional astronomers speak like the rest of us, and I know of only one famous writer who seriously tried to excise the obsolete phrases "the sun rises" and "the sun sets" from his writing. This was Victor Hugo, who, as a poet, could afford to play around with words, but it was all to no avail.

How many people, born in our heliocentric age, would be able to answer such simple questions as, "if the earth is rotating around its axis at about one thousand miles per hour while revolving, at the same time, around the sun at more than sixty-seven thousand miles per hour (yes, sixty-seven thousand miles per hour!), how can it hang on to its clouds?" Most people would say, "I don't know," and if a more informed person replied, "because of gravity," it might be unwise to press the matter by asking, "what is gravitation?"

Nicholas Copernicus's *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*, which was published in 1543, circulated freely until it was put on the Index of Proscribed

Books by the Roman Catholic Church in 1616. To ban is to underline: the book was given a new lease on life, and by the end of the seventeenth century it had become the standard explanation of sunrise and sunset. What had opened a new age of inquiry was the invention of the telescope, which enabled Galileo Galilei to make the celestial discoveries that created a stir in 1610. But how many astronomers had become Copernicans before that date? Of all living historians of science, Robert S. Westman is the most qualified to handle the question, and his answer is startling: no more than ten spanning three generations. Their names are Thomas Digges and Thomas Harriot in England; Giordano Bruno and Galileo in Italy; Diego de Zuñiga in Spain; Simon Stevin in the Low Countries; and, in Germany, the largest group: Georg Joachim Rheticus, Christopher Rothmann, Michael Maestlin, and his student, Johann Kepler.

This makes for a fascinating story and it could only be told by someone like Westman who has spent some forty years on the project. How Copernicus came to be believed is explained in 681 pages, each with two columns of text running side-by-side, so that we are faced with 1,362 customary pages. This is a towering achievement not only because it covers an extended period of time, but also because Westman is a gifted writer who knows how to maintain the interest of the reader who is not an expert in astronomy. The main question that he raises is of special relevance to the historian. Under what conditions do people change or give up beliefs to

which they are most deeply committed? In this instance, why and how did Copernicus change his own thinking about the organization of the heavens, and what made his discovery persuasive to others? When Westman was first drawn to these questions in the late 1960s the story was cast in the language of “scientific revolutions” and “the origins of modern science.” Profound conceptual changes undeniably occurred between 1500 and 1700, but Westman came to query whether “revolution,” a term normally used to designate a short-term political upheaval or rupture, was the appropriate governing metaphor. But the difficulty about the birth of modern science could not be so easily dissolved: what, after all, was the question that Copernicus was trying to answer? Westman’s book is as much about this question as it is about the kinds of answers offered by Copernicus and those who followed him. In order to wrestle with this complex problem, Westman examines in detail the conventional expectations and concerns of those who considered themselves to be members of the professional group of astronomers, but he sedulously refers to them as “heavenly practitioners” in the hope of avoiding anachronistic interpretations.

Westman delves into the nature of the tacit societal controls that were exerted on those who attempted, in putatively illegitimate ways, to cross the boundary lines separating disciplinary domains. This enables him to shed new light on the history of astronomy, not as though it was a fixed set of static relations and structures, but as an evolving process that can be understood by analogy to diplomatic exchange and legal negotiations, yet also as competition for social status. For instance, the city of Wittenberg figures prominently because the first published account of Copernicus’s heliocentric theory, the *Narratio Prima* of his disciple Rheticus, was intended for an audience of heavenly practitioners there and in neighboring Nuremberg. The great Lutheran theologian, Philip Melanchthon, regarded astrology as a legitimate tool for understanding and anticipating the plan that God had for the unfolding of world history. Melanchthon’s views were influential because several of his students became mathematically skilled practitioners and soon occupied important positions in German universities. One of them, Erasmus Reinhold, undertook the time-consuming and tedious task of cleaning up calculation errors in Copernicus’s *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*. Westman has mastered the demanding mathematics but he has also gone behind the scene to investigate what the sun-centered hypothesis might have meant to contemporary hopes and fears about the powerful astral forces that bathe the earth.

Historians have long recognized the special place of Kepler (1571–1600) among Copernicus’s followers. Earlier historiography stressed the contrast between Copernicus’s innovation (namely making the reference frame the sun rather than the earth), which continued to assume that all celestial bodies move in circles, and the radical break with the “obsession with circularity.” Westman prefers to see Kepler as playing a new role as

heavenly practitioner, aiming at nothing less than a wholesale revision of the science of the stars. Kepler systematically invoked Aristotle’s full range of explanations, appealing to formal, material, efficient, and final causes. Unlike other Copernicans, Kepler was convinced that the celestial investigator could entertain more than a mere weighing of alternatives because he could provide demonstrative and not just dialectical knowledge.

The first decade of the seventeenth century is a crucial moment in Westman’s account. Like the scientific revolution as a whole, it has often been described as a battle between ancients and moderns. There is more than a little truth in that contention since it echoes categories widely used by the historical agents themselves, Galileo’s *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* being perhaps the best-known example. But that description fails to capture the many-sided struggles between traditionalists, modernizers, and the skeptical or uncommitted who picked and chose. In 1600 Bruno was burned at the stake in Rome by zealous defenders of tradition, but we should not forget that the great Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe was no less vocal in denouncing Bruno as a threat to genuine science. In that year also, Kepler, fired with Copernican zeal, came to work with Brahe in Prague and was immediately given the task of defending the Tychonian world system (where the planets revolve around the sun, but the sun still goes around the earth) in which he did not believe. No facile distinction between “good guys” and “bad guys” can be found in Westman’s historical flashbacks.

Less than half a century ago, historians of science considered astrology as no more than an onerous duty that astronomers had to carry out for their patrons, and they only drew attention to what was scientific, in the modern sense, in early astronomy. Westman points out that this was unduly restrictive. Galileo and Kepler were both engaged in astrological practice in the period of their most deeply transformative work in mechanics and planetary theory. So it was legitimate for them to ask what kind of theory of astral influence, if any, would be compatible with a moving earth and a central sun. They did not practice astrology tongue in cheek and strictly as a means of enhancing their income. In a number of serious works Kepler ridiculed contemporary astrological practice without ever casting doubt on the truth of astral influence, not only on physical and mental well-being but also on political and religious events. To his dying day he hoped to discover the theoretical principles underlying the science of forecasting. Galileo also agreed that astronomy and astrology were complementary, not opposed, forms of knowledge, and because astrology needed good astronomy to achieve its goal he saw it as actually stimulating research into the nature and the motions of heavenly bodies. The more you knew about the stars, the more you could tell about the way they might alter human behavior. This belief was shared by his archenemy, Pope Urban VIII. Whether the sun went around the earth or the earth around the sun may have been a matter of disagree-

ment, but they never doubted that they were both influenced by the stars.

It is only too easy to assume that Galileo was guided by science as we know it, and to take for granted that Urban looked to theology for inspiration. This is not wrong, but it is incomplete, even dangerously so if we want to understand the intellectual and emotional world that they inhabited. If we are to grasp at what level they met—and clashed—we have to consider what astrology meant for them, or we will be unable to move beyond facile generalizations about the opposition between astronomy and astrology or for that matter between science and religion. Galileo could do his own stargazing and Urban had to rely on hired experts, but neither of them would for a moment doubt the seriousness of the task. They were equally convinced that their horoscope, carefully drawn and properly interpreted, told them what they could be expected to do and what difficult days they were bound to encounter.

Modern men and women go to their psychologist or psychiatrist when they are concerned about the state of their mind. Galileo and Urban preferred examining the position of the heavenly bodies at the time of their birth. The clash between Galileo and Urban was not only over the proper interpretation of the Bible but also

about the correct way of reading horoscopes. We are all trapped in the sticky web of our own time and place, and if we want to know how that web was woven, it is no use starting from today's perspective. Some people may say that we now have the luxury of considering astrology as a prescientific way of making sense of the world; there was no such luxury in the seventeenth century. The market of ideas had nothing better to offer, but there was one thing that no one predicted, namely what would transform heliocentrism from a mere hypothesis, admittedly the most challenging alternative to the traditional Ptolemaic scheme, into a European-wide controversy, freighted with divisive confessional and disciplinary import. This was the unexpected trial and condemnation of Galileo in 1633. After that date, identifying with the Copernicans was considered a clear declaration that one had decided for a new way of looking at the world.

How we reached that point in history has never been told as well as by Westman in this book, which is a storehouse of information not only about the behavior of planets and the stars but also about the character of the people who argued about their influence.

WILLIAM R. SHEA
University of Padua

BRAD S. GREGORY. *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 574. \$39.95.

What a bold, surprising, and provocative book! Brad S. Gregory, a leading historian of the Reformation, is dissatisfied with the hyperspecialization of the contemporary historical profession and unafraid to stand apart from the pack and to stretch himself beyond his field of expertise. Eager to speak to public affairs as well as to professional historians, he offers here a history in the prophetic mode, albeit one dense with footnotes. Specifically, the introduction identifies three concerns that the book is meant to address: the alarming degree of political and cultural polarization in contemporary America, the threat of global warming, and “the blithe and incoherent denial of the category of truth in the domains of human morality, values and meaning among many academics” (p. 18). All in a way are linked, for the tragedy of the contemporary West as Gregory sees it is that it has lost—or lost sight of—any way to establish a firm ground for a system of ethics capable of offering the moral foundation necessary for social cohesion and of checking the unbridled consumption whose continued growth threatens the planet. To explain how we reached this current condition of hyper-pluralistic relativism and unchecked acquisitiveness—“the Kingdom of Whatever” and “the Goods Society”—the book traces with much learning the genealogy of six related aspects of Western thought, belief, society, and church-state relations from the thirteenth century to today. The

Reformation, he argues, was the most important moment for each strand in this complex skein of changes.

Not only does Gregory explore the course of the past seven centuries of history in a manner that highlights turning points and developments different from those emphasized in most other accounts of the making of the contemporary West; his book also has a philosophical and a methodological component. In writing a history of ideas and of values, Gregory explicitly defends the plausibility and even correctness of certain positions and highlights the confusion of others. He is especially critical of “supercessionist” accounts of the history of ideas: those stories of intellectual change in which new ideas replace old ones because of their greater plausibility and consign the old once and for all to the dustbin of error. The six genealogies traced here may have been historically determined, but they involved choices and were not inevitable, Gregory stresses. Presumably, they could be undone once we become aware of them. All this is linked to still another major concern of his, which is to suggest that Christian belief and modern philosophy or science are not necessarily incompatible. Intellectual historians need to construct histories of modern ideas in which Karl Barth and Henri de Lubac have their place. Philosophers need to stop presupposing that secular rationality is the only plausible way of thinking about matters of fact and value in “our” sec-

ular age. The perspective from which the book is written is that of a philosophically informed, Thomist Catholic faith—hardly the viewpoint that most commonly frames academic historical writing in early twenty-first-century America. It is largely because Gregory writes from a point of view so far outside the current mainstream of the profession that his book is so surprisingly original and quivers so with urgency.

Gregory's religious commitments and philosophical engagement are nowhere clearer than in his first chapter, "Excluding God," which explicitly seeks "to expose the widespread but mistaken assumption that modern science has rendered revealed religion untenable" (p. 71). Examining the relations among religion, science, and metaphysics, this chapter draws heavily on Amos Funkenstein's *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (1989). The story begins, as does every chapter, in the central Middle Ages, when Christian doctrine and belief are said to have provided a coherent structure for apprehending the universe and answering the ultimate life questions. What Gregory particularly stresses is that until this time, Christian belief (Jewish and Muslim as well) considered God to be radically distinct from the universe, totally unlike anything within it. But in a step with enormous implications for the future of Christian belief, John Duns Scotus modified this understanding, suggesting that God shared with all of His creation the fact of being. Since empirical inquiry by definition only investigates things in the natural world, this began to situate God in a place where empiricism might be thought to tell us something about Him. When William of Occam further modified Scotus's definition and advocated taking a razor to all explanations of natural phenomena that multiply entities beyond necessity, the existence of God became vulnerable to disproof. The Renaissance revival of the ancient philosophical traditions of Platonism, Stoicism, and Epicureanism encouraged an understanding of nature in terms of efficient natural causes without final causality and of forces that could be expressed mathematically. The Reformation then touched off an explosion of controversies about every aspect of doctrine and froze the Catholic Church in a defensive position in which even its neo-scholastic theologians clung defensively to the nominalist vision of God. By the end of this period of controversy, rational religion and the argument from design seemed the only way apologists and controversialists might convince people of the truth of true Christianity, but this took Christians ever farther away from the incomprehensibly transcendent God of earlier Christianity. By the time of Baruch Spinoza, John Locke, and David Hume, the metaphysics were solidly in place for what would come to be construed as the war between science and religion in the age of Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, and Auguste Comte. "*Empirical investigation of the natural world had not falsified any theological claims* [italics in the original]. Rather, incompatible Catholic and Protestant views about the meaning of God's actions created an intellectually sterile impasse because of the

objections they inevitably provoked from theological opponents, and the intractable doctrinal controversies they constantly reinforced" (p. 47).

This impasse at once contributed to and drew upon the trends examined in the next five chapters, all equally long and nearly as dense, respectively entitled: "Relativizing Doctrines," "Controlling the Churches," "Subjectivizing Morality," "Manufacturing the Goods Life," and "Secularizing Knowledge." A full synopsis of the complex chain of developments traced in these chapters would require far more space than is available here. At the risk of oversimplification, the following summary must suffice. The Reformation sought to reform Christian doctrine by returning to the pure word of scripture but found in the Bible so many incompatible doctrines that the ultimate upshot after two centuries of take-no-prisoners Protestant-Catholic controversy was a loss of confidence that any reliable criterion could be found to determine which were true. Philosophers sought to fill the void and erect rational systems of ethics. Their continuing debates show that they were no more successful than the theologians, nor are they likely to be any time soon.

Even prior to the Reformation secular rulers were beginning to extend their oversight and control over the church. This intensified with the Reformation, and, in the age of confessionism, rulers sought to impose by law the doctrinal consensus that the theologians could not establish by debate and exegesis. But the course of the Reformation and the religious wars that followed upon it defeated their efforts, so first in the Dutch Republic and then in the new United States, the state turned confessionism's assumptions about the management of religion inside out, consigning belief to the realm of personal choice and "controlling the churches by disestablishing them" (p. 172). Initially in America, the end of imposed religious uniformity did not lead to the loss of social cohesion that opponents of religious toleration had feared, for Protestant hegemony ensured sufficient moral consensus. This would change as immigration made the country more pluralistic and above all as the growth of capitalism eroded traditional Christian restraints on individual acquisitiveness, for the rise of capitalism in Gregory's telling was above all a moral and cultural revolution, the "disembedding of economics from the ethics of late medieval Christianity" (p. 188) effected by such thinkers as John Mandeville, Montesquieu, and Adam Smith.

Prior to the eighteenth century, capitalism and conspicuous consumption already existed, to be sure; after this ethical revolution, they became the values given maximum legal protection and state encouragement. Meanwhile, education also ceased to provide a source of consensus about ultimate values. First, between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, theology lost the "integrative and comprehensive" function it had had in medieval universities; over the same period other disciplines initially pursued largely outside universities, notably the natural sciences, rose to ever greater prominence. Then, in the late nineteenth and

twentieth centuries, the liberal Protestant and secular substitutes for theology's integrative and morality-enhancing function that were the German idea of *bildung* and the American idea of the general liberal arts curriculum succumbed to the all-conquering force of the research imperative.

Even though the book traces developments from c. 1300 to 2012, the Reformation is presented as a key moment for each one. As a result, this era receives the lion's share of the pages. Pertinent developments from the eighteenth century to today are covered more rapidly and selectively, except in the final chapter, where the secularization of the universities receives a more chronologically balanced treatment. Even if this is unmistakably a Reformation-centered book, the extent of Gregory's reading outside his own field of specialization is extensive. The footnotes abound in references to works of political science, philosophy, contemporary affairs, the sociology of religion, and the history of science. In addition to Funkenstein's *Theology and the Scientific Imagination*, Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue* (1981) and Albert O. Hirschman's *The Passions and the Interests* (1977) are important influences. This monograph is as learned and widely read as it is ambitious.

Just as the complexity of the book's multiple arguments make it hard to summarize concisely, so too its sweep and ambition complicate its evaluation. The book has already been the object of a twenty-page forum involving leading Reformation historians in the Historical Society's bulletin, *Historically Speaking*, yet the discussion there touched on just a fraction of its arguments. A comprehensive assessment would have to be longer still and would require a panel of reviewers with expertise spanning subjects from the history of medieval theology to the cultural and intellectual history of the twentieth century. By this reviewer's limited lights, Gregory's account of the growth of the modern economy and its consequences for the earth's climate accords far too little weight to technological change and its consequences while overstating the importance of the eighteenth century's new moral arguments about the virtue of self-interest. His related claim that rampant consumerism represents "the default fabric of Western life" (p. 235) underestimates the persistence of anti-materialist values in the contemporary era and occludes the more specific shifts in political discourse and regulation that have unfettered financial capitalism and blocked attempts to address climate change in the United States in the past few decades.

Seen from Switzerland, where I currently live, America's shrill culture wars would seem to have more proximate causes than a generalized Western collapse of all firm religious or philosophical foundations for a convincing system of ethics. To characterize the establishment of modern religious freedoms as a reconfigured form of state control over the churches, as Gregory does, obscures more than it illuminates, even if one grants his point that it is the state that defines the limits

within which those freedoms may be exercised. Though I too am a historian of the Reformation, I think the Protestant-Catholic controversies of this era receive too much weight in the account of the origins of modern secular rationalism. Recall that Paul Hazard's classic account of the *Crise de la conscience européenne* (1935) opened with the relativizing impact of the West's discovery of the non-Western world and its religions, and that Alan Kors has shown that the first self-avowed atheist of the Enlightenment, Jean Meslier, was a Catholic curé led to doubt the existence of God by the mutually destructive proofs for His existence offered by Cartesians and anti-Cartesians within his own church.

Perhaps most fundamentally, it cannot escape Reformation specialists familiar with the historiography of their subject that, reduced to its barest essentials, Gregory's depiction of the Reformation scarcely differs from Jacques Bossuet's. He attributes the movement chiefly to revulsion at the gap between the ideals of Christianity and the reality of the late medieval church, not, as most historians now might be more inclined to do, to anger about important Catholic doctrines, practices, and claims about Papal and clerical authority that came to be seen as fraudulent in the wake of conversion. He casts the story of the Reformation above all as one of doctrinal variation and division. First reactions to the book already provide reason to fear that too much of the debate that he so obviously sought to provoke may unfortunately concentrate around the question of whether the Reformation was a good or a bad thing.

Yet if all of Gregory's arguments do not convince, many of them do. The chapters on the relationship between religion, science, and metaphysics, and on the secularization of the universities are gems. Above all, because Gregory sets the bar of his ambitions so high and views the past and the historian's enterprise from a perspective so far removed from the default position of most American historians today, his book highlights issues others have overlooked and provides a stimulatingly different account of the large transformations that it examines. In so doing, it challenges those who might disagree factually or conceptually with important parts of it to provide a better account of the same phenomena. The distinctiveness of the author's voice and outlook also provide us a welcome reminder of the heuristic value of ensuring a genuine diversity of ideas, values, and political views within the historical profession. Written with urgency, verve, and learning, *The Unintended Reformation* deserves the attention of any historian interested in the long-term course of change in the West over the past seven centuries, in the distant origins of our contemporary condition, or in the relationship between religious faith and secular knowledge—in other words, one would hope, just about every historian.

PHILIP BENEDICT
University of Geneva

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

ZACHARY SAYRE SCHIFFMAN. *The Birth of the Past*. Foreword by ANTHONY GRAFTON. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 316. \$65.00.

Like Edward Gibbon, Zachary Sayre Schiffman traces the first insight into his life's work to an earlier epiphany. Paralleling Gibbon's musings in the Capitol in Rome during the singing of vespers is Schiffman's "crossing a quadrangle at the University of Chicago somewhere around Botany Pond," except that, unlike Gibbon, Schiffman introduces his book with the memory instead of relegating it to his memoirs. Here it was that he began to conceive of his target not as the practice of writing history but as the concept of "The Past" ("our accustomed mode of thinking"), which Schiffman defines as an abstract idea that only we moderns (since the Renaissance) utilize. The key to this argument is the idea of anachronism and the related view that the past is actually different from the present. Schiffman continues with an almost scholastic argument based on a very selective array of texts (and secondary authorities), not always historical and interpreted according to the initial theoretical apparatus.

Thucydides lived and wrote in "flatland," dealing episodically with multiple "pasts," and indeed, despite his commemorative motives, "calls into question the very existence of the past as an objective space in time distinct from the present" (p. 22). Nor did Homeric mythology add a temporal dimension, the epics speaking directly to contemporary audiences. Herodotus added a linear flow of time but, still attached to episodic narrative, not the idea of a past "back there." Schiffman suggests his scholastic approach by asserting that "ideas of the past, however, transcend the temporal distinctions of everyday language" (p. 56)—as if "pastness" was independent of linguistic tenses and modes. In Hellenistic times, Polybius did adopt systems of dating and followed a linear pattern but did not (causally?) link them with the present.

For the medieval period Schiffman turns, of course, to Saint Augustine and the support of ("descent into") theology. In Augustine's saeculum "past, present, and future converge in a [providential] here and now" (p. 81), and he has no need for history as we know it. His was "a Christian consciousness rooted in the now" (p.

133). Paulus Orosius's historical adaptation of Augustine, based on Eusebian chronology, is for Schiffman based on "misunderstanding," while Gregory of Tours's history reverts to a figural mode. Bede also follows a figural mode, like Augustine's rooted in the now.

The encounter between the Renaissance and antiquity is illustrated by Raphael's School of Athens' representation of the "living past." With the Renaissance was born an "idea of anachronism," and the first witness to this conceptual revolution was Francesco Petrarch, who applied the new arts of reading and note-taking to emphasize the difference between the bygone past and his own degenerate time. Petrarch distinguished between a "dark age" and a purer antiquity and so brought this sense of difference to his own world, his concept of anachronism being illustrated in his letters to ancients and in his dialogue *Secretum*. Humanist *imitatio* made use of "commonplaces" to organize knowledge, old and new, and exemplarity replaced typology. With Jean Bodin's contribution to the "art of history" the utility and unity of history became prominent, especially in a topical way.

During the Enlightenment, René Descartes substituted quantitative for qualitative reasoning (Schiffman omits to mention his hostility to conventional history), and in his wake, Montesquieu became a foundational figure. Schiffman praises Giambattista Vico's "stunning insight into the historicity of human consciousness . . . that seems to materialize out of thin air" (p. 227)—not having attended much to the tradition of philology—but he thinks more highly of Montesquieu, who "represented a sea change in historical thinking" (p. 209). For Schiffman, Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* was more analytical than Vico's *New Science*, "embodying the same kind of certainty as mathematics" (p. 227). He transcended the quarrel of ancients and moderns, establishing a "rigorous, transparent, and accessible" science beyond "the Neapolitan's obscure 'philologico-philosophical' method" (p. 228), suggesting the possibility of bridging the gap between Vico and "his bête noire Descartes," and so "offering a truly analytical view of human society . . . of value to both scholars and statesmen" (p. 228). With his underlying Cartesian (and Malebranchian) theory of truth, Montesquieu insisted that "laws are the necessary relations deriving from the nature of things," showing the mathematical

dimension of his thought, which “has been largely ignored.” So he laid the foundations not only for the idea of ideal types, but for “a sustained idea of anachronism” (p. 277) heretofore lacking in Western thought. To Schiffman, this “submerged model of number thinking” (p. 240) demonstrates “how the relational view of human entities intertwines with the birth of the past.”

It is the “congestion of the principles of number thinking” that leads to “the birth of the past.” Schiffman takes the Enlightenment model of science, illustrated by the rationalism of Descartes and Montesquieu, as the highest form of historical thought, with “historicism” (in its stereotypical nineteenth-century form), as so often before, overshadowed by philosophy. It is Schiffman’s argument that “the eighteenth-century birth of the past has been obscured not only by historicism but also by the long shadow of humanism” (p. 273). Little is made of humanist philology, except as a contributor to the idea of anachronism and Vico’s “obscure” philological insights. Nor is the hermeneutical tradition ever mentioned as formative of historical thought as an awareness of anachronism. This is not a book about historiography as it has been practiced or even (except marginally) thought about, but it is a scholastic argument about an abstraction called “The Past” and its accompanying concept of “anachronism,” which historians have presumably not appreciated. It is an intelligent if personal philosophy of history.

DONALD R. KELLEY
Rutgers University

JOSEPH C. MILLER. *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach*. (The David Brion Davis Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 218. \$30.00.

Joseph C. Miller’s reflections on “the problem of slavery as history,” originally presented as lectures at the Gilder Lehrman Center in honor of David Brion Davis, is a conceptual overview of the process of enslaving or “slaving,” as coined here by Miller. Miller’s assessment of slavery demonstrates the antiquity and ubiquity of the process of enslavement. The generator of the massive bibliography of slavery that has proven useful as an intellectual tool (although this book, strangely, has no bibliography), he probably has the best command of the overwhelming scholarship undertaken over the last generation. Miller’s leadership in the American Historical Association has helped introduce African history into mainstream history, and his editing skills at the *Journal of African History* and elsewhere further attest to his authority in critiquing how slavery has been and is being studied.

In *The Problem of Slavery as History* (and not in *History*), Miller challenges the discipline to be something other than a social science. He argues that scholars have mistakenly focused on the history of slavery, when the focus should be on the history of slaving. In four chapters and an appendix, Miller outlines how he sees history as process, reconsidering traditional historical issues of epistemology, the nature of proof, and

terminology. For Miller, the wisdom of David Brion Davis and other pioneers in the study of slavery has been overlooked through the weak attempts to understand slavery as an institution and by following methodologically unsound comparisons of different slavery experiences historically.

As Miller acknowledges, his interest is in understanding the perspective of those who did the “slaving” (i.e., enslavers). Hence, this book is really a study of slavery as a problem in the lives of those who enslaved others, and not about the slaves themselves. Miller argues that the pervasiveness of slaving throughout history has something to do with the strategies of those who did the enslaving. He therefore is interested in what he terms “slaving strategies.” For Miller, slaving is intrinsic to people, like sex and the need to eat. How to get “it” (i.e., sex, food, slaves) requires a strategy oriented toward satisfying an instinctive craving. If “slaving” is intrinsic, then so is resistance. But where does this get history? In seeing slaving as strategy, Miller begs the question of how strategies were interpreted and institutionalized in different periods and places. In Miller’s sense, slaving is not institutional but primordial. He tries to historicize the phenomenon, but his presentation is essentially ahistorical, covering 20,000 years of history and the whole world. Miller assumes that institutionalization means stasis and lack of change. He thinks that much of the slavery scholarship over the past generation has adopted a static approach because of the focus on institutions. This argument may seem surprising to many researchers who have focused on how slavery was transformed in different historical contexts, examining in particular when changes occurred and what changed. Inevitably, such studies have focused on institutions of religion, state, and economy and how changes affected the lives of slaves and the incidence of slavery.

Miller defines the enslavers as “marginals” and the slaves as “isolated.” Miller’s conception of marginal is central to his understanding of history. Apparently, marginal refers to individuals who had the ability to exploit others through enslaving them. The persistence of slavery today demonstrates that enslaving continues without much if any institutional support. Historically, however, individuals could not have upheld their ability to enslave others without institutional foundations. Miller’s marginal theory does not recognize that the principal enslavers in history have sometimes been institutions, such as the state through the crown, religious brotherhoods (Jesuits, Dominicans), and the aristocracies and elites that dominated them.

Are we to understand that the slavers of the *oso* slaves of the Igbo were marginal, when they were gods? Were not slaves and slavers attached to religious shrines part of an institutionalized slavery? Are the extensive legal documents in Arabic and the poetry, songs, stories, and histories in Hausa, Kanuri, and other languages to be disregarded as not reflecting institutions that regulated and manipulated human interactions? Is the Kingdom of Kongo in the 1500s to be re-

fused recognition as a society similar to Portugal, England, and Spain in trying to figure out how to control populations and to do so through institutionalizing slavery? How are we to study the various major slave societies of the 1800s in which slavery was institutionalized, including Brazil, the United States, Cuba, and the Sokoto Caliphate? Miller does not engage the scholarship in a manner that can offer solutions to these historical questions, even if he is only concentrating on those who were involved in “slaving” and not those who were actually enslaved. His analysis develops outside historical events and institutions “as” history and not “in” history.

PAUL E. LOVEJOY
York University

JODI A. BYRD. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. (First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2011. Pp. xxxix, 294. \$25.00.

Jodi A. Byrd's *The Transit of Empire* comes at just the right moment for scholars who are seriously engaged with indigenous critical theory. As indigenous studies conversations about ethical methodologies that support the aims of sovereignty mature and develop, there is increasing awareness that while postcolonial studies have largely overlooked the specificities of indigenous studies, returning the favor (in other words, ignoring postcolonial or “high theory”) will not do. More ardent and thorough study of the interstices between the two is required. Byrd's book exemplifies the productive dialogue possible when scholars of indigenous and postcolonial studies examine the ways that particular geographies, intimacies, and anxieties persist in colonized or formerly colonized communities, especially in their interactions with one another.

Byrd's emphasis on transit is significant to her identification of “cacophony” within these interactions. In the preface she reflects on conversations with her late father that inspired this book. Byrd asserts that her father's struggle, emblematic of the struggles of Chickasaw people under U.S. empire, was about “home, place and belonging” (p. xi). She goes on to explain that Chickasaws maintain relationships between community and place through balance, or *haksuba*, between upper and lower worlds. Compromising indigenous peoples' relationships to land and disrupting their senses of place continue to be the primary means by which the U.S. government undermines indigenous presence. And as Byrd reveals in the succeeding chapters of her text, writers, theorists, politicians, and activists—even some who are themselves members of colonized communities—echo this disruption.

Byrd provides case studies examining proximities between indigenous peoples and “arrivants they did not anticipate” (p. 222). In her introduction, she engages in a detailed analysis of the problems that comparative indigenous and postcolonial studies have wrought, explaining that “Just as Indianness serves as transit of em-

pire, analyses of competing oppressions reproduce colonialist discourses” (p. xxvi). She suggests instead a critical indigenous model that “centers itself within indigenous epistemologies and the specificities of the communities and cultures from which it emerges and then looks outward” (p. xxix). The book's first chapter identifies the “Indian errant at the heart of poststructuralism” (p. xxxv), locating James Cook's voyage to the Pacific as the birth of an era that ushered in U.S. empire. The second chapter turns to another story of encounter: William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Here Byrd responds to Gayatri Spivak's evaluation of Caliban as a cipher of sorts, instead finding him to be a character who, in his continual reimagining in various critical modes, is an originary “cacophony,” a fountain of competing discourses. Through this example, Byrd articulates her central assertion, which sees “colonial discourses not only as vertical impositions between colonizer and colonized but also as horizontal interrelations between different colonized peoples within the same geographical space” (p. 63). The third chapter centers on Guyanese writer Wilson Harris's *Jonestown* (1996), which uses fraught, even romantic, references to indigenous peoples in order to advance a critique of violence in the Americas.

The final chapters of the book make clear the stakes of Byrd's approach to critical indigenous theory, as she connects literary analysis to current issues in indigenous communities. The fourth chapter, “Been to the Nation, Lord, But I Couldn't Stay There,” begins by uncovering indigenous legacies in the blues, highlighting subversive lyrics in songs sung by African American laborers hired by Charles Peabody to rob Chickasaw and Choctaw mounds in 1901. Using this incident to encapsulate dynamics of race, labor, and nationalism—including its implications for resisting empire—Byrd parses legal decisions surrounding the Cherokee Nation's vote in 2007 to eliminate Cherokee Freedmen from tribal membership, noting the ironic and paradoxical justifications for that decision. In a parallel analysis, chapter five evaluates resistance to the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2004, also known as the Akaka Bill. While fully supporting Hawaiian sovereignty, Byrd critiques discourses of “Indianness” that pit indigenous peoples against one another, deflecting attention to the necessity of decolonization across geographies. Her final chapter exposes the discursive reversal of roles among indigenous and Asian American populations that reinscribes empire, as presented in Karen Tei Yamashita's *Tropic of Orange* (1997) and Gerald Vizenor's *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* (2003).

Byrd's book is a remarkable and timely achievement that will prove invaluable for scholars as they continue to reach across the boundaries of postcolonial and indigenous studies.

LINDSEY CLAIRE SMITH
Oklahoma State University

ANTOINE DE BAECQUE. *Camera Historica: The Century in Cinema*. Translated by NINON VINSONNEAU and JONA-

THAN MAGIDOFF. (European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 398. Cloth \$105.00, paper \$35.00.

There are two approaches to writing history through films: the first, more common, aims to view history through the window of films, using the cinema as just another source; the second, more demanding, aims to write a cinematically inflected mode of history, sensitive to the myriad ways in which films give form to, rather than simply represent, history. Antoine de Baecque's monograph offers an ambitious and exciting contribution to the latter tradition. Moving beyond the idea of film as a transparent representation through which we can see history, de Baecque's stated objective is to "answer questions raised by history through films, through figures that are specific to cinema, while avoiding the dissolution of either history or film into a purely illustrative conception of the relation between the two" (p. 13). Riffing off the title of Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida* (1981), de Baecque's *Camera Historica* reinvents the film camera as a historical tool, or rather fabric, impressed upon by the pressures and forces of history. Under his pen, no longer is the film camera merely an instrument of documentary observation or entertainment spectacle; it becomes a, if not the, historical lens of the twentieth century. Whether or not you agree with the author's privileging of film's allegorical claim to history, he still provides a captivating and poetic cultural analysis of cinema's conjuring of new forms of history.

The book begins with a helpful overview of writers who have explored the links between cinema and history (from Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer to Marc Ferro, Pierre Sorlin, Natalie Zemon Davis, and Arlette Farge), with de Baecque positioning his own contribution as reflective of the "arrival of cinema in cultural history" (p. 12). His previous books and collections, including a history of cinephilia and a volume (edited with Christian Delage) on history and cinema, have done much to hasten this arrival in France. Reflective of his background as a professor of history and cinema studies and editor of film magazines (including, at one point, France's most prestigious, *Cahiers du cinéma*), de Baecque brings a bifocal approach to the topic, combining the syncretic sweep of the historian with the considerable formal skills and emotional investment of the film critic and cinephile.

The book's seven chapters cover a range of cinematic contexts representative of the medium's intense ties with history. These include canonical films related to historical moments of violent rupture (the 1950s modern cinema of Alain Resnais and Roberto Rossellini as influenced by the trauma of World War II; and a group of Eastern European directors dealing with the end of communism); marginalized idiosyncratic films, such as Sacha Guitry's baroque drama set in the Palace of Versailles; the ambiguous relationship between the French New Wave and the politics of its era; Jean-Luc Godard's *Histoire[s] du cinéma* (1988–1998), his epic and

intimate "museum memory of the century" (p. 3); the work of the British director Peter Watkins, a maverick filmmaker most known for reconstructing history as though he were a television war correspondent; and, finally, the American subconscious of the late twentieth century as revealed through the return of genre in the disaster, bad-taste, and Gothic films of recent years.

The chapters on Watkins and the end of communism are among the strongest, buoyed by original research and bravura readings of individual films, while those on the New Wave and Godard, although fascinating, might have less to offer the general historian. The final chapter, the only one to deal with American and mainstream cinema, is the weakest. It suffers from essayistic excesses (repetitive prose and sweeping generalizations), a near total lack of engagement with English film scholarship on the topic, and the reduction of his argument about cinematographic forms of history to a journalistic version of film-as-myth.

Although it may not always conform to standard academic prose, de Baecque's style of writing, at its best, belongs to a prestigious tradition of French film criticism that other *Cahiers* writers, like André Bazin and Serge Daney, did so much to foster. Accessible, stylish, and essayistic, it works through the mode of the long, often passionate, close reading of a text rather than the application of theory or extensive primary research. Thanks to the elegant and deft translation, the writing retains the playful and poetic verve of its original French. It also helps that this book is generously illustrated with well-chosen film frames.

Minor reservations aside, *Camera Historica* is a refreshing and stimulating read, ultimately offering a vital contribution to the ongoing need for serious discussions of the intersections between film and history.

PAULA AMAD
University of Iowa

NIKLAS OLSEN. *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2012. Pp. viii, 338. \$95.00.

Befitting its subject, this book is a methodologically sound and theoretically sophisticated piece of scholarship. Niklas Olsen has done the English-speaking world a profound service by situating the work of Reinhart Koselleck—one of the most compelling theorists of history of recent memory—back into the many contexts out of which it emerged and which it eventually helped to transform over the course of a distinguished career. Aably utilizing insights from reception studies, disciplinary history, intellectual biography, and the sociology of knowledge, Olsen offers an exceptionally well-rounded portrait of Koselleck at work, from his student days in Heidelberg up through his tenure as the premiere advocate of *Begriffsgeschichte* (conceptual history) at Bielefeld University and his eventual emergence, near the end of his life, as a significant public intellectual who entered into contentious debates concerning the

appropriate way to memorialize the tragedies of twentieth-century German history.

Olsen is particularly interested in the “processes of reception” that shaped Koselleck’s intellectual worldview as well as his legacy. His interest in Koselleck’s professionalization, or what Olsen calls “the making of the historian,” sets up the book as an insider’s account of German academia in the second half of the twentieth century (p. 7). If at times Olsen’s narrative slows to a seminar-like crawl while covering some of this terrain, his insightful commentaries on everything from the crisis of historicism to the rise and fall of *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*—and how Koselleck situated himself in relation to each—more than make up for it. What emerges from this account is a rich analysis of a thoroughly interdisciplinary thinker, one who ranged widely from political philosophy and hermeneutics to ontology, sociology, and anthropology.

Only some of Koselleck’s work has found its way into English translation, but his contributions to the philosophy of history have been championed on this side of the Atlantic by some prominent thinkers, including Melvin Richter and Hayden White. Olsen, however, is the first to offer a complete intellectual biography. For the first time in English, we can now follow the threads that are woven through Koselleck’s entire *oeuvre*, from his early writings on the birth and consequences of political modernity (discussed in chapters two and three), through his investigations of the goals and scope of conceptual history (chapter four), up to his theories of historical temporality and how they relate to our understanding of both private experience and collective memory (chapters five and six).

Olsen maintains that Koselleck was primarily motivated by a desire to undermine—if not outright reject—utopian conceptions of history as a singular, universal, progressive process, notions bequeathed to us by the Judeo-Christian tradition and formalized by the Enlightenment and its modern philosophical heirs. In pursuing this aim, Koselleck, as Olsen deftly demonstrates, drew upon the work of such towering forerunners (many of them his former teachers) as Karl Löwith, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Martin Heidegger, and Carl Schmitt. The degree to which Koselleck escaped the orbits of these influential thinkers is still open to question, but Olsen provides us with the tools necessary to ask it. Especially revealing in this regard is his use of Koselleck’s extensive correspondence with Schmitt, who proved to be a compelling intellectual mentor if not necessarily a sound political role model.

More than criticizing singular and utopian conceptions of history, though, Koselleck also explored the possibility that human history—unlike natural history—is fundamentally plural. In the words of Jacob Taubes, echoed throughout Olsen’s book and reflected in its title, Koselleck was a “partisan of histories in plural” (p. 213). If Koselleck began as an anti-utopian, he ended up as a proponent of pluralism. Or as Olsen puts it: “Whereas he first focused primarily on deconstructing histories in singular, he began to focus more on how

histories in the plural could be written in practice” (p. 227). This effort, still being debated by contemporary theorists of history, has given us a myriad of new terms and catchwords, such as *Zeitschichten*, or temporal layers, which suggests that historical change is not a singular or universal phenomenon but is instead distributed across various temporal strata (p. 226). At some levels, historical change manifests as a radical, geological rupture; at others, it appears almost glacial. Showing how both experiences could coexist, and doing so without falling into the trap of a reflexive relativism, led Koselleck to posit that there was also a corresponding *Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*, or a “simultaneity of the non-simultaneous” (p. 151).

Today, when universal history seems to be making a minor comeback, thanks in large part to the efforts of neo-Hegelians such as Slavoj Žižek and Susan Buck-Morss, Koselleck’s meditations on the multi-faceted natures of both historical time and historical writing are more relevant than ever. And to these profound meditations *History in the Plural* will no doubt remain a trustworthy guide.

MARTIN WOESSNER
City College of New York

ANDREW SHRYOCK and DANIEL LORD SMAIL, editors.
Deep History: The Architecture of Past and Present. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2011. Pp. xvii, 342. \$29.95.

When does history begin? Since the so-called time revolution of the later nineteenth century, which undermined traditional beliefs about the age of the earth, the invention of writing has marked the beginning of history. Deep historians want to begin with the divergence of our hominin ancestors from the great apes some five to eight million years ago, if not earlier. History on such a timescale requires jettisoning the necessity of written documentation and reconceiving documents as any traces of the past in the present. It also requires that historians collaborate with those who study the deep past. This volume is the product of just such a collaborative effort. It is neither co-authored nor co-edited in the usual sense. The anthropologist Andrew Shryock and the historian and medievalist Daniel Lord Smail co-wrote two of its eleven chapters, but they also individually joined one or more others in the writing of another six, and no chapter has just one author. The first of many helpful figures, “Dates in deep time,” combines images and graphic information to fine effect, creating both a visual summary of the book’s major themes and a sketch of “the architecture of past and present” that bridges the gap between “deep” and “shallow” history.

Part one, “Problems and Orientations,” includes an introduction by Shryock and Smail and an essay by Shryock, the historian and anthropologist Thomas R. Trautman, and Clive Gamble, a geographer and archaeologist. The introduction traces the commitment to a “short chronology” based on rigorous analysis of

written documents to the need for historians in the later nineteenth century to legitimize their recently acquired presence on university faculties. The short chronology's biblical origins are apparent, however, in the fact that the invention of writing occurred roughly 6000 years ago, the same time as creation, as calculated by Bishop James Ussher in the seventeenth century. The short chronology has also perpetuated tropes of the rise and fall of civilizations, human exceptionalism and the conquest of nature that have their roots in biblical understandings of the past. Deep historians want to replace such things with non-narrative patterns or "frames" drawn from anthropology and the paleo-sciences. Shryock, Trautman, and Gamble show how one such frame can be key to "imagining the human in deep time." Kinshipping, the process by which people decide who is family and who a stranger, is as old as humanity itself. From the perspective of deep history, the DNA research that is uncovering the family histories of just about everyone on the planet, putting us all in touch with our deep ancestry, is simply a particularly powerful example of kinshipping.

The three essays in part two, "Frames for History in Deep Time," highlight the importance of coevolution in deep history. In the first, Smail and Shryock argue that culture has always had profound effects on human bodies. Like many of the phenomena discussed in this book, culture and physiology are not independent variables; they interact in continuous feedback loops. In the second essay, archaeologist Mary C. Stiner and anthropologist Gillian Feeley-Harnik consider the coevolution of people and the natural environment from the perspective of humanity's endless quest for calories and fuel. As they see it, the agricultural revolution meant trading a secure position as "top carnivore" for the unknown consequences of sedentism. It also set in motion a process of coevolution between humans and domesticated animals and plants that is still ongoing. In the third essay, linguist April McMahon, together with Shryock and Trautman, takes a similar approach, arguing that the evolution of language involved not just changes in humans that made language possible but changes in languages that made them learnable. She also make a strong case for replacing the traditional image of language trees, which can only show divergence, with a web-like network that also shows convergences and thus better represents how languages change over time.

In the first contribution to part three, "Shared Substance," historian Felipe Fernández Armesto and Smail argue that a deep historical approach is the only way to understand the place of food in human history. They begin with the effects of a carnivorous diet, which provided the extra protein needed to have larger brains than other primates, and then discuss the importance of cooking, and eating cooked food, to the growth of human sociability. They set the tone for most of the remaining chapters as well by carrying their story through the domestication of plants and animals and the importance of banqueting in ancient and medieval societies to the changing modes of food production in the

modern world. The result is a model for how to transcend the divide between deep and shallow history. The essay that follows, by Trautman, Feeley-Harnik, and primatologist John C. Mitani, expands on the earlier discussion of kinshipping by reviewing anthropological insights into the phenomenon in light of recent primatological research. It appears that early hominins inherited from their primate ancestors some ability to recognize kin and even the kinship of others. From that beginning, human understandings of kinship relations became increasingly complex. The authors admit that there is much work to be done before a full history of human kinship can be written, but they are confident that we already know, in a deep sense, how to go about it.

Part four, "Human Expansion," comprises three final essays on human migration, the circulation of goods and notions of scale in deep history. The first is the work of Gamble, archaeologist Timothy Earle and Hendrik Poinar, an evolutionary biologist specializing in the study of ancient DNA. They argue that migration is one of the most basic patterns of human history and discuss the science that has made it possible to reconstruct its complexities with increasing precision. The second, by Smail, Stiner, and Earle, looks at a related form of migration: that of the goods that people have imbued with symbolic meaning and circulated among themselves, mostly for social identification and prestige. Increases in the number of goods produced and circulated have occurred at particular times, but the phenomenon is, like kinshipping, a basic constituent of all human history; it has no point of origin. The same authors are joined by Shryock for the final essay, which argues that the astonishing growth and complexity of humanity and human endeavor over the last couple of centuries, often regarded as a definitive break from all past history, is different only in scale from what has gone before. Humanity has burst through ceilings time and again, after long periods of incremental change. Deep history is in many ways the record of such processes.

It is impossible in a short review to give more than a hint of the riches to be found in this groundbreaking book. In battering down the walls between history and prehistory, it invites scientists and humanists to join in a common endeavor. By envisioning nothing less than a complete account of the human experience, it stakes out a new frontier for historical consciousness that is as welcome as it is timely.

FREDERICK S. PAXTON
Connecticut College

MARTIN REUSS and STEPHEN CUTCLIFFE, editors. *The Illusory Boundary: Environment and Technology in History*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 318. \$59.50, paper \$29.50.

The Illusory Boundary: Environment and Technology in History, edited by Martin Reuss and Stephen H. Cutcliffe, provides a useful introduction to the emerging field of envirotech studies. The thirteen essays that

comprise this anthology evidence both the value of interdisciplinary research as well as the range of possible topics to be explored in analyzing the relationship between human beings and the world around them.

The book's title provides a unifying theme for this collection. Reuss and Cutcliffe contend that the word "illusion" captures what James C. Williams describes as the "dynamic, interactive, complex, and messy" relationship between human beings, nature, and technology (p. 2). To Reuss and Cutcliffe, the word "illusion" suggests several possible meanings. On one level, the word connotes something "deceptive" and "false." On another, it implies a "veil-like," permeable material. All of the authors share a commitment to reconceptualizing the relationship between environment and technology. They maintain that the boundary between nature and technology is fluid and dynamic. Each of the book's five sections seeks to reframe the discussion of the "interaction" of humans and the world around them.

The desire to bridge the gap between environmental studies and the history of technology emerged in the 1990s. In 2000, Sara B. Pritchard and Williams (two contributors to this volume) organized a discussion group at the Society for the History of Technology (SHOT) meeting in Munich. This informal discussion led to the formation of a special interest group (SIG) within SHOT. In 2001, the Envirotech SIG began publishing a newsletter. Currently, this SIG meets twice a year at the annual American Society for Environmental History (ASEH) and SHOT conventions. The essays collected here developed out of a workshop held at the University of Maryland in 2006. The volume thus reflects the range of topics presented in the first six years of the SIG's existence.

The editors divide the thirteen articles into five sections: part one, "Nature, Technology and the Human Element"; part two, "Constructing Landscape"; part three, "Development and Waste"; part four, "Biology and Technology"; and part five, "Historiographic Retrospect and Concluding Reflection." Readers looking for new methodological approaches will be disappointed. This is not a book about theory. Rather, it should be thought of as a collection of field studies that demonstrate the rich possibilities for those willing to explore the way in which environment and technology interact in human society.

In part one, Williams, Joy Parr, and Peter Coates offer the most general discussion of the relationship between nature, humans, and technology. In "Understanding the Place of Humans in Nature," Williams proposes the idea of a "technology junction" occupying the point of contact between humanity and nature. It is at this point that nature becomes human. Parr and Coates give flesh to Williams's argument. Parr contends in "Our Bodies and Our Histories of Technology and the Environment" that our bodies "mediate" between the external world and the technologies we employ in shaping that world. Coates ("Can Nature Improve Technology?") approaches Williams's idea of a "tech-

nology junction" from the perspective of the ways nature provides models for technological developments.

The three essays comprising part two focus on the role technology has played in constructing landscapes. In "The Nature of Industrialization," Pritchard and Thomas Zeller rethink the standard interpretation that industrialization leads to the estrangement of human beings with the natural world. In the section's second essay, Peter C. Perdue offers a nuanced discussion of the complex relationship between nature and technology in the Qing Dynasty ("Is There a Chinese View of Technology and Nature?"). William D. Rowley completes this section with an illuminating discussion of the transformative challenges technology has posed to the cultural traditions of the arid American West.

The third section of the book shifts the focus away from regional studies to a thematic discussion of "The Development of Waste" in human society. Joel A. Tarr examines four stages of the development of American cities in "The City as an Artifact of Technology and Environment." Craig E. Colten develops ideas that are implicit in Tarr's discussion of cities in "Waste and Pollution."

The book's fourth section, "Biology and Technology," contains the two finest essays in the collection. Ann Vileisis in "Are Tomatoes Natural?" and Edmund Russell in "Can Organisms Be Technology?" demonstrate that there is no fixed boundary between nature and technology. Vileisis's careful examination of the domestication of the tomato suggests much about the way in which humans make the natural world. Equally, Edmund Russell's exploration of the ways in which human beings compelled animals to serve humans has far-reaching implications for how we define technology. In the book's final section, Hugh S. Gorman and Betsy Mendelsohn provide a useful historiographic survey of the "convergence of themes in the history of technology and environmental history" (p. 5).

The contributors of this collection of essays succeed in deepening readers' appreciation of the complex interactions among nature, human beings, and technology. The book provides a useful introduction to the dynamic relationship between nature and technology that is revealed in history. It is a beginning. Much good work remains to be done.

GORDON PATTERSON

Florida Institute of Technology

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM. *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World*. (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures.) Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press. Historical Society of Israel. 2011. Pp. xviii, 228. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$35.00, e-book \$24.99.

Three Ways to Be Alien examines the "friction and discomfort, at both the existential and the conceptual levels" (p. 173), that the early modern broadening of ho-

rizons engendered. Covering an impressive geographical area and chronological span, from the Western Mediterranean to India, from the 1530s to the 1720s, it draws on a vast range of sources—letters, contracts, diplomatic records, testaments, personal chronicles—to tell the stories (always in the plural) of identities caught between cultures. Sanjay Subrahmanyam contends that the individuals who inhabited the early modern world did not make a quick and smooth transition from being “inhabitants of Bijapur, Sussex, or Venice, to being cosmopolitans, and thus citizens of the world” (p. 173). Rather, they ended up feeling displaced and confused; as one of them aptly put it, “The Moors say I am a Christian, and the Christians say I am a Moor, and so I hang in balance without knowing what I should do with myself” (p. 1). The encounters examined in this book bespeak anxiety, puzzlement, and antagonism; while they may not (yet) have had the trappings of “full-blown Orientalism,” they are also far from exemplifying “a situation of mutual understanding” (p. 138).

Against the background of large-scale machinations by empire-seeking potentates, Subrahmanyam zooms in on the case studies of three border-crossers: Meale, a Muslim prince who ended up as a hostage of the Portuguese in Goa; the British adventurer Anthony Sherley, whose globetrotting was so extensive it requires a world map of its own (p. 103); and the Venetian Nicolò Manuzzi, a cultural intermediary between Europe and Mughal India. Together, these men symbolize what it meant to be “alien” in the early modern world: it meant adapting, being a chameleon and a “trickster” (the allusion to Natalie Zemon Davis’s study of al-Hasan al-Wazzan is not a coincidence); it meant accepting to be both a prince and a pawn (Meale), playing one ruler against the other (Sherley), or presenting one’s identity alternatively as Venetian, Catholic, or European depending on the way in which the wind blew (Manuzzi).

I invite readers to enjoy a parallel story that unfolds between the lines of the master narrative: the story of confusing linguistic encounters. How did these border crossers actually communicate? The answer, again, is that they adapted as best they could. Sherley spoke little to no Turkish or Persian, “had no great talent even for the Romance languages” (p. 97), and wrote in “a macaronic Italo-Spanish” (p. 106). Meale spoke “a modicum of Portuguese” (p. 53) but still required the assistance of professional scribes and interpreters (p. 55). Manuzzi—no stranger to self-aggrandizement—claimed to speak French, Turkish, Persian, and “the Indian language” in addition to his native Italian, but he wrote in Latin, Venetian dialect, or in a mix of French and Portuguese peppered with grammatical errors and made-up words (pp. 146–148, 151). His on-paper persona, significantly, changed slightly depending on the language he used (pp. 151, 155).

Subrahmanyam presents his work as a combination of world history and microhistory (p. 173). He is, unquestionably, a master of both: he chooses three men “who represented either small states and powers, or

nothing much besides their own malleable destinies” (p. 137) and, around their microcosms, he reconstructs an intricate universe of political alliances, religious configurations, and social attitudes, interwoven with many other individual life trajectories that, like shooting stars, crossed paths with those of his “aliens.” At the same time, one cannot help but notice that these three men enjoyed opportunities that none of the iconic nobodies of micro-history, the Menocchios or the Gian Battista Chiesas, could ever have envisioned. Meale was a prince “with prestige and resources,” the subject of “rumors and myths . . . even among his contemporaries” (p. 66). Sherley was Oxford-educated, “a gentleman of modest fortune” (p. 91) on the payroll of a host of European monarchs. Manuzzi was born “of modest condition” (p. 140) but eventually rose to the rank of physician at the Mughal court. The individual reader’s definition of what constitutes micro-history (and there is no shortage of opinions in this respect) will ultimately determine the extent to which these three lives fit the bill.

This comment does not diminish my appreciation for Subrahmanyam’s intellectual tour de force. He calls his book “uncomplicated” (p. xv), and, in a sense, it is, if by uncomplicated we mean jargon-free, clearly organized, and easy to read and enjoy. Uncomplicated, however, is not to be confused with unsophisticated: this is an extraordinarily elegant study of individuals who lived at the intersection of cultures, religions, and political systems, and of the creative strategies they deployed, more or less successfully, to negotiate their presence therein.

LAURA NENZI
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville

TRAVIS GLASSON. *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 318. \$55.00.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was, as Travis Glasson notes, “the largest and most influential missionary organization in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic world” (p. 3). While accurate, this is rather like describing fish and chips as Britain’s greatest contribution to world cuisine. *Mastering Christianity* examines why Anglican authorities came (belatedly) to the missionary impulse, how they sought to put this desire into practice, and why they proved so ineffectual, at least in regard to the conversion of the Africans who lived under British rule. This is a fascinating, if also somewhat depressing, study of an institution whose religious and moral principles, and potential for doing good, were fatally compromised by its social and political ties and ambitions.

The SPG was founded in 1701 as the overseas analogue to the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Both organizations were part of efforts by leaders of the Church of England post-1688 to make Anglicanism the state church in fact as well as in law.

With Catholics already proscribed, Protestant dissenters became the primary target for conversion (the SPG dispatched its first batch of missionaries not to Africa, but to Boston). A secondary mission was to bring the gospel to “heathens” living in the colonies. At first this meant Native Americans. But when Indians proved unwilling converts, the SPG turned to African slaves.

Unlike Indians, many slaves desired, or could be compelled, to attend religious services or to receive instruction. To allay masters’ fears that conversion would “ruin” their slaves, the SPG repeatedly declared that baptism did not alter a person’s worldly condition. Despite these assurances, masters remained suspicious. A slave rebellion in New York City in 1712 was blamed on a school kept by SPG missionary Elias Neau (two pupils were among the executed). The highwater mark of the SPG’s success in converting slaves was reached in 1740. But the tide did not lap very high—at best, only a tiny percentage of slaves became Anglicans.

A sermon delivered to the SPG in London by a future archbishop of Canterbury, which called upon missionaries to “render to Caesar those things that were Caesar’s and to pay obedience to the Powers that were established in the world” (p. 137), encapsulates the society’s approach. As a branch of the established church, the SPG felt it had a duty to sanctify existing social and political arrangements. Consequently, it did not advocate an end to slavery—which most churchmen thought biblically sanctioned—but sought only to bring slaves under the protection of the church. Although missionaries wrote to London of the horrible cruelties they witnessed, the SPG’s agenda focused on saving slaves’ souls rather than in saving their lives, and on freeing them from a spiritual rather than an earthly bondage.

Glasson devotes a chapter of his book to the SPG’s receipt in 1710 of the bequest of a Barbados plantation and 300 slaves. The windfall was taken as a heaven-sent opportunity to demonstrate that a profitable “Christian mastership” was possible. What followed proved precisely the opposite. While enduring the same intensive labor, brutal punishment, and high mortality of other Barbadian slaves, the people who literally bore the SPG’s brand also suffered intrusions into their private lives and free time. To top it off, the plantation lost money. Eventually, the SPG abandoned the Christianization program and, as an absentee master, finally made the enterprise turn a profit.

Another chapter traces the embittered career of Philip Quaque, a native African sent to England as a teenager to be educated and ordained and later appointed resident missionary at Cape Coast Castle, a British slave-trading “factory” on the Ghana coast. Given his position, Quaque was closely identified with the “cursed slave trade” by the natives (p. 186). In his long tenure, he made few converts outside the confines of the “castle” and its resident (and dependent) Africans.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the rise of antislavery sentiment forced the SPG to choose be-

tween its role as a pillar of the establishment and its mild critique of slavery as part of a campaign for slave conversion. No points for guessing which it chose. In 1740, Alexander Garden, South Carolina’s Anglican commissary, answered George Whitefield’s charge that the brutal treatment of slaves was sinful by asserting that the colony’s slaves were “more happy and comfortable” (p. 123) than British laborers. Apart from a brief outburst of remorse in the immediate aftermath of the American Revolution, the SPG’s conservative “rapprochement with slavery” (p. 129) accelerated as abolitionism grew. In 1838, with British emancipation, the SPG lined up with other slave masters to claim monetary compensation for the loss of its human property.

ROBERT OLWELL

University of Texas at Austin

JAY RILEY CASE. *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 311. Cloth \$99.00, paper \$24.95.

Those of us who have been writing American religious history for a half century and more cannot help but notice what incremental changes in approaches to the subject have mounted. First, it seemed radical to enlarge the scope of inquiry to include European origins. Next came the attempt to relate to the larger Asian, African, and South American counterparts, sometimes for comparison and at others to tell a common story. Then “we” discovered the globe and treated non-American sites not as “mission fields” but as having an integrity of their own, still related to the United States. Stories of minorities “at home,” whether of women, slaves, or non-mainstream faiths, added richness and depth.

All these are taken for granted in mature histories like the book under review, in which Jay Riley Case plots a story on themes that were once considered esoteric and out of reach. Some would call the whole venture “postmodern,” since it deserts the conventional linearity and simple coherence of the story. Not so here. For starters, the chapter on the “Wild” Karen People of Burma, who were illiterate, hard to Christianize, and possessed of few inherited ties to Americans, shows them to have been not just learners and recipients of the Gospel and of “civilization” but themselves teachers, initiators, and, if not “civilizers,” still people who forced American Baptists—who were puzzled but lured by them—to effect change.

No sooner has the reader begun to get a fix on this “Wild” story than Case figuratively plunks us down in western New York, which was ablaze to the point that it was becoming “the Burned-over District” for revivalists. The revivalists wanted to inspire and impel Christian outreach to the world of people like the Karens back in Burma. Missionary-minded Baptists in such districts developed or belonged to what Case accurately calls the “Civilization-first” school. He spices up the narrative by focusing on Francis Wayland, a rouser who preached urgently: “The Son of God has left us no di-

rections for civilizing the heathen, and then Christianizing them" (p. 78). Wayland advocated blunt, bold, assertive if not aggressive soul-saving messages and tactics.

Part two demands of the reader a vast mental leap from the now cozy confines of Burma and Baptist New York. (Here, I should not neglect to mention that, entertained by this double story, readers can learn much about ways of interpreting enduring issues in global Christian transactions and intercultural exchanges in general.) The landing place is South Africa and a chapter-length story about Appalachian revivalist William Taylor, whose encounter with Charles Pamla challenged Taylor and his fellow missionaries to ordain black Africans. Out of such actions came "Ethiopianism" and other black movements that appealed for more inclusive ordination practices. Today the heirs of such challengers prosper, while descendants of the standoffish Christians who resisted them languish in their churches.

Having been seasoned in Africa, Taylor returned to the United States and became the best-known, most-argued-about, and most influential Methodist Episcopal evangelist in America. Case describes Taylor as influencing the American church when he helped lay the "unanticipated foundation" for "holiness" Methodism. Out of this sprang the "worldwide movement that nobody saw coming, Pentecostalism."

Case traces an "African-American Great Awakening" that did not quicken the curiosity of historians in any way comparable to that of the "white" Great Awakening. Henry McNeal judged, "The white people of this country have no true Christian civilization." He and his colleagues initiated evangelistic movements in South Africa and elsewhere that eventually came to dwarf the enterprises of the "civilized" white churches.

The photographs in the last two chapters are of black holiness and Pentecostal women, who attract more interest now than do their stolid white counterparts in American Methodist churches. Thanks to these "unpredictable" events and expressions, "home" was never to look as adventurous, enterprising, or "holy" as before. For those of us who were writing history not so many decades ago, the expansion of the borders and the deepening of the issues that came with the "unforeseen" and "unpredictable" Gospel and its evangelical custodians pose intellectual and historiographical, not to say humanistic, challenges. Included also are some implicit "how to" lessons about intercultural relations a century after the American "sending" churches learned that they could not simply send without receiving, or speak without listening.

MARTIN E. MARTY
University of Chicago

DIRK BÖNKER. *Militarism in a Global Age: Naval Ambitions in Germany and the United States before World War I.* (The United States in the World.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 421. \$49.95.

It is commonplace among historians of Wilhelmine Germany to depict Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, the architect of the Imperial Navy, as having an obsession with Britain. The Royal Navy was the role model for the fleet he built and the enemy against which he defined its main purpose. What is less well known is that Tirpitz saw the U.S. Navy as the force that resembled the German one most. No other navy invited comparison with the kaiser's fleet more, he told Wilhelm II in 1902. Dirk Bönker follows this lead to great effect in his thought-provoking and wide-ranging study. Rather than locate German navalism in the context of the Anglo-German antagonism, he explains it as a form of technocratic militarism that existed as much in the U.S. as in the *Kaiserreich*.

Comparing the naval elites on both sides of the Atlantic, Bönker finds a striking set of similarities. Leading officers in both countries cultivated similar self-images as technocratic professionals, positioning "themselves as the custodians of the two countries' interests as integral nation-states in a globalizing world" (p. 304). Important ideas adopted in the German navy were first formulated in the United States and vice versa. Alfred Thayer Mahan and the model of the Prussian army played key roles in this transfer of ideas and knowledge, which was facilitated by exchanges between the two services. As a result both naval elites developed similar strategies for war by adopting important principles of land warfare. All of this, Bönker argues, set the United States and Germany apart from Britain, which followed its own distinctive approach to naval administration and strategy. The U.S. and German navies thus moved along "common paths" until World War I prompted them to develop "diverging outlooks" (p. 97).

Bönker's study expands significantly on recent work that interprets the kaiser's navy in a non-exceptionalist framework, stressing global dynamics rather than the peculiarities of modern Germany: the *Kaiserreich* was not a unique case; its navy was not the expression of special conditions, as Eckart Kehr, Volker R. Berghahn, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler had argued. However, Bönker does not overstretch this interpretation. His study is far too much informed by meticulous archival research and an awareness of the specific historical contexts on both sides of the Atlantic for him to embrace the revisionist interpretation wholeheartedly. The naval elites in the United States and the *Kaiserreich* followed similar militarist agendas, but they were set apart by important underlying differences. The kaiser's naval leadership aimed for a dramatic increase in global power and colonial influence, expecting to establish Germany as one global empire amongst others. Their American counterparts, in contrast, remained unconvinced that the United States needed extensive overseas colonies. At the same time, they thought of their nation as the harbinger of a universal order in which their empire would ultimately dominate.

The most important differences between Germans and Americans, however, were to be found in the political and constitutional context, above all in civil-mil-

itary relations. The German Navy was able to escape what it saw as undue civilian interference in a range of important matters and enjoyed direct access to the kaiser, the supreme warlord. Indeed, Tirpitz was able to extend his claim to control even at the expense of Wilhelm II. The naval elite in the United States had come to accept a radically different constitutional arrangement. Much as they may have envied the German Navy for its political position, even at the height of their global ambitions leading American officers rarely questioned that in the United States control over the military sphere was exercised by civilian government. Here, as in its approach to public opinion and its manipulation, the U.S. Navy seems to have followed patterns that are more easily recognized in the British than the German case. This raises the question whether the similarities between the United States and the *Kaiserreich* may not be overly accentuated in the general argument about "common paths."

The book's great contribution is that it brings together the key aspects of naval policy and thinking in the United States and Germany in a sustained comparative analysis. It is pioneering in this respect. Particularly impressive is that Bönker manages to integrate some of the arguments originally put forward by opposing schools of thought. Thus, while rejecting the idea of the Imperial Navy as embodying a German "special path," he is at ease with the notion of "social imperialism." He leaves little doubt that Tirpitz and his officers followed a powerful domestic agenda of state and nation building that was integral to their quest for world power status. This is a careful and differentiated analysis based on painstaking archival research and an impressively wide-ranging comparative approach. It will be compulsory reading for anyone working in the field.

JAN RÜGER

Birkbeck, University of London

NEVILLE KIRK. *Labour and the Politics of Empire: Britain and Australia 1900 to the Present*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 319. \$105.00.

Labour and the Politics of Empire is in many respects a follow-up to Neville Kirk's earlier study, *Comrades and Cousins: Globalization, Workers, and Labour Movements in Britain, the USA, and Australia from the 1880s to 1914* (2003). While his earlier book compared attitudes toward independent political representation, labor conditions, and racial and imperial politics in the three countries, this study, which is published as a part of Manchester Press's booming "Studies in Imperialism" series, focuses more narrowly on the political fortunes of the British Labour Party (BLP) and the Australian Labor Party (ALP). In so doing, Kirk provides a useful addition to the literature for political historians of either country.

The past several years have seen the publication of numerous comparative and transnational studies of

trade unionism in member countries of the "British World," but hitherto political parties have escaped similar scrutiny. This is a shame, as, with the exception of those born and raised in what used to be known as the "settler empire," British political historians' knowledge of antipodean political history is surprisingly limited. As Kirk's study makes clear, there is much to be learned from a comparative study of British and Australian politics, particularly in terms of the ways in which notions of nationalism and loyalism have been deployed in party conflicts.

Kirk's study is arranged chronologically, with sections looking in turn at the foundation of both the BLP and the ALP through World War I; the interwar period, in which new definitions of the nation and anxieties about the rise of Soviet communism played particularly dominant roles in both Australian and British politics; the 1940s through to the 1970s, which British historians would term the ages of austerity and affluence; and the 1980s through to the present, when first the ALP and later the BLP turned toward neoliberal economics and "one nation" rhetoric to "modernize" their parties.

Both the ALP and the BLP were early critics of Britain's imperial policy. However, whereas the BLP's anti-imperialism was for many closely tied to anti-racism, the ALP early identified the British Empire with large transnational trusts who outsourced cheap labor to Aborigines or Asians. While the ALP did not advocate leaving the empire (or, later, the Commonwealth), it championed a robust Australian nationalism and advocated the "White Australia" policy aimed at limiting Asian immigration. Kirk argues that the ALP's successful nationalist appeal was crucial to its early rise to national prominence in the 1910s, and to its more successful appeal to ex-soldiers after the war.

The interwar period, in contrast, saw the ALP's fortunes decline as precipitously as those of its British cousin. Attacks on "Reds" in both countries contributed to the fall of Labor administrations and the establishment of center-right governments led by former Labourites and committed to sound finance and the safeguarding of national values. As a historian of interwar Britain, I would have liked to have read more about the impact on ALP politics of the defection of Joseph Lyons from the Labor cabinet and the formation of the new United Australia Party. In Britain, Ramsay MacDonald's 1931 "betrayal" of the party that he had helped to form not only harmed the party's short-term electoral fortunes in the 1930s but dealt a heavy psychological blow to party members that had long-term consequences for policy, leadership, and loyalty. A book with such a broad scope cannot cover everything, but it seems that such a comparative focus could have yielded useful insights into the political culture of both parties.

While the interwar chapters focus on similarities, in the postwar period, Australia became much more intertwined with both the American economy and the U.S. preoccupation with the Cold War. Both of these issues played poorly for the ALP, as the Liberal Party

was able to capitalize on the economic prosperity following the war and to tar the ALP with a "Red" brush. In Britain, by contrast, accusations of subversion were less central to political debate, and the economic climate was less sunny. The ALP did finally regain political ascendancy in 1983, and as many scholars of New Labour have noted, provided a model for the BLP as it sought to regain political relevance in Britain. In addition to economic neoliberalism, Kirk emphasizes the crucial role that nationalist rhetoric played in both the Australian and the British parties' renaissance. While nationalism in Britain was defined against a less self-consciously imperial backdrop than in Australia, Kirk's study reminds us that it is impossible to understand British or Australian labor politics without taking into account the politics of empire.

LAURA BEERS
American University

MINKAH MAKALANI. *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 309. \$39.95.

This book is an intriguing, detailed, study of the development of international black radicalism between World Wars I and II. Focusing particularly on Caribbean radicals in Harlem and London, Minkah Makalani explicitly addresses some of the more pressing recent debates in the literature, notably the relationship between communism and black radical nationalism, and the nature of African diasporic identities and politics. Rather than take sides, Makalani suggests that historians change the frame of these debates. The way to approach such questions, he insists, is to look at black radicalism in particular times and places rather than reach for a single, overarching conclusion. As Makalani's book demonstrates, the relationship between Caribbean radicals and communism varied markedly across temporal and spatial contexts, while the idea of diaspora was understood within particular national settings. The Caribbean radicals under discussion, including prominent figures such as Cyril Briggs, Amy Ashwood Garvey, C. L. R. James, and George Padmore as well as many lesser-known activists, embody the fluidity of the interpretations of black radicalism across borders, since their perceptions of their own racial identities often changed as they moved into American or British contexts.

In the Cause of Freedom is an intellectual history, but it is grounded in everyday politics, and is as much about the actions of the people involved as it is about the ideas that they develop. After all, black radical intellectuals did not have the luxury to be free-floating philosophers in interwar New York and London. These were men and women who spent much of their time struggling to sustain small institutions and organizations. Makalani's exhaustive research in a wide range of archives and languages has unearthed numerous new stories and pro-

vides a helpful model of what a nuanced transnational history can be.

The narrative is tightly focused in terms of characters, place, and organizations. The text focuses squarely on Caribbean migrants, on two urban black communities, and on two organizations (the Harlem-based African Black Brotherhood and the London-based International African Service Bureau). Makalani notes that the center of his narrative is not necessarily the center of the broad narrative of African diasporic radicalism in this period. Yet by narrowing the focus, Makalani not only grounds the analysis in particular contexts but is able to draw specific connections to the wider story. In particular, the study of Caribbean radicals' engagement with communism in London and Harlem opens up an important, easily overlooked, connection between radical black international and Asian anticolonial activists, notably the influential cosmopolitan Indian intellectual, Manabendra Nath (M. N.) Roy.

Makalani closes by suggesting that a better understanding of black radical international politics in the past might open up possibilities in the present. It would be interesting to know a little more about how specialized academic research might seek to engage with wider publics. Interesting, too, would be to see how this interwar story of Caribbean radicals in Harlem and London developed during World War II, the Cold War, and the end of the European empires (not least in the Caribbean). That, however, is for another book. *In the Cause of Freedom* is a substantial achievement that not only adds to our understanding of early twentieth-century international black radicalism but also suggests a helpful framework for future studies.

STEPHEN TUCK
University of Oxford

NICO SLATE. *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 321. \$39.95.

The struggles for freedom waged by African Americans and by Indians have been relayed in many works. More recently, the embrace of transnational history has encouraged explorations of their connections and mutual influence, and a series of studies has given special attention to the significant impact of Gandhian nonviolence on the United States. Nico Slate's monograph makes an excellent contribution to this current of research.

Slate's transnational history of the topic is marked by four original features. First, he transcends the earlier preoccupation with Gandhian nonviolence, placing the interest in Mohandas Gandhi's *satyagraha* in a longer and quite diverse chain of exchanges stretching back to the nineteenth century. If Gandhi retains an important role, he is accompanied by a great number of other historical actors, many far less celebrated.

Second, this book uncovers the mutual influence that African Americans and Indians had on each other,

demonstrating that Indians learned from their American counterparts and vice versa. If Gandhi was an influential model of nonviolent protest, then the U.S. Black Power movement helped to produce the “Dalit Panthers” of Bombay. And Gandhi himself was not simply an Indian authority on *satyagraha*; in Slate’s hands, he was equally a student of education and of caste discrimination who had been transformed by his contact with African Americans. This transnational dialogue often prompted careful self-examination, but it could also incite defensive reactions. Slate’s close attention to the complicated and multifarious results of international exchange is a strong feature of the book.

Third, Slate also carefully documents the many different ways in which Indians and African Americans searched for points of commonality and difference. What Slate calls “transnational analogies” around race, caste, and nation took on many distinct and competing forms that could justify quite different political projects. Solidarity between Indians and African Americans was by no means assured. The struggle for freedom in India and the United States was not always shared.

Fourth, Slate argues that among the many “transnational analogies,” a group of African Americans and Indians forged a “colored cosmopolitanism.” According to the author, this was a worldview that emphasized the commonality of “colored” peoples across the world but that also “defied narrow, chauvinist definitions of race, religion, or nation” (p. 66). For Slate, the “invention of the colored world” constituted a “creative” and “politically significant” redefinition of racial borders and a powerful means of opposing “imperialism and racism” (pp. 65–66). It was a major political achievement.

Slate’s valuable contribution also raises further questions. Despite its subtitle, the book actually pays little attention to the activity of political struggle. *Colored Cosmopolitanism* is largely an intellectual history of transnational analogies developed by campaigners in India and the United States, not an examination of how those ideas were applied in practice. In consequence, the precise import of ideas and concepts, and the context in which they were deployed, reviewed, modified, and rethought, is not fully explored.

Perhaps because of its preoccupation with intellectual exchanges rather than political actions, Slate’s argument for the importance of colored cosmopolitanism is not completely sustained. The appeals of the concept are ably demonstrated, but the author does little to document how it was successfully used to oppose racism and imperialism. Slate acknowledges that colored cosmopolitanism was most enthusiastically embraced by the educated and internationally mobile on the political left, that it was somewhat marginalized by the Cold War, and that the rise of postcolonial nation-states further overshadowed it. Evidence regarding the successful deployment of the concept is not presented as systematically as it might be, given the claims for its significance. And there is less critical attention to the limits of the concept than might be expected.

Slate demonstrates that exchanges between the United States and India were of some importance. But the struggle of Indians for their freedom was at least as enmeshed in a reciprocal dialogue with their British colonizers. The absence of Britain from Slate’s transnational history is certainly defensible, and the book is already ambitious in scope. At the same time, the marginalization of Britain means that U.S.-Indian relationships are not placed in a broader historical context. There is therefore a danger that their importance is magnified, and that the dynamics of the Indian freedom struggle, in particular, are not fully presented.

The demands of transnational history are very great, and too much should not be expected of a single work. *Colored Cosmopolitanism* adds to our knowledge of freedom struggles in the United States and India, and to our understanding of their connections. Understandably, it also raises questions for future historical study.

SEAN SCALMER

University of Melbourne

PATRICIA A. SCHECHTER. *Exploring the Decolonial Imaginary: Four Transnational Lives*. (Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xvii, 266. \$85.00.

Patricia A. Schechter explores the “transnational lives” of four women: Amanda Berry Smith, a nineteenth-century missionary to Liberia; author Gertrude Stein; Josefina Silva de Cintron, editor of *Artes y Letras* (a journal that operated between 1933 and 1939 and had readership in both Puerto Rico and New York City); and Maida Springer, a labor activist in mid-twentieth-century United States and Liberia. As she notes, all but Stein have been largely forgotten today, despite achieving some prominence during their lifetimes.

Schechter argues that a common thread ties these women together; they “worked against essentialist notions of race and were transnational figures who crossed the Caribbean and the Atlantic with crucial stops in New York City,” and they refused “to abide by the rules of racial boundary keeping” and to “extend racial scripts in their lives and work” (p. 1). This refusal, she argues, hurt “their ability to earn money, social status, or political currency,” and has left them “mostly obscured” today (p. 1). This last part of Schechter’s argument is a bit unclear, as it is virtually impossible to prove that the women she treats would be better known today—or wealthier or more politically powerful in their own time—if they had in fact subscribed more to contemporary ideologies of race. This is nonetheless an important book, one which challenges the standard geographical boundaries for U.S. women’s history (and American history more broadly) and adds to our understanding of the complex ways in which women have engaged with U.S. imperialism.

Schechter employs the term “decolonial,” which she attributes to feminist theorist Emma Pérez, to describe her subjects’ “resistance to racialized categories of state and empire,” suggesting that the terms “colonial” and

"post-colonial" do not adequately describe this dynamic (p. 4). The fact that these women were not involved in formal anti-imperialist movements could make "anti-colonial" inappropriate as well. Her embrace of this new term stems from a broader commitment to reframing a "polarized historical landscape of invading . . . feminist imperialists and resistant . . . nationalists" (p. 4). An important trend in women's history has been an emphasis on the work of women (usually "white" women) in establishing and upholding boundaries of race, and on the ways in which women's rights movements have been linked with imperialism and ideologies of race. While much of this scholarship has been more nuanced than Schechter's characterization might suggest, it is true that there has been little attention to how to address women who were "neither citizen-colonizers, nor, exactly, subalterns" (p. 3). Whether or not one chooses to join the author in using this term, she does map out a path for exploring a wider range of ways in which women, including women who could be constructed as "black," have engaged with U.S. imperialism.

Meticulous research has clearly gone into this book. The integration of journals, letters, census records, contemporary newspaper accounts, oral histories, and interviews in the reconstruction of the stories of Smith, Silva de Cintron, and Springer is impressive. More than just bringing these women to the attention of historians, Schechter is raising questions about citizenship and race, encouraging readers to "rethink boundaries often presumed stable, namely, where nations begin and end" (p. 2). In the chapter on Smith, for example, Schechter makes connections between the history of Liberia, a "persistently overlooked sphere of the U.S. Empire" (p. 6), and the post-Reconstruction United States. The author returns to Liberia again in the chapter on Springer to show links between labor activism in the United States and in Liberia after World War II. Bringing this kind of transnational perspective to U.S. history was acknowledged as an important goal with the publication of Thomas Bender's edited volume, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (2002), among other works. It is especially so in U.S. women's history, as the relationship of women to empire has become central to the field of women's history more broadly.

While the book's introduction might be challenging for some undergraduates, the chapters on each woman are more accessible and could be used to add a transnational component to any U.S. history or U.S. women's history course. The stories of these fascinating women provide a gateway into more abstract questions about where nations begin and end. I especially recommend the chapters on Smith and Springer. Schechter's book will be an excellent addition to graduate courses in U.S. history, especially U.S. women's history.

CONNIE SHEMA

Plattsburgh State University

MARK PEEL. *Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse: Social Work and the Story of Poverty in America,*

Australia, and Britain. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 325. \$49.00.

Comparative histories are by their very nature ambitious projects, requiring the mastery of multiple historiographies and contextual information. In the delightfully titled *Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse*, Mark Peel compares the development of social work and attitudes regarding poverty and the poor in three different but related countries. He makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of how ideas and people flowed among Britain, Australia, and the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. These countries shared common linguistic and legal structures. Their legal systems largely remained rooted in English common law, although remnants of the Napoleonic code and community property systems influenced some American states. However, Peel contends that divergent national contexts, preoccupations, and value systems shaped charity and welfare structures even within the common frameworks and interchanges of ideas.

Peel investigates the similarities and differences of social work in Melbourne, London, Boston, Minneapolis, and Portland. He gives careful attention to the ways in which the impoverished crafted their stories to obtain assistance on their own terms. He demonstrates the richness and the limitations of casework records as a source for historians. Peel shows how the performance of gender by clients, administrators, and caseworkers shaped the outcomes and understandings of social assistance. In all three countries, the gendered ideology of the family wage privileged male breadwinning activity and tended to impoverish the old, ill, infirm, and unmarried women.

While the London Charity Organisation Society (COS) drew upon a fixed class hierarchy to mold its activities, the Antipodean belief that "real" poverty did not exist in Australia before the Great Depression led to a patchwork of public and private agencies giving cash or kind to impoverished individuals and families. Peel delineates the development of Melbourne's COS and the point when it became largely irrelevant as a means of helping the poor. Like those in the United States and London, middle-class inquiry officers in Australia treated their work as a vocation. Most caseworkers were women, reflecting the assumption that females were especially well-suited for this kind of work and could be paid less. As with their counterparts in the United States and Great Britain, Melbourne's COS agents believed that aid should be regularized to avoid potential clients receiving aid from multiple sources. Advice rather than cash support would help poor women onto the road to financial stability. Concerns about potential clients' respectability, sobriety, and personal circumstances justified repeated visits to determine whether the recipients of aid continued to deserve it. COS agents believed that careful casework would discourage pauperism and dependency.

However, casework approach could not cope with the

enormous rise in the numbers of the poor as a result of the skyrocketing unemployment rates during the Great Depression. No matter what advice caseworkers gave, there were simply too few jobs for able-bodied men and women. Respectability mattered much less during this period of mass unemployment, which challenged the belief that poverty stemmed from the "bad character" of the potential recipient.

Australia's model of poverty with a hierarchy based upon an individual's respectability differed from the American narrative of a hierarchy based upon "Americanness." In the face of mass immigration between 1880 and 1920, the American COS and other welfare organizations developed a narrative of worthiness in which ethnicity and nationality were crucial components. The poor could overcome their problems by becoming more American. African Americans, however, rarely received charitable aid in this era, and when they did the charities still regarded them as irredeemable.

As with the investigation into "the Case of the Resurrected Horse," Peel opens his examination of the approach to social work in London with a vignette couched in the form of a dramatization replete with actors, dialogue based upon the casework notes, and his imagination of the dialogue and motives of clients and social workers. He takes the same approach with the Boston, Minneapolis, and Portland charity and welfare organizations. While doing so gives voice to the clients as well as the social workers by exploring their different perspectives, needs, and feelings, this approach can seem cloying or of dubious historical value. In each instance, however, Peel includes an appendix containing the casework notes upon which he based his dramatizations so that readers may judge the accuracy of these narratives for themselves. Peel thus gives voices to the poor and to those who tried to ameliorate their situation. This is a careful comparative examination of the ideas, perspectives, and welfare structures of the three nations and well worth reading.

S. JAY KLEINBERG
Brunel University

PETER GATRELL. *Free World? The Campaign to Save the World's Refugees, 1956–1963*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 263. \$90.00.

In 1959, the United Nations (UN) made the bold decision to sponsor a World Refugee Year (WRY) in order to raise awareness about the global refugee crisis. This monograph attempts to understand the "entangled history" (p. 1) of institutional networks and campaigns working on behalf of displaced persons. How did refugees come to be considered a "problem," and when did this happen? Peter Gatrell seeks to unravel the interaction of national and international agencies in dealing with the immense "problem" of population displacement.

In choosing the title *Free World*, Gatrell attempts to do a number of things. First, he examines the 1950s debates about the reasons for migration in the aftermath

of World War II. It is during this period that the distinction between the "political" and "economic" migrant was formulated. Second, Gatrell explores the geopolitics of the Cold War and of decolonization, "a story of ideological warfare between the 'free world' and the Communist bloc, raising questions about the objectives of each" (p. 5). Finally, he alludes to the fact that during this period non-refugees were able to move much more freely. Massive intra-European and intercontinental migration was a notable feature of this age. "The flurry of labor migration was accompanied by leisured mobility" (p. 7) and increased tourism, yet refugees experienced restrictions of movements because they simply belonged to the "other" community.

The starting point for this impressively researched book is an article that appeared in the British political magazine, *Crossbow*. It was conceived by a number of individuals looking to highlight the plight of refugees. The cover of the spring 1958 issue, simple, yet shocking, showed a young girl lying on the floor, lifeless. Christopher Chataway, athlete, broadcaster, Conservative MP, and *Crossbow*'s founder, explained: "This was not an appeal launched to meet some topical disaster that filled the headlines and immediately aroused sympathy. Apathy had to be shifted without the help of a crisis" (p. 141). The reader begins to see how public awareness, political lobbying, and fundraising became part of a strategy for aiding refugees around the world.

In the first half of the book, Gatrell details the enormity of the problem following the displacement of millions of people in the aftermath of World War II. Although for many the reconstruction of Europe symbolized an opportunity for "homecoming," millions of displaced persons lacked this very basic ability and remained homeless and stateless. It is interesting and curious that the impetus to raise awareness of the world refugee crisis should come from British Conservatives at a time when the British Empire faced a number of emergencies in Africa and had the Suez crisis still fresh in mind. Gatrell discusses these emergencies in detail. WRY coincided with momentous changes on the international stage, such as the flight of 100,000 Tibetans from Chinese-occupied Tibet in March 1959 and crises in Palestine, Hong Kong, Hungary, and Algeria—the residual legacy of empire being ever present. While one type of imperialism was declining, another in the form of the Cold War was surfacing. It is intriguing to note how the politics of the Cold War became intertwined with assistance for displaced persons.

In the second half of the book, Gatrell explores the politics of the global campaign, the British origins of the campaign, and the need to internationalize it. Throughout the refugees themselves remained nameless victims. The campaign did not always sit well with everyone, and certainly "The internationalism of WRY did not necessarily resonate with progressive intellectual opinion that stressed the need to engage more reflectively with both the second and third worlds" (p. 139). The book's final chapter attempts to summarize the achievements, disappointments, and opportunities of

WRY. Gatrell concludes that WRY was successful in mobilizing large groups of previously apathetic people to raise awareness and funds for refugees. The general public was now aware of displaced persons and their plight, but, in the longer term, it had “encouraged a kind of ignorant concern or distant awareness of the refugee as ‘pure victim’” (p. 249).

This is a commendable book, rich with details showing Gatrell’s fine research skills. It highlights the plight of displaced persons in the latter half of the twentieth century, a “problem” that has come to define our age in many ways. While the scale of the issue is clear in this book, there remains a lack of understanding of its impact on everyday lives. Part of the problem is highlighted by what are “termed the ‘ultimate refugees,’ those who had no common ties of language or kinship with the societies in which they now found themselves” (p. 25). The campaign to save the world’s refugees started with the depiction of a lone girl lying helpless, and we know little of uprooted individual lives.

PIPPA VIRDEE

*De Montfort University,
Leicester*

T. O. SMITH. *Churchill, America and Vietnam, 1941–1945*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. xi, 185. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$28.95.

Surely two of the most studied issues in twentieth-century international history are Winston Churchill’s wartime policy and the Vietnam War. T. O. Smith’s new work, which builds on his previous volume, *Britain and the Origins of the Vietnam War: UK Policy in Indo-China, 1943–50* (2007), seeks to throw new light on both.

Underpinning Smith’s study is an emphasis on Churchill’s attachment to the “special relationship” with the United States in general and President Franklin D. Roosevelt in particular as the cornerstone of his external policy and the crux of his wartime strategy. As such, he was prepared to “sacrifice French Indo-China for the sake of his all-important special relationship with Roosevelt” (p. 130). This manifested itself in Churchill’s complacency regarding Roosevelt’s noted preference for placing French Indochina under some form of international trusteeship. Indeed, Smith goes so far as to identify this as one of Roosevelt’s principal war aims. The president was unquestionably affronted by the French colonial record in Indochina. “France,” he observed to U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, “has had the country—thirty million inhabitants—for nearly one hundred years, and the people are worse off than they were at the beginning” (p. 52). More dangerous from the British perspective was Roosevelt’s tendency to turn his anticolonial fire on the British Empire. Indeed, the Foreign Office under Anthony Eden looked askance at Roosevelt’s international trusteeship proposal for Indochina precisely because it feared its application to British colonial possessions. Eden was less enamored with the special relationship than Churchill; Smith even suggests that the foreign secre-

tary “sought to rejuvenate France as a Great Power in order to counterbalance Churchill’s grand Anglo-American alliance” (pp. 17–18).

With respect to Indochina, Smith argues that Churchill increasingly cut an isolated and remote figure in British decision-making circles. Nevertheless, Churchill succeeded in realigning himself with the Foreign Office, and the other imperial nations, against Roosevelt (and for that matter Joseph Stalin) by vetoing the president’s suggestion for United Nations’ trusteeships at the Yalta conference in February 1945. According to Smith, Churchill had “unified all of the European colonial powers against the United States and placed their common cause above the value of the special relationship” (p. 79). With Roosevelt’s death in April 1945 and the re-establishment of State Department ascendancy in the conduct of U.S. external policy, the trusteeship proposal was quietly dropped. Symbolizing the new approach, the Department of State informed President Harry S. Truman with respect to Indochina that “Our policy has been to act in those areas in co-operation and agreement with the local French authorities and also to respect French sovereignty” (p. 115). For good measure, the State Department also informed the new president that “The United States does not favor the impairment of British sovereignty over British colonial (i.e., not mandated) territory through the exercise of other than advisory functions by an international body” (p. 115).

Smith has succeeded in producing a readable and sophisticated analysis that sheds new light not only on Churchill’s conception of the Anglo-American special relationship, but also on the origins of the Vietnam War. Had Roosevelt lived and his international trusteeship proposal survived with him, speculates Smith, could the Vietnam tragedy have been avoided? Overall, Churchill does not come across positively in the analysis. Smith finds his evident failure to keep himself up to date with Indochinese issues as “an astonishing revelation considering the explosive nature of the subject” (p. 132). Smith’s work also supplements and adds to that of earlier historians such as Wm. Roger Louis, David Reynolds, and Christopher Thorne, who have questioned the “special” nature of the “special relationship” during World War II. As Smith remarks: “the special relationship that Churchill sought to construct with the American President . . . was neither monolithic nor harmonious” (p. 1).

SIMON C. SMITH
University of Hull

JAMES G. HERSHBERG. *Marigold: The Lost Chance for Peace in Vietnam*. (Cold War International History Project Series.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center. 2012. Pp. xix, 890. \$39.50.

The Vietnam War has been the subject of a vast amount of scholarship. Historians initially regarded American policy there as misguided, leading to a tremendously

costly war for the United States and Vietnam. More recently, some historians have argued that the American commitment to South Vietnam was a valiant effort by the United States to defend its allies against the onslaught of Communism. James G. Hershberg's book is a valuable addition to the discourse that the Vietnam conflict was far more complicated than originally assumed.

In March 1965, Vietnam became America's war. U.S. Marines entered South Vietnam to help the country against Viet Cong insurgents and North Vietnamese infiltrators. The conflict soon escalated with more U.S. troops landing in the Republic of Vietnam and increased U.S. bombing attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). The escalation caused consternation among many countries, American and Soviet allies alike. This resulted in numerous peace initiatives to facilitate negotiations between the United States and the DRV. These efforts led to a U.S. bombing halt in late 1965, but when meaningful contacts did not materialize, Washington resumed its aerial attacks on the DRV. The DRV had by then decided to fight for victory against the United States and seek the reunification of Vietnam, although Hanoi might have considered talks for strategic purposes.

Operation Marigold in 1966 was another effort to begin the process of negotiation between the United States and North Vietnam. Hershberg traces Marigold from its inception to the end in minute detail, using archival evidence from numerous countries and interviews of key individuals. His research is not only revealing on Marigold but sheds further light on the international dimensions of the Vietnam War. In April 1966, Janusz Lewandowski was appointed to represent Poland in the International Control Commission (ICC). The ICC was created to assure implementation of the Geneva agreements of 1954. The commission consisted of Canada, Poland, and India and supervised events both in Saigon and Hanoi. Lewandowski, who experienced the horrors of World War II in Warsaw, was genuinely dedicated to finding an end to the bloodshed. In June 1966, Lewandowski met DRV Premier Pham Van Dong and the premier agreed to the desirability of negotiations. Two months later Pham indicated greater flexibility to find a political solution. Lewandowski interpreted those statements as a willingness of Hanoi to engage in talks with Washington. Aided by the Italian ambassador to Saigon, Giovanni D'Orlandi, Lewandowski met several times with U.S. ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge. While Washington was escalating its planned aerial assaults on North Vietnam, Lewandowski assured Lodge that Hanoi was willing to engage in talks without the precondition of a bombing halt. Another Lewandowski meeting with Premier Pham in November 1966 revealed that Hanoi was ready to negotiate with Washington through the DRV ambassador in Warsaw. While Washington remained doubtful about Hanoi's sincerity, it agreed to exploratory talks between the U.S. and DRV ambassadors in Poland. These talks never took place because Poland's

Foreign Secretary Adam Rapacki insisted on a bombing halt and therefore failed to inform either the American or the North Vietnamese ambassador that both belligerents were ready to meet. While U.S. bombings on outlying areas of Hanoi on December 14 and 15, 1966, put another nail in Marigold's coffin, it was obvious that Rapacki's agenda to impose additional conditions on Washington had prevented a first direct contact in Warsaw. From the meticulously detailed account of operation Marigold it seems clear that in early December 1966 both Washington and Hanoi were committed to exploratory talks, but whether these talks would have led to constructive negotiation remains doubtful.

Hershberg also provides valuable insights into the international reactions to the Vietnam War. Countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain were eager to end the conflict. With the exception of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Communist bloc led by the Soviet Union regarded the conflict as an impediment to détente and feared further escalation. Canada, Italy, France, and the United Kingdom had similar concerns and also sought a political solution to the war. The author admits that DRV and PRC files are still not available to scholars. These files may help reveal the entire story of Marigold. Was the DRV offer of November 1966 indeed a chance for peace in Vietnam, or was Hanoi just pursuing its strategy to fight while talking and talk while fighting? Obviously, this approach led to the Paris Peace Accords in 1973. The United States removed its troops from South Vietnam, allowing North Vietnam to conquer the South in 1975. Operation Marigold further enhances our knowledge of the Vietnam War by highlighting international dimensions of the conflict as well as the sincere efforts of so many toward a negotiated end of the carnage.

EUGENIE M. BLANG
Hampton University

DANIEL MAUL. *Human Rights, Development and Decolonization: The International Labour Organization, 1940–70*. (International Labour Organization (ILO) Century Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xvii, 412. \$95.00.

The turn to international and transnational history has produced an efflorescence in scholarship on global processes and institutions. Daniel Maul's thematic history of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and its evolution during the peak years of the anti-colonial transition is a fine addition to this growing constellation of works. Drawing on an immense range of archives and memoirs, the depth of its research is magisterial. It makes a nuanced contribution to the history of development and human rights. Far from writing a triumphal story, Maul attends carefully to the difficulties encountered by the ILO, as well as the limits of its universalistic model for democratic development.

Maul approaches the ILO as both "a protagonist and a seismograph in the decolonization process" (p. 4), assessing the international organization's influence and

agency, and the transformation the anticolonial revolution wrought on its structures and policies. The two central strands that run across Maul's survey are development and human rights—the themes that defined ILO politics across the intrawar and postwar decades (1940–1970). His account reveals deep tensions between, and within, both of these concepts. As one of the principal sites where these conflicts were managed, the ILO is an elegant object of study, not only for itself but as a broader contribution to the emerging historiography on human rights and decolonization. Maul demonstrates how the ILO engaged with the challenge of universality: at first in its efforts to accommodate colonial particularism, and, two decades later, in the strangely symmetric particularism of new postcolonial regimes that invoked their own claims against the ILO's standards. This latter clash is rendered vividly; as Tanzania's representative declared, the problem was not with Third World efforts at total mobilization but rather with the ILO constraints. In short, the Tanzanian delegate asserted, “the standards are wrong” (p. 277). Maul's concluding chapter, which deals with the explicit conflict between development and rights in the postcolonial milieu, is outstanding, so much so that the reader may well wish the center of gravity for the narrative were shifted forward somewhat, with more analysis devoted to this era of rupture.

Across the period of the 1950s and 1960s, it is striking how carefully and astutely the ILO leadership negotiated the Cold War and the rising tide of anticolonialism. It is perhaps unsurprising that the institution was more resilient than the United Nations (UN) itself, but even when compared to other specialist agencies, notably the World Health Organization, the attenuated politics of the ILO seem quite remarkable. Even the great clashes on apartheid, forced labor, and freedom of association seem measured, if not restrained. The custodians of the ILO, Wilfred Jenks, Wilfrid Benson, and David Morse, kept their organization roughly aligned with its proclaimed lodestars. Although Maul is somewhat less optimistic, the organization that traverses the narrative appears to have weathered the various tempests well, when calibrated against its peers.

In a sense, the ILO's comparative insularity perhaps contributes to the weakest element of the book: its rather limited reference to important context. During the crucial chapters on decolonization, substantially greater reference to the internal and regional policy developments, and those within the UN, might have lent a greater sense of interaction between the ILO debates and those in the wider world. Tanzania's statements, for example, emerged from clear domestic priorities outlined by President Julius Nyerere and the Tanganyika African National Union leadership (p. 275). These are referenced, but more specificity would have been valuable. Maul does embed the ILO in its context, notably in the discussion of Portugal and apartheid South Africa, but with an economy that errs on the side of austerity. Coupled with a parsimonious approach to quotations and anecdotes from key International Labor

Conference sessions, the narrative can tend toward a sere institutional history in places, albeit one written with great clarity and informed by impeccable research. In brief, the author has privileged his first approach, that of the ILO as “protagonist,” as opposed to his second, as “seismograph”—a reasonable decision, but one that necessarily restricts the resolution of the contextual material.

Overall, Maul's assessment of the fidelity of the ILO to its universalistic high-water mark in Philadelphia is pessimistic. The hopeful and plastic moment of the mid-1940s is bookended by two powerful and depressing dissents: confident colonialism and postcolonial developmentalism. The organization, he concludes, “failed in its project of steering the decolonization process on to the democratic path to modernization” (p. 298). Its values were compromised, incrementally but fatally, by the strains of terminal colonialism, the adjustments induced by Soviet re-accession, and the persistent structural inequalities in the global economic order (p. 299). This final element undercut the value of national standards; for the South, the problem was not within domestic social and economic arrangements but in the world outside them. By the 1960s, the vision contained within the 1944 Declaration of Philadelphia ceased to captivate postcolonial governments, who cast it aside as irretrievably Western and irrelevant to their situations (pp. 300–301). This is a rich history for scholars of human rights, international organizations, and development, tightly focused on the ILO but not trapped in the halls of its secretariat.

ROLAND BURKE

La Trobe University

ROBIN D. G. KELLEY. *Africa Speaks, America Answers: Modern Jazz in Revolutionary Times*. (The Nathan I. Huggins Lectures.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 244. \$24.95.

In his latest book, Robin D. G. Kelley continues his engagement with jazz history—through which he produced a noteworthy biography of bebop pianist Thelonious Monk in 2009. Drawing on a series of lectures Kelley gave at Harvard University, and supplemented with additional primary and secondary research, *Africa Speaks, America Answers* is “a rumination on how the inexorable movement for African freedom in the 1950s and early 1960s influenced the work of four jazz musicians and composers on both sides of the Atlantic” (p. x). Four chapters featuring biographic sketches of jazz musicians involved in transnational movements that Paul Gilroy has called “the Black Atlantic” serve to illustrate Kelley's point that, in the time of African decolonization and the African American civil rights movement, jazz was “a vehicle for both Africans and African Americans to articulate and realize their own distinctive modernity while critiquing its Western variant” (p. 6).

Instead of focusing on well-known jazz musicians with African connections like Max Roach, Sonny Rol-

lins and John Coltrane, Kelley turns to relatively obscure artists to reveal the important intersections of jazz and African modernity. In the first chapter, Kelley discusses Ghanaian drummer Guy Warren (Kofi Ghanaba) and, more generally, the popularization of African drumming in American jazz. The second chapter is about African American pianist Randy Weston and his strong interest in Nigerian music. Chapter three takes on another African American jazz musician, bassist Ahmed Abdul-Malik, who created a fusion of Islamic Middle Eastern and North African music with jazz. Finally, in the fourth chapter, Kelley chronicles the life of South African vocalist and composer Sathima Bea Benjamin, who, as a female jazz musician classified as “colored” under the apartheid regime, faced both gender and racial oppression.

Africa Speaks, America Answers is an enjoyable read but promises a bit more in its introduction than the four case studies deliver; these mostly stick to straightforward biographical information, drawn primarily from personal interviews with the musicians and from jazz publications. Kelley’s slim book reads more like an afterthought to his Thelonious Monk biography than a self-sufficient study. As transnational jazz history, it has much less to offer than, for instance, Penny von Eschen’s path-breaking account of African American jazz musicians as ambassadors for the U.S. State Department during the Cold War era (*Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* [2004]). Kelley’s argument against jazz as a quintessential American art form is laudable, but his invocation of African jazz elements through vague notions of traditional spirituality lacks the complexity that the subject deserves. Furthermore, various references to the urban rhythms of West African highlife could have been fleshed out by exploring the connections between this important modern African genre and jazz music more in depth.

In the short coda of his book, Kelley juxtaposes what he refers to as “Afro-pessimism,” a view of Africa’s political and economic problems as being unsolvable, with Nigerian musician Fela Kuti’s political activism and the hopes for an African renaissance. Kelley’s concluding thoughts to his multifaceted topic of jazz modernity in relation to both America and Africa remain somewhat underdeveloped. As he points out, jazz “will not solve global economic crises or end conflicts, but it can do what it has always done—free our imaginations, animate the marvelous, activate our spirit, and illuminate and improvise paths we’ve never heard (or seen) before” (p. 169). After the fascinating but for the most part purely biographic accounts of four musicians who connect African and American influences, the sweeping conclusion makes the reader even more aware of the lack of historical specificity in what is not likely to become one of Kelley’s major works.

ULRICH ADELT
University of Wyoming

IAN DOWBIGGIN, *The Quest for Mental Health: A Tale of Science, Medicine, Scandal, Sorrow, and Mass Society*.

(Cambridge Essential Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 248. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$24.99.

This book is a sweeping, synthetic history of the “struggle to achieve psychological wellness” from the late eighteenth century to the present (p. 2). Ian Dowbiggin, who has previously published on such subjects as the history of psychiatry, eugenics, and euthanasia, admirably fulfills the mission of the Cambridge Essential Histories series in which the book appears: to provide narrative, argument-driven histories for use in undergraduate survey and upper-division courses. The book contends that the rise of “therapism” has not increased happiness but has instead lowered people’s threshold for emotional pain and rendered them more dependent on psychological professionals and state and medical bureaucracies. Yet *The Quest for Mental Health* is less a polemic than an introductory history of the psychological professions, popular movements and state-supported efforts to promote mental health, and changing attitudes toward personal woe and help-seeking. While the book includes fascinating material on countries ranging from India to Russia to Japan, it focuses predominantly on North America and Western Europe.

Dowbiggin traces our contemporary quest for mental health back to the revolutionary ferment of the late eighteenth century. He argues that the “precondition for the modern search for sanity” was a “decisive break with the past,” evident in the shift away from monarchical governments and the emergence of a Rousseauian view of the self (p. 29). The first two chapters cover developments that loom large in the history of psychiatry, including the rise of the asylum and moral treatment, the process of professionalization, and the growing influence of degeneracy theory in the late nineteenth century. Dowbiggin also surveys popular trends such as mesmerism and phrenology. While covering ground familiar to specialists, the book advances a number of interesting arguments; for instance, Dowbiggin suggests that phrenology has been too readily dismissed and that, contrary to common assumptions, alienists (asylum keepers) enjoyed greater prestige than general medical practitioners for much of the nineteenth century.

Focusing on the twentieth century, the book’s second half addresses five major themes: the rise of psychology; deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill; developments in psychopharmacology; the growth of a patients’ rights movement that transformed “patients” into “clients” and consumers; and the proliferation of a mass media that enthusiastically promoted the therapeutic ethos. Dowbiggin also shows how, beginning in World War I, the U.S. government increasingly embraced the notion of “mental health as a key cause of national prosperity and power” (p. 5). This trend, apparent in the movements for mental hygiene, eugenics, and intelligence testing, became more fully institutionalized after World War II with the passage of the National Mental Health Act and the establishment of the National Institute of

Mental Health. Dowbiggin also covers developments in the psychiatric profession, from the radical treatments pioneered in the interwar period (such as shock therapies and psychosurgery) to the introduction of new medications that helped empty out mental hospitals beginning in the 1950s.

This offers only a sampling of the topics Dowbiggin addresses. Any work that attempts to be so all encompassing in 200 pages can inevitably be faulted for omissions. The final chapter in particular seems truncated: subjects of much present-day interest, such as the rising number of children diagnosed with autism and attention deficit disorder, remain unaddressed. The book's ambitious scope also contributes to a weak and at times confusing organizational structure. The chapters have cryptic titles and consist of a series of short, relatively discrete sections that are not always clearly related to one another. A more substantive critique concerns the topic itself: "mental health" is a fairly recent expression that surpassed the now anachronistic "mental hygiene" only after World War II. Can one really posit a "quest for mental health" dating back to the late eighteenth century? And if so, should that quest be interpreted as encompassing everything from spiritualism to eugenics to deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill? All of these phenomena concern the mind or brain, but Dowbiggin might have drawn more analytic distinctions between, say, treatment of the severely ill and the functional yet distressed; or between state-directed programs aimed at an entire population (like eugenics) and therapies sought out by individuals (like marriage counseling); or between treatments that act directly upon the brain (like drugs or electroshock therapy) and more mediated approaches (like cognitive therapy).

Dowbiggin does not conceal his aversion to therapeutics. Indisputably, many of the episodes he recounts—from eugenics to the use of lobotomies to the excesses of the recovered memory movement of the 1980s and 1990s—led to pernicious results. Yet some readers will be put off by his "buck up" attitude in regard to personal problems. Moreover, the association he draws between therapeutic solutions and dependence, both emotional and financial, is by no means a given. Rather than fostering dependence, our current, heavily pharmacological therapeutic culture arguably places ever more pressure on individuals, including young children, to self-regulate in ways that diminish dependence on others. Finally, to this reader at least, Dowbiggin's warnings about "state management of mental health" seem off key in today's climate of fiscal retrenchment, when many programs are being dramatically cut (p. 200).

These observations, however, should by no means deter readers. They rather suggest that Dowbiggin has written a thought-provoking book that will surely generate lively classroom discussions. A rich introduction to the history of mental health care and the elusive search for psychological well-being, *The Quest for Men-*

tal Health will engage historians and general readers alike.

REBECCA JO PLANT
University of California,
San Diego

PETER KEATING and ALBERTO CAMBROSIO. *Cancer on Trial: Oncology as a New Style of Practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 456. \$40.00.

In *Cancer on Trial*, Peter Keating and Alberto Cambrosio chronicle the development of medical oncology from the 1950s to the present. Focusing more on the clinic than the laboratory, the authors argue that the development of clinical cancer trials constituted a new style of practice that involved the creation of new institutions, ideas, and technologies that continue to evolve today. They convincingly show that the new style of practice developed internationally, across the United States and Europe, and illuminate how physicians, scientists, and statisticians exchanged information and technologies through a web of interconnected institutions and cooperative groups comprised of experts who worked in laboratories, clinics, and data centers.

This meticulously researched and precisely written book is organized chronologically into three sections. The first begins in the 1950s and extends to the mid-1960s. It chronicles the addition of chemotherapy to the two existing cancer treatments: surgery and radiation. The success of the VAMP trial in 1962, to treat acute lymphocytic leukemia (ALL) in children, showed chemotherapy to be a legitimate, rather than heroic, treatment. This trial convinced investigators that chemotherapy research was not about finding magic bullets but instead about combining a series of compounds and technologies to create a therapeutic regimen. Cooperative oncology groups consisting of researchers and clinicians developed in the same period in the United States and Europe in response to the changing nature of cancer research and treatment. Their work advanced new epistemologies.

The second period charts the emergence of large-scale clinical trials that compared "potentially limitless combinations of substances and modalities" between the mid-1960s through the 1980s. Such trials depended upon biostatics in a new way (p. 16). Keating and Cambrosio explain how statisticians became central parts of clinical oncology groups, especially as computer technology led to innovations in the field. During this time, European and American cooperative groups recruited community-based oncologists into their networks. In doing so, they gained access to large numbers of patients for trials and began to move medical oncology outside of academic centers and into community medical programs. Although oncologists had been aware of differential outcomes between black and white cancer patients for many years, it was not until the 1980s that the National Cancer Institute (NCI) turned its attention to creating cancer centers to serve communities of color.

The third and final period begins in the 1990s with the advent of biomedicine and the introduction of targeted cancer therapies, both of which changed clinical research, screening, and practice. The first human oncogene was isolated in 1982. Over 100 were identified by 2004 (p. 314). Experts came to understand the complex process involved in the development of a cancer tumor as well as the numerous ways in which patients with similar cancers responded differently to therapies (p. 313). In addition, by the mid-1980s, they identified not only genes that caused cancer but also those that suppressed tumors. The authors chronicle the clinical trials of Imatinib (Gleevec) and Herceptin and reveal the changes these innovations brought for oncologists and patients. The number of the former increased as did practitioners' attempts to organize themselves professionally; the latter became active research subjects as opposed to passive recipients of care. Finally, clinical trial protocols also changed as translational research reshaped the relationships between laboratory scientists and practicing clinicians.

Keating and Cambrosio eschew traditional institutional history in order to approach their subject comprehensively from institutional, conceptual, political, and economic perspectives. They do not, however, apply a social perspective; thus a reader seeking to learn more about patients' experience with cancer treatment in the decades following World War II will be disappointed. She will also note the lack of real analysis of the race and class status of the various actors in this history, aside from the brief mention of minority community centers in section two. For example, the authors do not touch on disparities in healthcare and the ways in which race, class, gender, and ethnicity shape differential access to medical treatment or how these factors may have influenced clinical trials. Keating and Cambrosio's incredibly detailed and technical account of the development of medical oncology in the United States and Europe is written for historians of science and medicine as well as for the oncology community. Scholars in these fields will recognize this book as an important addition to the literature on clinical trials, biomedicine, and technology studies.

REBECCA M. KLUCHIN
California State University,
Sacramento

ASIA

PETER LORGE, editor. *Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 252. \$52.00.

Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms is an edited volume that brings together seven essays on a little-studied period of Chinese history. In Chinese and Western historiography, the term stands for the period of division separating the larger empires of the Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1276) dynasties. The essays cover a longer span of time and extend into the first three reigns

of the Song monarchs. This coverage of the entirety of the tenth century is no accident. Editor Peter Lorge presents the collection as an effort to rethink the position of the period in the *longue durée* transformation of Chinese society between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries. This transformation, now conventionally referred to as “the Tang-Song transition,” stands for the fragmentation of aristocratic power, the numerical growth of the literate elite whose education was shaped by civil service examinations, the expansion of this elite's participation in local as well as central government affairs, economic growth, and urbanization. In these and other areas, the tenth century should be seen as a period of significant continuity both with the late Tang world characterized by political fragmentation and militarization and with the early Song emphasis on centralization and institution building. Lorge concludes, seemingly in agreement with those who have either implicitly or explicitly treated the period as a break and an anomaly in post-Qin history, that the Five Dynasties and the Ten Kingdoms period is “not-Tang and not-Song” (p. 7), but he asks how and why tenth-century developments diverged from late Tang patterns and how and why tenth-century developments were both distinct from and related to the Song Empire that emerged in the eleventh century.

The volume illustrates in a variety of ways why the tenth century is worth exploring. In surveys of Chinese history and in comparative and world histories, the tenth century is regularly presented as a moment of temporary breakdown in narratives of unified rule stringing together the large unified empires that come before and after: the Han, Tang, and Song Empires. In this volume, it emerges as a time in which the fault lines and tensions that shaped Chinese history can be clearly discerned. The co-existence and quick succession of regimes reveal the meanings of regional boundaries, the ongoing tension between military and civil power, and the ways in which competing loyalties played themselves out in the lives of individuals and states who considered and reconsidered alliances in a polycentric world. In this regard *Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms* is not a groundbreaking volume; its value lies in bringing together for the first time the work of scholars who have in recent years been making strides in the revaluation of tenth-century history. Naomi Standen and Hugh R. Clark wrote the relevant chapters in the recently published *Cambridge History of China: The Song Dynasty and Its Precursors* (2009), and they and several other contributors have published monographs that echo and amplify the findings presented here.

Thematically, the contributions vary widely, ranging from architectural and pictorial styles, and historiography, to the social origins of ruling houses, and administrative organization. Given that the Five Dynasties and the Ten Kingdoms is presented as a “heuristic unit” (pp. 5, 10) to be explored in each of the essays, we may ask what is gained or lost by writing the history of diverse regimes as one? Is the period a historiographical invention of Song historians? Does the history of

the kingdoms form a turning point in the Tang-Song transition, and, if so, what part of it constitutes a turning point?

The art historical contributions are particularly effective in challenging the period-based and dynastic frameworks within which pictorial and architectural styles (as well as much else) have been understood. In De-nin Deanna Lee's interpretation, tomb murals discovered in present-day Inner Mongolia and dated to the 920s challenge the historical tropes of "Five Dynasties" art history. The murals testify to the continuation of figurative painting well outside urban artistic centers. This leads Lee to question the coherence implied by the pervasive use of "the Five Dynasties" or its temporal referents (907–960). Instead she proposes to capture the heterogeneity that characterizes cultural production across the Chinese territories by a new term: "the long tenth century." Similarly, Tracy Miller shows, through a richly illustrated study of different styles of eaves bracketing in timber architecture, that local styles flourished and crossed state boundaries during the tenth century and continued to co-exist following Song attempts to standardize the construction of ritual and religious structures.

The essays by Standen and Johannes Kurz recount the lives of two individuals whose complicated political careers provided the primary source materials with which Song and later writers and artists crafted an image of the turbulent world of the tenth century. Zhao Dejun was in many ways comparable to men like Shi Jingtang, a military leader who was not adverse to shifting loyalties and who eventually established himself as a monarch. Zhao Dejun, however, lost his bet to develop an alliance with the Liao. Reading between the lines of the dynastic and survey histories penned by Song historians, Standen explains how different notions of loyalty colored Song accounts of Zhao Dejun's career and motivations. Such biographical accounts fit in with a more comprehensive fixing of "Five Dynasties" history in accordance with eleventh-century political ideals. The persona of Han Xizai, the subject of Kurz's essay, presented other possibilities. Stories about this somewhat unrestrained official of the Southern Tang court could be turned into the depiction of luxury and moral dissipation as well as into its antithesis: Han Xizai's unrestrained behavior in office could be by the twelfth century also be read as a symbol of his denunciation of a corrupt world. The combination of biography and critical historiography in these papers underscores the extent to which the historiography of the tenth century is entangled with Song and later appropriations of its moral and political lessons.

Apart from regional diversity and the effects of Song historiography, the volume also highlights cross-regime similarities and long-term continuities. Clark's collective biography of the founders of southern kingdoms criticizes an earlier attempt to portray them as heroic outlaws operating outside legitimate social frameworks to promote social justice. He proposes instead that these men operated in gangs and were primarily en-

gaged in predatory activities and fighting for survival. Ruth Mostern's analysis of the establishment and abolition of administrative subdivisions chronicles the effects of decentralization on the administrative landscape between the eighth and tenth centuries. She also shows how tenth-century attempts to circumscribe the power of military commissioners were pushed through in the early Song reigns and resulted in a new imperial geography. Like Mostern, Lorge argues that the early reigns of the Song Dynasty constituted the end of the long tenth century rather than the beginning of a brave new world. Lorge pursues this argument through a portrayal of the ruling styles of the first three Song emperors, and he concludes that it was only in the reign of the third emperor, Zhenzong, that the bureaucratic rule associated with "Song culture" broke through.

On the whole, this slender volume showcases the wealth of new work on tenth-century history rather well. One may have wished for additional contributions by historians of religious and literary practice. I would have liked to see the professed interest in local and regional diversity articulated more strongly in essays on economic, social, and urban history. In this regard, the question raised in the introduction as to "whether or not Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms practice persisted into the Song in other spheres . . . be they intellectual, cultural or simply regional" (pp. 8–9) could be pursued further. Finally, I hope that the questioning of the historiographical frameworks that have led to the neglect and reification of "the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms" will go hand in hand with the questioning of frameworks that cast "Song" as a political cultural type characterized by "factional strife and political paralysis" (p. 239) and "lacking the institutional means to resolve political deadlocks and make rational policy decisions" (p. 240).

HILDE DE WEERDT
King's College London

DAN SHAO. *Remote Homeland, Recovered Borderland: Manchus, Manchoukuo, and Manchuria, 1907–1985*. (The World of East Asia.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2011. Pp. xxi, 413. \$55.00.

This is a unique book in the burgeoning field of Manchu studies. Written from the Manchu perspective, it tells what happened to this once-conquering people after they lost their empire, caught in currents of regional and global history beyond their control. It is a tragic story of multiple transformations embedded in multiple ironies. My review aims to capture these ironic transformations synthetically rather than going into the rich details of each individual chapter. The book covers two main areas: territoriality and ethnicity.

The core of the book focuses on the territorial identity of the Manchu or the geobody of Manchuria. Largely neglected in academic research, Manchuria is given here a central place in Manchu identity formation and transformation. Dan Shao presents a set of ironies in the process: the Manchu abandonment of their Man-

churian homeland as they moved into China proper in 1644; and the refusal of the Manchu bannermen to return to Manchuria from the early nineteenth century, having become accustomed to life in China. Of tremendous interest is the author's bifurcated treatment of the Manchu's Manchurianization and their de-Manchurianization after 1911. Overthrown and expelled by Han revolutionaries, some Manchu finally returned to their homeland, only to find themselves marginalized in Japanese-founded Manchoukuo from 1932 to 1945. The revival of Manchu territorial identity was, Shao argues, more a work of the Chinese racial nationalists who had sloganeered their expulsion from China proper into their rightful ethnic homeland of Manchuria. Shao is at his best when he contrasts Sun Yat-sen's secret plan to lease Manchuria to Japan to finance his nationalist cause with the subsequent impassioned Chinese nationalist drive to "recover" Manchuria for China in the wake of the Japanese creation of Manchoukuo. After the war, criminalized and punished for their association with the Japanese, the Manchus not only lost their homeland but were largely deprived of minority nationality rights to territorial autonomy in the People's Republic of China (PRC).

The discussion of territorialization and de-territorialization is carefully interwoven with a sophisticated analysis of Manchu ethnic identity. The book starts with the Manchu eight-banner identity, whose complexity is compounded by the Qing institutions of two other "ethnic" eight banners: the Mongol eight banners and the Hanjun eight banners, the latter largely composed of Han people. Shao documents the tortuous relationship between the Manchu and Hanjun eight banners, and their eventual merger into a "banner" ethnic identity called *Qizu* at the beginning of the Republican period, and then finally a *Manzu* or Man(chu) nationality in the PRC. Shao acutely captures the irony of the Manchu ethnic identity dilemma by noting that it was the Manchu who initiated their de-ethnicization by promoting the inclusivist notion of the Chinese nation (*zhongguo ren*), but the Chinese distinction of Han and barbarian ultimately ethnicized the Manchu. A highlight of the book is Shao's nuanced study of the postwar trial and execution of a Manchù royal woman, Aisin-Gioro Xiangyu, also a Japanese national, for treason against China. Her execution was legally justified by imposing on her a Chinese national identity. Thus what we have is a picture of the Manchu who experienced modernity as a twice-punished people: as their empire crumbled, the bannermen were killed *en masse* by revanchist Chinese nationalists for being alien intruders. After World War II, however, they were charged with treason by the Chinese, not for their Manchu identity but for their Chineseness.

This richly textured and historically sensitive book is a welcome contribution to the current debate about Manchu identity politics. It nevertheless suffers from several drawbacks. First, despite the rich content and various approaches, drawing on anthropology, history, geography, postcolonial and cultural studies perspec-

tives, the book is undertheorized. Second, there is scant explanation provided for people's preference for a Manchu/Manzu ethnic identity given its recent history of stigma in contemporary China. And third, the Mongol eight banners have never been brought into the equation with the Manchu and Hanjun eight banners; indeed there is a conflation of Mongol eight banners with Mongol *zasag* banners. This omission, in my view, limits the book to a rehearsal of the mainstream view of the Qing pivoting around the relationship between the Manchu and Han alone. Given that the Mongols were once an important ally of the Manchu, that half of Manchuria was and remains Mongolian territory, and that half of Mongolia ultimately declared independence from the (Manchu) Qing in December 1911, Mongolia's exclusion from the analysis of Manchu identity politics and the transformation of China deserves a more careful explanation than accorded in this book. That is perhaps a subject for another project.

URADYN E. BULAG
University of Cambridge

YASMIN SAIKIA. *Women, War, and the Making of Bangladesh: Remembering 1971*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 311. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

Yasmin Saikia's new book, replete with heart-searing testimonies of women's sufferings, raises concerns about the 1971 civil war in Bangladesh and its long shadow over some women's lives. How can a retelling of the war from the perspective of its most vulnerable victims contribute toward lessening conflict in the present? Can the willful silencing of women's stories and the gradual misrepresentation of *birangonas* (victims of sexual violence who were termed "brave women" by the new government in Bangladesh) be forgiven? Can forgiveness of some individual perpetrators, now repentant, take the place of a collective accounting of war crimes? What does it mean to be human?

Women, War, and the Making of Bangladesh opens with a critique of official Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi representations of the 1971 conflict. The author expresses her hope that new retellings of the war, with women's narratives at the forefront, might enable the work of healing to begin. Indeed Saikia goes further: she draws on the "concept of forgiveness by presenting the Islamic concept of *huquq al-ibad* (rights of humans) and individual responsibility to suggest closure for the traumatic violence of 1971" (p. xii). In addition to collecting over a hundred testimonies of women in Bangladesh and meeting over a hundred military personnel in Pakistan, Saikia has searched for records of the war in local archives across Bangladesh. While some archives proved to be absolutely bereft of any evidence, others, such as the Women's Welfare Department in Sylhet, are unexpectedly rich. (The book's bibliography, however, bears no references to local archives.)

Saikia is at pains to argue that Bengalis were not only

victims of violence in 1971, they were also perpetrators; crucially, there were also non-Bengali victims of violence. But this broad-brushed tarring of whole groups sits uneasily beside the more fine-grained analysis of “victims” and “perpetrators” that the 1971 war merits. Similarly, Indian agents are accused of “luring” and “encouraging” East Pakistanis to migrate to India (pp. 38, 39, 42, 67). Yet there is very little information from her Indian interviewees about what this entailed or how, for instance, “encouragement” to leave homes and villages in East Pakistan might have been received by the would-be refugees, some of whom became immigrants to Assam. After all, as I have argued in my own work (*Changing Homelands: Hindu Politics and the Partition of India* [2011]), it is not easy to leave one’s homeland for another—a point reinforced by Saikia’s interviewees (pp. 195, 205).

The heart of the book holds testimonies of *birangonas*, women soldiers, and women social workers, as well as Pakistani men who participated in the war. Saikia’s lengthy introduction to each testimony includes an account of how she met the person as well as what she learned from these interactions. This tends to predetermine the reader’s reaction to the testimony that follows. Saikia privileges the testimonies of women who told her “their experiences as a didactic exercise” (p. 85) over those who could do so “only in disjointed fragmentary sentences” (p. 89). She suggests that a perpetrator’s acknowledgement of violence can deliver “justice . . . that no court of law or state can” (pp. xiv, 237). Indeed, her measured recounting of women’s testimonies contrasts with her strong views on how these testimonies can be made to work toward peace. Saikia asserts: “I do not believe the lack of enunciation about women’s experiences . . . should limit our ability to understand what women suffered because it is not language but ethics that should direct us to grasp the experiences of others” (p. 67).

The relationships among listening, redress, healing, “writing a people’s history” of the war, helping toward “the resolution of political battles,” and “empowering humanity in South Asia to reform and become better” (pp. 8, 71, 218)—all of which are stated to be the goals of this book—need unpacking. Saikia might have taken a leaf out of the deeply sensitive work of Veena Das (*Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary* [2007]), wherein the relationship between pain, language, and ethics is revealed to be far more complex than is suggested here.

NEETI NAIR
University of Virginia

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

STUART HENDERSON. *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2011. Pp. x, 384. \$29.95.

Back when he did standup comedy, *The Daily Show* host Jon Stewart used to joke about a Canadian woman who

approached him at a party. “What do Americans really think of Canada?” she asked. “We don’t,” he replied.

When it comes to the 1960s, Americans thought just a bit more about Canada than Stewart suggested, but only in isolated areas. Of course, Canada was the place to which draft dodgers could flee. Important popular musicians were Canadian—Joni Mitchell, Neil Young, four-fifths of The Band, plus a number of others. Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau was the kind of hip politician Americans would never elect. He was progressive and cool; his young wife left him and ran after the Rolling Stones.

But aside from specific moments and situations, Canada in the 1960s is rarely considered in the overall vision of the era. Stuart Henderson sets out to rectify this lack of understanding in his detailed and comprehensive history of the Yorkville section of Toronto. Yorkville was a kind of Greenwich Village and Haight-Ashbury rolled into one. But it had some distinctly Canadian aspects.

Henderson describes pre-1960s Toronto as the equivalent of a U.S. midwestern city, stolid and quiet, without the cachet of Montreal, for example. But it grew to become a cultural hub, as beats, gays, and “greasers” (the label for rebellious working-class youths) began to congregate in Toronto’s Yorkville section. Paralleling the attraction of many U.S. cities, Yorkville became a magnet for runaways, weekend rebels, and others drawn to an urban locale they believed more tolerant of marginal lifestyles. Ultimately, it emerged as the hippie capital of Canada.

Henderson bounces between extremely detailed descriptions of numerous events and activities in Yorkville, and academic discussions aimed to locate a topic within the modern scholarly context. On each side, occasionally, there is too much detail. His research is prodigious and the minutiae of events sometimes overwhelm the meaning of the moment he is describing. His understanding of modern theory is also impressive, but sometimes distracts from his narrative.

There are interesting and revealing stories to tell about Yorkville, and Henderson obliges. Perhaps, as a Canadian, he is wary of trying to situate the Toronto and Canadian story within the context of the emergence of the counterculture in the United States, but that is where the ultimate import of his story lies. How did the Canadian context shift or modify the counterculture experience?

Clear connections existed between the Canadian 1960s and the United States. Like Greenwich Village, Yorkville was an important folk scene in the early 1960s, with performers like Pete Seeger joining Canadian folkies like Gordon Lightfoot. It was this scene that drew the young Neil Young and Joni Mitchell. Arkansas bluesman Ronnie Hawkins relocated to Canada. His new backup band of young Canadians, The Hawks, ultimately left him, evolving into The Band. Rock promoter Bill Graham, of Fillmore Auditorium fame, brought the Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead to Toronto for a free concert, intending to spark

commercial interest in the future shows he was about to put on in the Canadian city.

Yet, the differences are as telling as the similarities. The counterculture may have believed in its transnationalism, but Canada was not the United States. Canadians shared many of the typical mainstream social prejudices of the 1960s, but seemed less keen to create major conflicts. Canada, after all, opposed the Vietnam War. While local Canadian politicians cast aspersions on the unwashed and apathetic young people who congregated in Yorkville, similar to sentiments in U.S. cities, there seems a less strident or threatening tone to many of the interactions, police raids notwithstanding. Yorkville had been a mecca for Canadian gays, for example, the quiet of the area seeming to offer an oasis.

Even as public manifestations of hippie life began to grow, attempts were undertaken to create dialogue and achieve some kind of working relationship. Henderson's detailed retelling makes clear that mainstream politicians had no vocabulary or understanding of the counterculture and its mentality, and these attempts were doomed to fail. But even trying seems more proactive than the typical U.S. approach of disdain and harassment.

Henderson also makes clear that the residents of Yorkville were well aware of their social and commercial place within Toronto life, epitomized by a silent march out of Yorkville in August 1967, to demonstrate to the community at large that "without them, the 'Village of Yorkville' [its coffee houses, tourist spots, tour bus highlights, etc.] would *cease to exist*" (p. 163).

He also spends much time discussing the complicated situation of sexuality in this world, especially for young women. This fits into a larger discussion of the liberating versus exploitative aspects of the changes underway in sexual relations. Awful incidents and crude male comments prove striking but occasionally seem sensationalized. This entire discussion requires a complex and nuanced social and gender analysis, which, unfortunately is not provided.

Nonetheless, Henderson's work fills in one of the empty spaces of 1960s scholarship, as well as helping broaden our understanding of the meaning and impact of the counterculture. There was, as Yorkville shows, more to 1960s social life than Haight-Ashbury, and there were important locales outside the United States.

ALEXANDER BLOOM
Wheaton College

OWEN STANWOOD. *The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 277. \$45.00.

Tim Harris, Edward Vallance, Steve Pincus, and others have recently resurrected 1688 as a far-reaching revolutionary, if not necessarily glorious, year. Historians of English (after 1707 British) America, while not always agreeing about its causes and effects, have never doubted its transatlantic nature. In a British historio-

graphical context, Owen Stanwood has produced a timely intervention; in an Americanist one, a fresh interpretation of the Glorious Revolution. While Stanwood necessarily pays particular attention to New England, New York, Maryland, and island colonies where local coups occurred, he also explores revolutionary reverberations throughout the Atlantic empire.

Stanwood ties the origins of individual colonies to an overarching anti-Catholic imperial theme, examining not only the Protestant zeal of New Englanders but also anti-Spanish and anti-French motivations of colonizers elsewhere—all linked, he argues, to a perceived anti-papist global struggle dating to the proto-imperial imaginings of Richard Hakluyt and others. Early chapters explore conflicts between what Stanwood calls the "royal" and "Protestant" parties (p. 26) over later Stuart attempts to centralize the empire—conflicts informed by each side's religious fears and conspiracy theories. Thus, contemporaries perceived the details of politics in places as diverse as New Hampshire, Bermuda, and Massachusetts in the context of apocalyptic crisis and struggle. That was especially so in Massachusetts, Maryland, and New York where, respectively, Metacom's War, the Catholic Calvert proprietors and large numbers of Jesuits, and governors Edmund Andros and Thomas Duggan as agents of James, first as duke of York and then as king, meant particular proximity to pagan and papist threats.

Stanwood's middle chapters explore coups that took place in the West Indies, Dominion of New England, and Maryland, as well as narrowly averted revolts elsewhere, once news of James's overthrow arrived across the Atlantic. What Stanwood adds to David S. Lovejoy's seminal *The Glorious Revolution in America* (1972) is this deeply divisive anti-papist context, so paranoid indeed that it led to accusations of popery against prominent Puritans. Also novel, colonists—especially those writing justifications of revolt—often employed a more radical Lockean Whig interpretation of recent events than did metropolitan revolutionaries (mindful as they were of Tory sensibilities.) In doing so, colonists invoked such notions as popular sovereignty and composite monarchy that initially augured an even more decentralized empire after 1689.

Stanwood's final chapters, however, argue that the very forces of fearful anti-popery that hitherto did so much to divide henceforth had the opposite effect. While many local leaders proved ineffective in defending against Amerindian and French threats, Williamite imperial reformers presented themselves as defenders of "Protestant empire." Ambivalent feelings of colonists toward empire, and metropolitans toward colonists, remained, yet King William's and Queen Anne's wars (as the Nine Years' War and War of the Austrian Succession were known in the colonies) allowed colonists "to connect their local circumstances with the larger Protestant imperial cause" (p. 144), especially with the failed invasion of French Canada during the former conflict and the capture of Acadia in the latter.

As the book progresses there is a subtle but clear shift

from analysis of multiple actors in complex polities toward biography of imperial administrators such as William Phips and Richard Coote, earl Bellomont, culminating with an epilogue on the redemption of Francis Nicholson, deposed lieutenant-governor of New York under Andros in 1689 (but later captor of Acadia and founder of Nova Scotia, creator of Williamsburg and Annapolis in Virginia and Maryland, and first royal governor of South Carolina). This methodological shift may simply reflect the facts of improved imperial administration, yet it might also overdetermine interpretations of events as surely as seventeenth-century conspiracy theories did. Certainly, some may feel that Stanwood overplays anti-Catholicism as a cause of revolt in the colonies, weighed against other factors such as perceived tyranny by governors and proprietors irrespective of religion, and he may underplay the particularities of different colonies' experiences, as explored in Jack M. Sosin's *English America and the Revolution of 1688: Royal Administration and the Structure of Provincial Government* (1982). Stanwood might also overstate the role of the Glorious Revolution in unifying empire, bearing in mind various demographic, economic, social, and cultural factors that increasingly integrated the Atlantic world. He may in fact also exaggerate the extent of that unity itself—given the persistent localism amongst colonists and indifference to America among many metropolitans, at least before 1748 and the rise of a new “Blue Water” foreign policy (see Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788* [1986]). However, he goes nowhere near as far in emphasizing centralized imperial power as Stephen Saunders Webb's *Lord Churchill's Coup: The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered* (1995). By bringing these issues to the fore, Stanwood's masterful research and writing make an invaluable contribution to debate over this ever-intriguing event.

STEVEN SARSON
Swansea University

STEVEN C. EAMES. *Rustic Warriors: Warfare and the Provincial Soldier on the New England Frontier, 1689–1748*. (Warfare and Culture.) New York: New York University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 306. \$65.00.

In *Rustic Warriors*, Steven C. Eames squarely addresses critiques of the military effectiveness of northern New England colonial soldiers. Asserting that previous evaluations were largely based on the dismissive views of British regular officers, he focuses primarily on smaller military operations rather than on major campaigns. He shows that provincial soldiers were effective in protecting their communities and in actions against enemy villages. He takes issue with recent scholars such as Guy Chet who have emphasized the effectiveness of European warfare in America. However, Eames also rejects a simplistic “Americanization” thesis of colonial warfare in which provincials appropriated Native Ameri-

can military methods. He argues that “it was not either/or: it was a merger of approaches, truly an *American way*” (p. 16).

The book's evidence is presented in two parts. The first is an overview of provincial New Hampshire and Massachusetts military operations and strategies in the period from 1689 to 1748. Here, the author demonstrates the efficacy of colonial forces in the small-scale operations particular to northern New England. The second part examines the experiences of colonial soldiers and officers in combat and military service.

The book has much to commend. Eames focuses on a region and era understudied by military historians of North America. Northern New England, especially New Hampshire and Maine, was an important theater of operations during this period of imperial wars. The author's careful research on provincial operations allows for implicit comparisons with recent studies of other regions and of more well-known conflicts such as King Philip's War and the French and Indian War. He evaluates tactics in an era of intermittent warfare with an increasing presence of European regulars. Eames makes a persuasive case that the ultimate efficacy of New England soldiers is apparent in their small-scale operations. He demonstrates that with regard to larger sieges and campaigns, accounts by British regulars misrepresented overall provincial military effectiveness. Concentrating on what he calls “*la petite guerre*,” Eames shows that New Englanders practiced effective offensive guerilla tactics and communal defensive operations (p. 13). In particular, his work on the functionality of garrison houses, small forts, and successful reconnoitering is enlightening. Military historians of colonial America rarely focus their attention on such topics. Eames's demonstration that conventional European military tactics were of little utility in small-scale operations will force scholars to re-evaluate notions of provincial unprofessionalism.

The argument that provincial warfare combined elements of Native American and European tactics into something new is not as well-developed. Eames suggests that the American way of war that developed was guerilla borderland conflict employing game-hunting techniques. However, he never provides specific definitions of “*la petite guerre*” or “frontier.” Moreover, it is not always clear which warfare practices were European or Indian in origin or how, exactly, they were combined. Eames does not draw extensively on newer histories of Native Americans to support his cultural analysis. Rather he uses somewhat dated general surveys of Indian and “primitive” warfare in order to characterize Native Americans perspectives (p. 208). Eames does present an interesting discussion of colonial views of Indians, arguing that the provincials employed a “basic racism” that labeled Indian opponents as violent beasts (p. 190). He also recounts how New Englanders had an alternative pervasive view of hostile Indians as committing treason. This intriguing finding calls for comparison to the ways traitors were viewed and treated in other contexts, such as the English Civil War.

On the whole, Eames presents a cultural construction of racism premised in perceptions of violent practices of warfare. Yet, his use of language such as “red and white men” in describing interactions suggests a physiological or color-based notion of race that is not supported by his other evidence.

Eames’s approach is not primarily a comparative cultural analysis of warfare. He focuses most closely on the distinctive tactics, operations, and military technology developed by New England provincial soldiers and shows that negative evaluations of these practices by British regulars were not necessarily indicative of their effectiveness, or of the prevalence of purely European methods of fighting. *Rustic Warriors* is an important contribution to the military history of colonial America.

GREGORY T. KNOUFF
Keene State College

TRACY NEAL LEAVELLE. *The Catholic Calumet: Colonial Conversions in French and Indian North America*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. 255. \$39.95.

In this book, Tracey Neal Leavelle examines Jesuit-Algonquian interaction in the western Great Lakes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He primarily focuses on Claude-John Allouez and Jacques Gravier, whose extensive writings demonstrate the syncretism of Catholicism with indigenous beliefs and ritual practices.

Leavelle reveals how the Jesuits communicated the tenets of Christianity through their devotion to the reconstruction of Native languages, which allowed them to develop Christian images that resonated with Native culture. Allouez, Jacques Marquette, and the other Jesuits who ministered to the Illinois, especially Gravier, contributed to a language project that spanned ninety years. They produced a dictionary, which remains in use among present-day scholars, and translated a number of important Catholic documents into Indian languages. Allouez probably produced the first manuscript in the Miami-Illinois language, which contained such prayers as the *Pater Noster*, a Mass liturgy, and a basic catechism. He later produced a prayer book that included the Apostles’ Creed. These documents became the cornerstone of Jesuit teaching in the Great Lakes. Jesuits encountered difficulty in the translation process when they attempted to identify Native words that were equivalent to the concepts of Christian doctrine. One especially insightful section of this book is chapter five, “Linguistic Exchange and Cultural Mediation,” in which Leavelle provides a comparative framework for understanding how different priests attempted to translate the concept of a three-part divinity. For instance, in rendering the beginning of the Apostle’s Creed, “I believe in God, the Father Almighty,” they relied on words that resonated with indigenous values, such as “I believe in him who invokes fear” or “I believe in God, the honored one.” When they explained Jesus Christ, the son of God, to the Indians, he was referred to as

“our Chief” rather than the son. The Holy Ghost, or third person of God, which proved the most difficult to explain, was envisioned as “the good spirit of light.” For those Native people who converted, the priests used language to foster indigenous ownership of Christianity. Leavelle observes that the Illinois shared a Gregorian chant with Ursuline nuns in New Orleans, and then presented a calumet to the French governor. Christian Indians continued to draw on long-established Indian practices and behaviors, especially that of reciprocity.

Leavelle offers a perspective on how gender affected the attraction, experience, and meaning of Christianity for Indians. For the Jesuits, the Illinois became one of the most important Christian nations in the Great Lakes, and for Native women, Christianity offered new avenues for social and spiritual power. Women and girls formed the core of the mission among the Illinois. Christianity appealed far less to young men and to healers, who tended to oppose Christian beliefs. In fact, priests frequently reported being pelted with rocks and stones by young men when they celebrated the Mass. Leavelle claims that the quest for spiritual renewal and power offered by Christianity explains most female conversions in the Great Lakes region. He also suggests that Christianity offered comfort to marginalized women, such as widows, who were among René Ménard’s early Ottawa converts at Keeweenaw Bay. Male converts were most frequently found among men who sought to link religion to the French alliance. Two of the most famous Illinois converts, Maria Rouensa and her father, Chief Rouensa, are emblematic of the distinctive reasons why men and women converted to Christianity. Maria used conversion as a way to secure personal power and to counter her father’s demand that she marry a dissolute fur trader. Only when her parents and her future husband agreed to become Christian did Maria marry the reformed trader. Chief Rouensa became a Christian as a means of cementing his political alliance with the French and to secure trade goods. Leavelle indicates that those Indian men who chose Christianity “followed a distinctly different pattern that stressed the links between religion on the one hand, and the French alliance, social order, and power of healing on the other” (p. 174).

There is much to applaud in this book. It is a thorough study of Jesuit influence in the Great Lakes, and the author shows how, where, and why Christianity appealed to Indian communities. Because there were few Frenchmen, French leaders relied on the cooperation of Indian people to maintain their interior colonies. Leavelle conveys the Jesuits’ role in making New France a viable colonial project, but he is also realistic about their shortcomings. After the Jesuit dissolution in the early eighteenth century, Christianity survived in the Great Lakes region but became an increasingly indigenous project.

SUSAN SLEEPER-SMITH
Michigan State University

DANIEL INGRAM. *Indians and British Outposts in Eighteenth-Century America*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2012. Pp. xiii, 257. \$69.95.

The image of the fort in early America, as a projection of empire and impending civilization, looms large in the popular and academic minds. Once Europeans, in this case the British, built fortifications in Indian country, it spelled the imminent demise of Native agency and sovereignty, or so the story goes. Daniel Ingram seeks to deflate this canard with his thoughtful study of six eighteenth-century British forts, examining in particular the divergence between the inspiration for their construction and their function in practice.

Each chapter examines a different fortification—Fort Loudoun (in present Tennessee), Fort Allen (Pennsylvania), Fort Michilimackinac (Michigan), Fort Niagara and Fort Hendrik (New York), and Fort Chartres (Illinois). While the chapters easily stand alone, they are connected by the book's primary themes, especially that of Native American agency. While we often read history backward and see forts as burdensome and hostile toward Indians, in reality they were primarily built or maintained in acquiescence to Native requests, even demands. Far from projecting imperial power and cowing local Indian populations, these forts tended to be undermanned, poorly supplied, and generally dependent upon the good will of the people they were ostensibly there to awe or protect.

Fort Loudoun is best known for its destruction by Britain's erstwhile allies, the Cherokees, during the Cherokee War in the early 1760s. Ingram rightly points out that the fort had been built—at considerable expense, and on a spot dictated by Cherokees—in large part to placate Native leaders like Old Hop and Little Carpenter. Little Carpenter in particular lost few opportunities to note that he had met George II in 1730, and that he considered the fort vital to maintaining the alliance. Disillusionment with British trade from the fort, as much as anything else, led to its demise.

After victory in the Seven Years' War, Britain seemed master of all land east of the Mississippi River. But this was not at all apparent to the Illinois nations who lived near Fort Chartres. The (formerly French) fort was a "limestone giant" (p. 160), the most physically imposing frontier fort west of Pittsburgh. Yet even its construction, beefed up by France in the 1750s, reflected inherent weakness. The fort had been rebuilt of stone not to withstand Indian attacks but to counter a more consistent and formidable foe: the meandering Mississippi, which had ravaged previous wooden structures. For Britain, Fort Chartres proved as much a millstone as a bulwark. Keeping the place supplied with food, clothing, and men proved so arduous and expensive that it rarely impressed Native allies, especially in the wake of Pontiac's War. By 1772, the high command allowed the post to go to seed, shifting the men to the east coast as much to lower the cost of keeping them as to guard against unrest in the seaports. Ingram even postulates that in abandoning a fort that had proven

worse than useless in Indian affairs, Britain may have avoided an Indian uprising.

The book closes with a discussion of Fort Hendrik, named for a Mohawk chief and built at Mohawk request for their protection and convenience. The Mohawks were never happy with the post, however. During the Seven Years' War, redcoat efforts to police the rum trade (and confiscate Indians' alcohol stores), as well as statements that no Mohawks would be allowed inside the fort if the French attacked, created considerable friction. Indeed, the Indians soon demanded that, rather than the king's soldiers, the garrison be made up of locals, whom the Mohawks felt would be more amenable and understanding. Even in its death the fort, which languished in the 1760s, proved a disappointment to Native Americans. By the end of major combat operations in 1761, the Mohawks found that even their modest request to use one of the blockhouses as a school would be thwarted, as local whites were already using it as a stable.

Ingram's analysis confirms recent scholarship, including the works of Alan Taylor (*The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* [2006]), Linda Colley (*Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600–1850* [2002]), Gregory Dowd (*War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations and the British Empire* [2002]), Peter Silver (*Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* [2008]), and others in asserting greater Native autonomy and weaker imperial control in eighteenth-century North America. His findings are also in line with the old adage that the best-laid plans of European leaders tended to be dashed upon the rocks of North American realities. Solidly researched and exceptionally well written, this book will be a welcome addition to upper-level undergraduate and graduate reading lists as well as proving handy for more seasoned scholars.

ROBERT M. OWENS
Wichita State University

KARIM M. TIRO. *The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Nation from the Revolution through the Era of Removal*. (Native Americans of the Northeast: Culture, History, and the Contemporary.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2011. Pp. xxi, 247. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$26.95.

Karim M. Tiro presents a laser-focused history of the colonial-to-federal shattering of the Oneidas, those younger siblings of the Mohawks who formed one of the five original "families" (to use traditional parlance) of the *Haudenosaunee*, or Iroquois, League. Tiro briefly sets the scene, beginning in 1763 when the Oneidas were coming out of the French and Indian War, but his energy quickly centers on developments once European alliances had shifted. Instead of playing Britain and its colonists against the French, the League was left shivering in the cold as the British and Americans descended into revolutionary war. This uniformly ruinous

period for the Iroquois was, in the reckoning of most modern Iroquois, made only more so by the Oneidas having allied themselves (however feebly) with the United States, whereas the majority of the League attempted neutrality, only to have been dragged into the fray to defend their homeland. The Oneidas stood at clear and painful odds with their brethren during these events.

After the American Revolution, the Oneidas suffered the common comeuppance of Indian allies of the United States: their lands were among the first seized, while their citizens were among those most readily accessed by “civilizing” tinkers who began industriously nicking holes in traditional Oneida culture while promoting removal, an official U.S. objective since at least 1803. These maneuvers not only scattered the Oneidas into various religious factions but also strewed them geographically from Wisconsin and New York to Canada. Throughout, the Oneidas, in their First Church, Second Church, Orchard Party (also Christian), and “pagan” blocs, disastrously depended upon “friends” like James Dean, a Connecticut Yankee and interpreter, and missionary Samuel Kirkland, who did more to help settlers take advantage of the Oneidas than to respect justice.

To his credit, Tiro does not shrink from telling the exact truth about the shady New York land swindles of the period, including those of the Ogden and Genesee land companies. As the author shows, outright land theft was facilitated not infrequently by governmentally well-placed beneficiaries of settler duplicity and cupidity. Neither does Tiro omit the racially arrogant and sometimes underhanded machinations of the highly disruptive Christian missionaries, including Eleazer Williams, whom Tiro styles “the Apostle of Removal” (p. 135). The saddest of these accounts include those of individual Oneidas who, bitten by the raiding bug of the settlers, aggressively impoverished their own people to enrich themselves.

By 1850, dispossessed and dispersed, the Oneidas were left to pick up whatever pieces of themselves they could find still littering the ground. Tiro ends with the 1909 lawsuit of the Oneidas (eventually concluded happily for the Oneidas in 1919), which presaged the modern era of attempts to recoup land and sovereignty, but the overwhelming impact of his book is to pull the crimes serially perpetrated against a defenseless people into a strong light. A less flashy but equally lingering effect of his book is to put into question the legality of the Euro-American deed to New York.

Tiro provides a wealth of primary sources in this excellently researched book, leaving but slight disturbances in my overall enthusiasm for his text. First, after the French withdrawal in 1763, Tiro presents the Oneidas as forced to deal with only the British or the colonists, when in fact there was a third set of players: the other “families” of the Iroquois League. He stops short of analyzing the intricate international relations among Iroquoian and other indigenous nations.

Second is an oversight that afflicts almost all main-

stream histories: that of treating the Oneidas as if they lived in a male-dominated hierarchy, in which the men were the only actors of influence. Given the matriarchal culture of the Iroquois, this approach seriously distorts analysis, especially of the meaning of war. Only grandmothers appointed soldiers and authorized military actions—which explains why grandfathers were continually telling the settlers that they could not control the warriors. The unchecked power of young men going into the revolution reveals the cultural damage already wrought by forced militarization of the Oneidas. By 1810, missionaries and governmental commissioners had set about cramming Oneida culture into Western molds, but even by 1850, the original structures of the clan and the women’s traditional gift economy were still somewhat intact. The worst effect of “Christianization” was, then, not the replication of European-style religious animosities among the Oneidas where no such animosity had existed before, but the formal disempowerment of what J. N. B. Hewitt correctly called “the Mother Side” of the League: the full half of the traditional governance structure that rested in the hands of Oneida women. It is especially unfortunate that this dimension of forced land sales was left unexplored since, under the Iroquoian Constitution, section 44, women alone “owned” the land. These cavils aside, I wholeheartedly recommend this first-rate work on Oneida-U.S. history.

BARBARA ALICE MANN
University of Toledo

GILBERT C. DIN. *War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight against William Augustus Bowles*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2012. Pp. xiii, 319. \$69.95.

The Spanish Gulf Coast of Florida during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century remains one of the least examined and most woefully misunderstood regions of North America. American historians of the period generally focus on U.S. national developments or on the French and British imperial struggle to define the Great Lakes region. Yet the Gulf is a dynamic nexus in which the three imperial powers of England, France, and Spain vied with one another—and, after 1776, with the United States, as well as with numerous Native American peoples and maroon communities—to strengthen and expand their own spheres of control. During this period the glory-seeking William Augustus Bowles almost succeeded in forging a British-Native alliance that could have ripped Florida from Spain and stifled U.S. growth and southwestern expansion.

Gilbert Din’s *War on the Gulf Coast* finally provides a treatment of the Spanish period of West Florida (1797–1805) written from a Spanish perspective. Using an extensive collection of previously unexamined documents from Spanish archives, Din ably demonstrates that the British loyalist Bowles was not the tragic hero that earlier historians such as J. Leitch Wright, Jr. have described. His seemingly larger-than-life persona fostered a mistaken notion that Bowles was a genuine “di-

rector general of the Creeks." Such was not the case. Instead, Bowles was an adventurer whose machinations attempted to capitalize on the fluidity of the Gulf borderlands. He sought to use British trade goods—mainly weapons—to gain influence and control over the Creeks and Seminoles and then use the Indians to challenge Spanish control of the territory. In his first attempt in 1788, Bowles failed because he could not provide the needed goods and weapons or halt the encroaching whites who seized Indian lands. During his second attempt, in 1799, Bowles declared war on Spain, captured ships as well as the Spanish Fort San Marcos de Apalache, killed and injured Spanish subjects, destroyed property, and coerced Indians into perpetrating other belligerent acts against the Spanish. Captured in 1803, Bowles died a prisoner in Havana in late December 1805.

Din's study depicts the ambitious Bowles as he really was, and sheds light on Creek and Seminole attitudes and goals. In doing so, Din reveals how the Spanish decline in West Florida actually occurred. Granted, American expansion always threatened Spanish control. British and French intrigues also challenged the Spanish colony. Yet this book forcefully and correctly argues that intrapersonal arguments between civil and military officials in West Florida laid the groundwork for Spanish decline and permitted Bowles's rise and influence. Facing a constant shortage of supplies and always lacking troops, West Florida colonial officials tried to secure Creek and Seminole support to supplement the colony's defense. Unfortunately, the Spanish could not provide the gifts needed to maintain Indian loyalties, and Bowles used that opportunity to build a network of Indian support that leaned toward Great Britain. His short-lived success engendered great division within Indian ranks instead of uniting them against more destructive forces.

Through his knowledge of the Southeast, his ties to the region's indigenous inhabitants, his unmitigated audacity, and his incomparable determination, Bowles succeeded where other adventurers failed. He successfully united in purpose Bahamian merchants, southeastern Indians, and British officials at an optimal moment when Spain's empire in the western hemisphere was beginning to crumble; the relatively unimportant and isolated West Florida colony along the Gulf coast did not merit as much official Spanish attention or resources as Peru, Columbia, or Mexico. While Bowles's venture to create his own Indian State of Muskogee failed, his actions ultimately proved a harbinger of the future as the declining imperial nation faced too many foreign and domestic adversaries. Within two decades the United States claimed and occupied former Spanish lands from St. Augustine west to the Sabine River, and the Gulf nexus of empire shifted west to Texas.

Bowles has been perceived as the quintessential Gulf-region adventurer of the late eighteenth century, yet Din's study effectively shatters that romantic image. By using extensive Spanish sources, Din places the colony in the broader context of American territorial ex-

pansion, which is a valuable lesson for those trying to understand the development of the United States.

GENE ALLEN SMITH
Texas Christian University

JÜRGEN HEIDEKING. *The Constitution before the Judgment Seat: The Prehistory and Ratification of the American Constitution, 1787–1791*. Edited by JOHN P. KAMINSKI and RICHARD LEFFLER. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2012. Pp. xxviii, 552. \$45.00.

This is a big and lovely book by the late Jürgen Heideking that thoroughly describes and celebrates the ratification of the American Constitution. The "judgment seat" of the title is the judgment of public opinion (p. 57) in a ratification process, conducted officially by the election and the deliberations of representatives of the people (meeting in thirteen conventions by state), and also conducted, unofficially, in the newspapers, broadsheets, letters, and alehouses of the United States.

The Constitution replaced a confederation—in which the Congress was just a meeting place for ambassadors from sovereign states—with an energetic general government able to stand on its own legs without the states. The replacement was a revolution, unprecedented in the history of man, "by intelligent investigation," "without bloodshed or violence, but with the deliberate consent of the People" (p. 419). Heideking's position is that "the greatest achievement of the years 1787–1789, was the conception and successful conclusion of the process of ratification" (p. 430). The Anti-Federalist opponents of the Constitution were important because they tested the Constitution by fire. Both sides shared the premises that this was to be a government that represented the people with a mandate to protect individual rights. From afar, as Heideking sees it, the differences between Federalists and Anti-Federalists do not look very large. Many Americans were not invited to participate, Heideking argues, but nonetheless "the events, were driven by a democratic opinion-forming and decision-making process. In this regard, the ratification proceedings themselves represented an important stage in the transition to a modern civil society" (p. 430). Heideking gives only short descriptions of the failings of the Articles of Confederation and of the framing of the words in Philadelphia, and moves quickly to the ratification process itself.

The book is a translation and abridgement of the 1000-page German original, *Die Verfassung vor dem Richterstuhl* (1988), which won a prize from the University of Heidelberg as the best German book on American history. Its belated English publication is due in part to the untimely death of the author by auto accident. The current editors, John Kaminski and Richard Leffler, also had to find a new publisher and new funding to complete the translation. The English prose is fluid and pleasing. Americans, even American scholars, do not often read 1000-page books on American

history in German, so this comes, like an Old Master found in a dusty storeroom, as a wonderful surprise.

Heideking supplies a narrative shaped by the Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution (DHRC) archives in Madison, Wisconsin. He mastered much very quickly. Kaminski and Leffler are editors of the DHRC as well as the volume under review, and they supply citations to DHRC volumes published after Heideking finished this text.

Heideking takes an eclectic approach including both economics and ideology. He finds, for instance, that the geographical patterns of the election results in Massachusetts were “too variegated” to be attributed to issues on one side or the other of Shay’s Rebellion (p. 336). Workers and artisans, he finds, were in favor of the Constitution. His chapter on the federal processions that celebrated the ratifications is cultural history about civil religion and art, and it makes delightful reading.

American progressives still tend to be neo-Beardian skeptics about the Constitution. Heideking was a German of the Left who celebrated the American Constitution and the process by which it was ratified. Charles A. Beard treated the Constitution as a “cross of gold” written to crucify yeoman debtors, but the Constitution is better understood as debtors trying to improve their credit rating. The first necessity was a national government with the power to tax in order to pay the debts of the Revolutionary War. Also, James Madison (*Federalist No. 10* [1787]) argued that the extended national republic would better protect individual rights than the states had under the Articles of Confederation. Anti-Federalists had the sharpest tongues dismissing the rabble. Still, progressive American historians have tended to side with the Anti-Federalists. In law and contemporary politics, it is conservatives who use Anti-Federalist stances to hobble the federal government and keep it within narrow bounds. As a matter of history, the 1787 Constitution is an aggressively anti-state document both in text and purpose. American progressive historians do not seem to know about or understand the conservative use of Anti-Federalism history in the Supreme Court and contemporary politics. Heideking celebrates the ratification and, like Alexis de Tocqueville, tells us more about America than we can ourselves describe.

CALVIN H. JOHNSON
University of Texas Law School

NICHOLAS P. MILLER. *The Religious Roots of the First Amendment: Dissenting Protestants and the Separation of Church and State*. Foreword by MARK NOLL. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 242. \$35.00.

Intellectual genealogy is a difficult field; significant ideas usually have a bevy of ancestors, some obscure. This bespeaks not only the necessity of great care in the exercise but also the need for some academic humility. In *The Religious Roots of the First Amendment*, Nicholas P. Miller is at his best in tracing “dissenting Protestant thought” that “at least meaningfully influenced” the

Constitution’s First Amendment (p. 89) while recognizing that such influences “cannot be proved” (p. 71).

Rejecting the view that pragmatism—religious pluralism—or Enlightenment ideology alone explains the First Amendment, Miller sets out to “identify religious and theological reasons for disestablishment that worked alongside other ideologies” and successfully demonstrates the influence of “the right of private judgment in biblical interpretations” championed by dissenting Protestants (pp. 1–2). Based on this evidence, Miller confidently concludes that the amendment was not intended merely to prevent creation of a national church; rather, its intellectual foundations require a separation of church and state (p. 154).

The book’s backbone is a review of leading Protestant dissenters: Martin Luther, John Milton, John Locke, William Penn, Elisha Williams, Isaac Backus, William Livingston, John Witherspoon, and James Madison. Miller carefully outlines development of their thought over time; thus, Luther’s commitment to individual judgment in biblical matters and the “two kingdom” doctrine was a foundation for later thinkers (including Anabaptists) despite his subsequent acceptance of civil control of seditious beliefs. Milton’s argument that to accept civil authority in spiritual matters would create a “civil papacy” builds on Luther (p. 43). Miller also captures the contributions of more obscure theologians, such as Sebastian Castellio, initially a supporter of John Calvin and later an opponent, Mennonite Pieter Twisck, and early Baptist John Smyth. The extended discussion of William Penn, including his apparent influence on Locke, is particularly interesting. Miller argues forcefully that “Penn’s practical influence on the colonial acceptance of a robust church/state separation through the success of the Pennsylvania model is hard to overstate” (p. 63).

Yet, in places, concentrating on a few thinkers may hobble the broader story. For example, the focus on Baptist Backus (pp. 103–109) to the exclusion of the Virginia evangelical John Leland, who had an even more robust vision of the separation of church and state, is unfortunate. Similarly, Miller misses opportunities to tie developments to Thomas Jefferson, in particular Jefferson’s praise for the Pennsylvania Constitution, a document that Miller otherwise highlights.

Having achieved his primary goal by focusing on Protestant thought from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, Miller launches into a series of less careful observations about modern politics and religion.

For example, his emphasis on the Protestant antecedents of state constitutional reform in the nineteenth century, particularly the 1788 Presbyterian constitution, undervalues the increasing importance of Jeffersonian Republicanism. More seriously, asserting that twentieth-century church/state issues became a “competition . . . between religion and nonreligion” (p. 156) would surprise the Jehovah’s Witnesses and other religionists that led the battle for separation of church and state at mid-century. Suggesting a “modern liberal

goal of separating morality from the state" (p. 63) seems even more incongruous.

The book would be greatly improved if Miller grappled with the demise of evangelical support for separation of church and state. Miller notes, for example, that Baptists continued to insist upon church/state separation "even when they had the numbers and influence to control the levers of power" (p. 112), but he ignores growing evangelical opposition to church/state separation by the 1960s. The author laments that "[i]n this post-9/11 world, significant segments of American society are simultaneously rejecting moral relativism as well as seeking the security provided by a stronger, centralized government" (p. 165), although that effort arguably is led by the former dissenting Protestants whom Miller lauds. He equates acceptance of an all-powerful state to a belief that "also accepts a role for government in religious matters" (p. 165); yet, today, it is often those ostensibly most opposed to the former who accept the latter. If Miller intends to engage the matter, he at least owes some explanation for, or at least recognition of, the shifting views of previously dissenting Protestant sects.

Regretting that "middle America has stayed astonishingly mute in the face of the well-documented reports of 'enhanced' interrogations, secret renditions, secret evidence, secret courts, long-term detentions of suspects without trial, even assassinations of U.S. citizens" (p. 169), Miller attributes this, at least in part, to "the loss of the sense of the antimajoritarian and sacrosanct nature of rights" (p. 170). This is a powerful argument, but it is largely lost in the discussion.

Miller's tracing of the intellectual threads, strings, and ropes of Protestant dissenting thought demonstrates an impressive familiarity with history and theology, and his book is a valuable historic and intellectual review of the influence of the right of private judgment on separation of church and state through the eighteenth century. Issues with the epilogue should not hide the value of this contribution.

JOHN RAGOSTA
Hamilton College

KARIANN AKEMI YOKOTA. *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 354. \$34.95.

Kariann Akemi Yokota's novel and engaging account of the development of national identity in the United States in the aftermath of the Revolutionary War offers a "counternarrative to the country's optimistic and confident projections about its future as a world power" (p. 239). Instead it emphasizes the ambivalent relationship of Americans toward Britain and their continued dependence upon Britain. The process of adopting a new national character was "as much about its people's struggles in 'unbecoming' what had made them British subjects before independence" (p. 9).

The book opens very appropriately with Thomas Jef-

erson's Monticello, which vividly reflects the contradictions in his attitudes to the Old World. The architecture was indebted to his travels in France and England, and especially to the influence of the sixteenth-century Venetian architect, Andrea Palladio. Nevertheless, Jefferson specifically rejected European features like grand staircases. The entrance hall vaunts the grandeur and heritage of the American continent with fossils, Indian artifacts, and maps—including items from the Lewis and Clark expedition. It served as a museum in which the natural curiosities of America were intermixed with refined goods from Europe. The parlor was a tribute to European style and culture with copies of Old Master paintings, musical instruments, and portraits of the three British thinkers Jefferson regarded as the greatest men in history: Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton, and John Locke. As in the case of Monticello, the text of this book is supported throughout by well-chosen illustrations.

The author explores cultural aspects of continued British dominance in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America. These include maps, consumer preferences, trade, botany, natural history, and scientific discovery. The marginal status of America made it almost impossible to escape the shadow of Britain. Americans even had to rely initially on British maps and atlases of the United States. As Thomas Paine predicted in *Common Sense* (1776), after the war American trade with Britain increased. In an impressive chapter on China, Yokota shows how Americans attempted to gain an advantage over Britain by trading directly with China, only to find themselves unable to compete and derisively known as "second chop [the pass required in order to trade in Canton] Englishmen" (p. 124). American scientists and intellectuals needed the validation of their British counterparts and thrived upon the recognition of British institutions and societies. It was difficult to throw off colonial cultural deference to the standards of the imperial metropolis in London.

Richard Bushman's *Refinement in America: Persons, Houses, and Cities* (1992) was a pioneering study in using material culture to show the continued cultural deference of Americans to Britain. *Unbecoming British* uses a broader array of evidence and is more directly concerned with the question of identity. John Murrin, Eliga H. Gould, and Tim Breen have previously argued that Americans were becoming more Anglicized and more closely incorporated into Greater Britain before 1776. Yokota demonstrates that the process of Americanization continued to be contested after 1783. She occasionally blurs the distinction between Britain and Europe. Some of the traits Yokota describes are inevitable consequences of the disparity in power that has since been reversed. One might also question whether the sense of insecurity and self-conscious provincialism the author identifies was shared among all classes and geographical regions.

Chapters on politics, literature, diplomacy, law, and the War of 1812 would have further supported the book's argument. The history of the early presidency

reflected the gradual divestment of overt monarchical trappings and ceremonies. The Federalists and Republicans were divided about the extent of British influence, with Alexander Hamilton regarding the British financial system as a model for America, and Britain as the natural ally of the United States. *Unbecoming British* could be supplemented by Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (2010), and Jennifer Clark's forthcoming *The American Idea of England: Transatlantic Writing, 1776–1840* (2013).

The United States was often not included in histories of the British Empire or in postcolonial studies that tended to associate colonialism with "The Third World." This has changed. The new *Oxford History of the British Empire* devotes two volumes to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with chapters on Ireland and North America. Edward Watts and others have long applied the concept of postcolonialism to the writings of the early republic. Yokota is hesitant to push the analogy too far because of the "geographical, historical, and temporal differences between the United States and commonly recognized postcolonial societies in Africa, Latin America, and Asia" (p. 12). She also fears that it might valorize the rise of Caucasians over racial minorities that perpetuated the colonial legacy in the United States (p. 239). Although she is tentative, her application of the term offers a useful and important comparative dimension. Furthermore, *Unbecoming British* is written without jargon, making it very suitable both for class adoption and interested lay readers.

ANDREW JACKSON O'SHAUGHNESSY

Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello

MAURIZIO VALSANIA. *The Limits of Optimism: Thomas Jefferson's Dualistic Enlightenment*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2011. Pp. 207. \$35.00.

In *The Limits of Optimism*, Maurizio Valsania offers a reading of Thomas Jefferson that is both recognizable and unfamiliar. The book joins other efforts—including Andrew Burstein's characterization of Jefferson in *The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist* (1995)—to understand Jefferson's complex inner life, but Valsania places new emphasis on the slimness of Jefferson's hopes for the republic, and details an existential despair that seeped into the raw edges of Jefferson's thought like ink bleeding on parchment. Valsania argues that Jefferson's dominant habit of mind was an organic pessimism, rooted in a deep awareness of the cycle of decline and death in all living systems.

To make his case, the author traces pairs of contradictory modes of thought—pessimism/optimism, despair/hope, decline/progress—arguing that the awareness of such contradictions was central to Jefferson's thought, and to the American Enlightenment itself. Valsania rejects the idea that Jefferson was an optimist

who strayed into occasional pessimism as a consequence of age and experience. Instead, he points to evidence suggesting that Jefferson contended throughout his life against a sense of limitation, doubt, and fear, even as he spent much of his time engaged in large, hopeful, and progressive projects.

Valsania relies on a close textual reading of Jefferson's letters and journals, defined in the introduction as "authorial texts." Public pronouncements, Valsania argues, exuded confidence and downplayed anxiety, and they do not tell us as much as we need to know. Valsania's definition of authorial texts as those in which "the self is not watchful enough to prevent a leakage of its inner conceptual frameworks" (p. 4) does not constitute the book's most felicitous turn of phrase, but it does make the point that one can find the optimist letting down his guard in works meant for limited readership.

Valsania sets his argument against the vast backdrop of recent scholarship on Jefferson and engages gracefully with the wider field of eighteenth-century intellectual and cultural history. While others have noted contradictory tendencies in Jefferson's life and work, Valsania's argument is different in placing those tensions at the center of his assessment, rather than seeing contradictions develop in response to circumstance or the passage of time. One consequence is that slavery is moved to the margins, where it becomes for Valsania only a part of Jefferson's larger problem: worry over his inability to stop the encroachment of barbarism, failure, and decline. Reimagining the American paradox, Valsania saves the discussion of slavery and freedom for the final pages of the book, where he concludes that every Jeffersonian dream was predicated on a nightmare and depended on the denial of "hope and imagination in slaves, Indians, women and the lower classes" (p. 164). In the end, it is Jefferson's almost paralyzing awareness of such ironies that defines him.

There are times when the arguments and examples are repeated. The case for dualism across Jefferson's thought in all times and places can sound ahistorical, and the idea that Jefferson walked the earth primed for disappointment can seem forced—particularly when chronology and context all but disappear in the quoting of passages that bear little relation to one another without Valsania's assertions about the ways they are connected.

Nonetheless, the book is important, and is most convincing in the boldest of its claims regarding the broader historiography of eighteenth-century thought. The text extends beyond a reading of Jefferson, arguing that dualism of the sort that characterized Jefferson was at the heart of the Enlightenment—which for Valsania "represented an attempt, precarious and anxiety-ridden as every human attempt, to push back the boundaries of darkness" (p. 2). In Valsania's analysis, we need to look beyond the view of enlightened optimism created by reformers and romantics of succeeding generations, who, the author argues, dropped the anxiety, seized the certainties of progress, and took heavy-

handed charge of the rest of the nineteenth century, obscuring the finer points of Jefferson's unsettled legacy in the process.

The book's introduction plainly states that there is a moral to be drawn by readers, and that we need Jefferson's example if we are to "see through the myth of unlimited possibilities" that "buoys up present-day capitalist societies" (p. 4). Whether or not readers reach this conclusion, *The Limits of Optimism* accomplishes much through its meditation on Jefferson's lively-but-despondent imagination. With fresh urgency, the book sends us back to the Jefferson we think we know, and in the process, restores a sense of depth and resonance to our understanding of the American Enlightenment.

NINA REID-MARONEY

Huron University College at Western

HANNAH SPAHN. *Thomas Jefferson, Time, and History*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2011. Pp. x, 290. \$45.00.

The Founding Fathers attempted, to varying degrees, to invest their character and actions with an aura of timeless wisdom and achievement capable of transcending generational change. Therefore one can imagine George Washington, John Adams, or James Madison approving, at least in part, of chat rooms and television series dedicated to revolutionary exemplars and expounding what "the founders" might have made of the problems of the twenty-first century. In this book, Hannah Spahn argues exhaustively but persuasively that no founder was more engaged with questions of time and history, more suspicious of "original intent," than Thomas Jefferson. This near obsession infused his personal life, public documents such as the Declaration of Independence, and his private statements on the issues of his day.

Ironically Jefferson has suffered "reputational damage" in our time, in large part because, as Spahn demonstrates brilliantly, the temporality of Jefferson's worldview led him to adopt positions—concerning questions such as the abolition of slavery—that did not strike him as problematic but that strike us as reprehensible. By asking where we might place Jefferson's understanding of time and history within an "intellectual history of temporality" (p. 17), Spahn neatly addresses a dimension of Jefferson's recent fall from grace. Additionally, she considers more generally the intellectual slovenliness of well-intentioned interest in founding wisdom and original intent that takes no account of assumptions about the nature of time and history—which we may leave unexamined but which Jefferson emphatically did not. To one who has often lazily approached Jefferson's pronouncements on time, change, and history from the perspective of "rhetoric," the care with which Spahn locates these themes within the overall context of the Americanization of structures of comprehension—derived, principally from Isaac Newton and Viscount Bolingbroke—is impressive, and chastening.

As is often the case with a close study of Jefferson's thought, the theme of tension soon emerges. Properly interpreted (and Spahn's sparkling analysis essentially concerns what this meant for Jefferson), events could have claims to illuminate a larger universal scheme: history itself. Each generation for Jefferson had to be regarded as sovereign unto itself; sometimes its deeds contributed to, even created, immutable history, at others not. There was, Spahn's treatment argues, a genuine modesty in this stance. As the passive constructions of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence suggest, independence was an example—for its author in 1776 at any rate—of the quotidian aspects of human events at least as much as it was a contribution to the larger universal scheme of history.

But, prefiguring some of the apparatus of Romanticism, Jefferson's use of history had a dark side. Fatally for his modern reputation, historical exigencies led Jefferson to embrace a Northwest without slavery, but his meditations on the moral lessons of the past and on morally acceptable change led him to cite history against the claims of abolition. Jefferson, Spahn's impartial and learned analysis suggests, truly was a slave of his time.

PETER THOMPSON

University of Oxford

ELLEN HOLMES PEARSON. *Remaking Custom: Law and Identity in the Early American Republic*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 251. \$42.50.

"What then is the American, this new man?" J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur asked in 1782. The question preoccupies scholars today almost as much as it did early Americans more than two centuries ago. In her new book, Ellen Pearson Holmes ably examines how America's early legal scholars gradually established an American legal identity through their lectures and writings.

It is a familiar story that played out in countless arenas. Early Americans spent a great deal of energy establishing distinctly American political traditions, but that was only the most obvious means through which they attempted to construct a national identity. Noah Webster was busy compiling a dictionary of the American language. Novelists such as James Fenimore Cooper hoped to create an American literary culture. Americans in a variety of fields engaged in a complicated dance to prove that their nation was the equal of Great Britain, often by aping British habits, while simultaneously demonstrating their difference from and superiority to the mother country.

Legal scholars (legists, to use Pearson's term) confronted a particularly daunting form of this challenge. American law was almost entirely dependent on English common law, particularly as it was filtered through Sir William Blackstone's magisterial *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769), which, according to Pearson, were not displaced in America until James

Kent published his own commentaries between 1826 and 1830. Needless to say, this was an awkward basis on which to found a national legal culture. Nor was it clear at the outset that Americans had any right to rely on English common law, since its legitimacy was based on local usage from time immemorial, according to Blackstone, problematic grounds for a nation that had severed its ties with the country where those practices originated. But legists were loath to jettison common law because it proved so useful, providing both a robust legal tradition and enough flexibility to accommodate local variations in American law. Their solution to the problem echoed the political solution Americans turned to during the American Revolution: they argued that the legitimacy of the common law rested not on the veneration of its antiquity but on the consent of the people.

Beyond justifying America's right to use the common law, legists were interested in those areas where American law differed from English law and were quick to argue for their country's superiority. America's written constitutions and its independent judiciaries, for example, were singled out as examples of American law surpassing its English model. Innovations served as proof that the nation had a distinct legal culture, despite its reliance on the common law. Pearson writes, "America's legal scholars communicated the idea that innovative constitutional protections were products of the American character and that, in turn, the nation's character boasted deep roots" (p. 73).

But the common law was poorly equipped to handle certain issues, such as Native American relations and slavery. Legal justifications for slavery were particularly vexing for legists in the wake of the American Revolution, and Pearson illustrates the intellectual contortions they underwent in an attempt to square lifelong bondage with a revolution fought in the name of freedom. In part, legists attempted to solve the problem by pushing the guilt onto antiquity (or England). They also argued that America practiced a more benign form of slavery (unsurprisingly, Pearson finds significant regional differences among legal scholars in how they dealt with this issue).

Legists throughout the nation also found ample legal justification for taking land from Native Americans, although regional differences emerged in this area as well. Easterners long removed from any danger exhibited none of the hatred that informed the works of those still struggling on the frontier, such as Hugh Henry Brackenridge.

Pearson ends by tracing legists' attempt to reconcile various underlying conflicts, particularly the tension between national and local legal cultures. In general, legists continued to embrace the common law against attempts at codification, seeing it as the best means of accommodating America's regional and local diversity.

Pearson's study is a narrow one. She focuses on a small number of legal scholars, particularly St. George Tucker, James Wilson, Tapping Reeve, Brackenridge, and Kent, relying almost entirely on a close reading of

their books and lecture notes. This is a useful exercise, revealing how legists struggled with the same questions of national and local identity that bedeviled many areas of American life, yet there is little sense of any conversation among them. And while Pearson claims that the legists' work "reached beyond merely shaping a unique legal culture" (p. 7), she provides virtually no evidence of any larger influence. I suspect that aspiring lawyers who read their works were concerned less with questions of American identity and more with gaining a practical legal education. *Remaking Custom* would have benefited from an attempt to link the issues legists were struggling with to broader trends in society. But if its scope is limited, its grasp is sure.

ANDREW TREES

Independent scholar

JULIE COURTWRIGHT. *Prairie Fire: A Great Plains History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2011. Pp. xii, 274. \$29.95.

The smell of burning pastures still kindles memories from my childhood in Oklahoma. People living in the Great Plains have long used fire to sustain the grasslands, where humans burned away old grass to make way for new growth. From time to time, lightning strikes and dry seasons spark an accidental fire. With smoke drifting across an open sky, fires constitute a regular occurrence in many parts of the American West.

Julie Courtwright considers the significance of fire in her synthesis of Great Plains history. Her project began as a dissertation before evolving into a book. In a play on words, she describes herself as obsessed with "smokin' grass." She meditates upon the personal narratives of folks ostensibly exhilarated, frightened, devastated, and sustained by pyrogenic ecology in the region. In terms of group identity, she argues that fire "bound Plains people to each other and to the prairies themselves" (p. 6).

Courtwright divides her study into eight chapters along with an introduction and a conclusion. While each chapter begins with an anecdote about prairie fire, readers are encouraged to imagine a "conversation" between people and the nonhuman world. She refers to a wide variety of sources composed by novelists, travelers, historians, journalists, and naturalists. Her approach to the literature about the "red buffalo" is selective though astute.

In the beginning, Courtwright focuses upon the transition from American Indian uses of fire to Euro-American applications. Without extensive burnings over the ages, the landscape encountered by newcomers would not have appeared so vast. Black Hawk, a Sauk war leader, opined that the sights and sounds of American cities were not "half so grand as a prairie on fire." Next, she describes the coming of strangers to the Great Plains in a rush of colonization. Given the new patterns of community building, farmers and ranchers practiced fire suppression in order to protect their property and families from significant harm. They planted trees and

safeguarded them while touting their domestication of the environment. The culminating chapter of the book accentuates the reintroduction of fire as a management tool for the ecosystem. Controlling "patch-burns" required collective action, even though the Environmental Protection Agency fumed about air quality. Near the Flint Hills of Kansas, large signs appeared along highways to warn motorists about dense smoke ahead. Residents of the Great Plains began to grasp the potential of fire as a tourist attraction.

With a practical flare, Courtwright illustrates how fires no less than plows define the history of the Great Plains. She acknowledges the familiar insights of frontier historians such as Walter Prescott Webb and James Malin, but she blazes a new trail by making the "perspective of the fires" elemental to the historical imagination (p. 74). Historians will be delighted by over 650 notes that reference numerous primary and secondary sources. Her bibliography lists archived and published materials, including the correspondence of U.S. soldiers stationed in the region.

My only reservation about Courtwright's book derives from her inattention to the ideological frameworks that shaped the history of the Great Plains. For much of the nineteenth century, an ideology that rewarded the "civilized" world of farming and ranching rejected the "savage" one of Indians and fires. The notion of Manifest Destiny came to be inextricably linked to the eradication of a hellish specter, because farmers and ranchers were able to go about their business of subduing the land only with the elimination of the terrors in the heartland. In other words, "smokin' grass" represented another aspect of a frontier narrative that resonates with Judeo-Christian assumptions about the loss of Paradise. As Euro-Americans conquered nature, they generally envisioned the recovery of a promised land. Given Courtwright's awareness of an ongoing "conversation," I would have liked for her work to appreciate the contested discourses. It would have only made this fine book even better.

Courtwright has made a significant contribution to her profession. Her story is an intricate and nuanced tale warning us that primal forces in the past often led to dramatic consequences. Today, politicians are appropriating the graphic language by comparing the national debt to a prairie fire. Polemics aside, no one can afford to ignore a key element in Great Plains history.

BRAD D. LOOKINGBILL

Columbia College of Missouri

JAMES JOSEPH BUSS. *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2011. Pp. vii, 328. \$34.95.

In this book, James Joseph Buss uses the lower Great Lakes region as a template for illustrating the power of words so evident in the creation of the histories of early nineteenth-century American expansion. Other scholars have recounted the violence that pervaded the re-

gion from the 1780s through the early 1830s, and many have focused particularly on the manner in which the War of 1812 signaled an end to the cross-cultural diplomacy that had helped stabilize relationships during the colonial era. Buss notes, however, that few of those scholars "have taken seriously how the ability to shape the history of place can serve as a tool in extending the reach of a nation" (p. 7). In the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, white Americans worked over the course of a century and more to write Wyandots, Potawatomis, and others out of the landscape while crafting a narrative that "portrayed the erasure of indigenous communities as a passive and inevitable consequence of settlement" (p. 3). It is within this context that Buss provides a valuable perspective on seemingly familiar events.

Over the course of nine chapters, including an introduction and an epilogue, Buss persuasively argues that the removal of American Indians from the landscape of the lower Great Lakes region was intertwined with and reinforced by a much longer process of writing those same Indians out of the historical narrative of American western expansion and the growth of the United States. His analysis begins with an assessment of what he terms the "period of conquest," generally encompassed by the years from the 1795 Treaty of Greenville to the conclusion of the War of 1812. During this twenty-year period of warfare, trade, and treaty negotiations, federal officials like William Henry Harrison engaged in a broad effort to obtain Indian lands for the benefit of American citizens. For Buss, however, it is the words and actions surrounding those events that are critical. Whereas Indian delegates at the 1795 treaty council had the opportunity to voice their opinions, the headmen who traveled to Greenville in 1814 faced a much different set of circumstances. Indeed, at the end of the War of 1812 American officials sought to create "a unilateral language of American expansion that excluded Native people" (p. 41). Frontiersmen in turn sought to shed their image as "white savages," a process facilitated by the work of travel writers who recorded accounts of their encounters with noble farmers improving the once-wild landscape.

The second section of the book, "Clearing the Middle Ground," builds on the foundation of the first by illuminating the complex process of what is most often viewed as only a physical removal of Indians from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In three chapters that discuss different facets of Indian removal from the 1810s to the 1840s, Buss's methodology and analysis take the familiar and make it more comprehensive. Scholars well versed in the work of Richard White, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and R. David Edmunds might initially be tempted to skim through discussions of the English artist George Winter and the famous "Lost Sister of Wyoming," Frances Slocum. Yet Buss provides important and substantive contexts for both individuals. In the process he forces a reconsideration of how scholars should use Winter's paintings as well as the ways that Slocum's story was manipulated to reinforce prevailing

ideas about culture, race, and gender in the story of American expansion.

The final section of this book, "Remembering and Forgetting," examines the ways in which county and state histories of the lower Great Lakes written in the late nineteenth century focused on rapid and peaceful Indian disappearance in the face of advances made by noble and superior white pioneers. In the end, these historical creations "defined pioneering as synonymous with general American progress" (p. 188). White Americans had their status elevated in narratives that only deepened the dispossession of Native peoples.

Buss's book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of Indian removal, American expansion in the lower Great Lakes, and the construction of historical narratives and place-stories. Perhaps most important is the success with which he reveals the subtle but powerful violence of the historical dispossession that occurred when American Indians were not only written out of county and state histories but also erased in a way that obscured the bloodshed that accompanied the initial conquest. As demonstrated so ably by Buss, words were a weapon in an all-encompassing removal process that began well before and continued long after the Jacksonian era.

JOHN P. BOWES
Eastern Kentucky University

JOHN PHILLIP REID. *Forging a Fur Empire: Expeditions in the Snake River Country, 1809–1824*. (Western Frontiersmen Series, number 36.) Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 2011. Pp. 229. \$29.95.

Histories of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest emphasize the Hudson's Bay Company's (HBC) effort during the 1820s to create a "fur desert" of the vast region drained by the Snake River. That plateau and mountain geography was magnificent habitat for beaver and other fur-bearing animals, a prize for competing fur-trading enterprises. HBC purposely sent trapping brigades into the Snake River country for several years during the 1820s to trap out the region and create a buffer between themselves and American trappers moving into the region from the east. The purpose was to protect HBC's prime area of operation, which stretched from northern California to the Alaskan panhandle. Most histories assign the policy to the reform-minded governor of the company's northern department, George Simpson.

While it is true that Simpson instigated the "fur desert" policy in 1824, John Phillip Reid here offers a new explanation for its origins. In *Forging a Fur Empire*, he centers attention on Alexander Ross, a trader who had gone to the Pacific Northwest in 1811 as a clerk in John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company enterprise in the Columbia River Basin and joined the HBC during the 1820s. Reid argues that the policy came directly from the 1824 Snake River fur brigade's experiences under Ross's leadership. Ross left historians two important historical narratives—*Adventurers of the First Settlers on*

the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810–1813 (1849) and *Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon and Rocky Mountains* (1855)—and he also kept a detailed journal of the 1824 expedition, which is the central source for Reid's new viewpoint on HBC's strategy in the Snake River Basin.

Following the lead of Canadian scholars Elizabeth Vibert and Cole Harris, Reid interprets the brigade's experiences in the Snake River country as intersections among cultural, economic, and geopolitical interests. He pays particular attention to the relationships between Ross and the "freemen" members of his expeditionary force. The freemen were hired trappers and workers who were not HBC employees, many of them Iroquois and Métis who had considerable experience in the trade. Ross held the Iroquois in low opinion, because they often ignored his instructions and acted on their own initiative for their own purposes. "It were better," Ross wrote his superiors about the Iroquois in February 1824, "to turn such vagabonds a drift with the Indians, & when they bring Skins, treat them as Indians. No debts, no advances. Indians are now far more spoiled with them, than if they were not supported by the Company" (p. 73).

The story Reid tells exposes the strengths and weaknesses of HBC's powerful hold on fur trading in the Far West. The company controlled trading through monopsonistic relationships with nearly all trading parties in fur country. Ross issued orders to his freemen as an HBC leader, Reid argues, but he "seldom took action. His threats generally remained merely threats" (p. 101). Nonetheless, he saw the fur-trading world as an account book, with HBC property rights, determinant valuations, and control of all exchanges as a defensible reality—even though he did often take into account Iroquois and Métis perspectives. The conflict between Ross and the freemen, Reid explains, was a dispute over property ownership. When HBC extended credit to freemen, Reid asks, "Who owned the property that the freemen had obtained on credit?" (p. 117). He answers that Ross and the freemen disputed the matter, but Ross gave them more room than the HBC approved. Still, the freemen were his bane, and after the 1824 expedition Ross admonished HBC superiors that Iroquois not be included in future Snake River expeditions. He also urged a disciplined trapping of the area, including recommended expedition routes. But his reports included strong criticism of Simpson's regulatory directives, which earned Ross a demotion and the loss of a leadership role in future Snake River expeditions.

In all, Reid makes a good case for a causal connection between the 1824 expedition under the leadership of Alexander Ross and Simpson's policy. He argues persuasively that Simpson dropped Ross as leader of subsequent Snake River brigades in favor of Peter Skene Ogden not because of his recommendations, but because of his seeming resistance to HBC protocols. Of equal importance, however, is Reid's focus on the importance of property values as a window into HBC operations in the Pacific Northwest. From the cost of pro-

visions to the credit advanced freemen to the value of beaver pelts trapped for exchange, HBC sought and achieved control of all trading in the region. The 1824 expedition Ross led brought news of a great trapping ground, an imminent penetration by rival Americans, and good reason for Simpson to pursue a “fur desert” policy. Reid’s detailed and inquisitive narrative adds considerably to our knowledge about a key turn of events in Pacific Northwest history.

WILLIAM L. LANG
Portland State University

KENNETH E. MARSHALL. *Manhood Enslaved: Bondmen in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century New Jersey*. (Gender and Race in American History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 208. \$75.00.

Manhood Enslaved is a set of engaging, imaginative, intertwined essays on the day-to-day experiences and psychological strategies of enslaved men in rural New Jersey. Kenneth E. Marshall published versions of most of the chapters as articles, but it is useful to have them gathered and integrated here, for the stories within this volume contribute to the growing body of scholarship on slavery in the American North, and on gender among enslaved people. The book focuses on three men: Quamino Buccau (Smock), memorialized in an 1851 account of his Christian piety; Yombo, described in an 1889 publication created by the great-grandson of his owner; and Dick, who, with his wife and family, lived on the same farm as Yombo. Marshall’s purpose is to resurrect these men as individuals and thus rebut the romantic racialized versions of them that appeared in the nineteenth century. Marshall succeeds in this endeavor. Where William Allinson, who wrote *Memoir of Quamino Buccau: A Pious Methodist* (1851), and Andrew Mellick, author of *The Story of An Old Farm: or, Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century* (1889), found simple, quaint folk whose lives demonstrated the benevolence of New Jersey slavery, Marshall finds complex men who struggled to assert their manhood in a world determined to render them as boys.

Manhood Enslaved self-consciously constitutes a conversation with the past: a conversation between a specific historian and his two sets of subjects, the three enslaved men and the two white men who wrote about them. Informed by subaltern studies and interdisciplinary scholarship on the African American experience and aided by the methods of deconstruction, Marshall offers insightful discussions—though not all of his arguments convince equally.

The book’s first chapter analyzes how Allinson and Mellick constructed their own versions of manhood, and thus the characters of Quamino, Yombo, and Dick. Reading against the grain of Allinson’s and Mellick’s works, Marshall offers largely convincing accounts of how each of the three enslaved men constructed and struggled for his masculinity. The book first examines the most outwardly aggressive of the three and moves

toward the most seemingly docile in order to argue that rage formed a central part of enslaved men’s psychology.

Yombo, whom whites remembered as difficult and hostile, is at the center of this analysis and is the subject of chapters two and three. Based on one source from 1894, Marshall identifies Yombo as the son of two African-born slaves who committed a double suicide. Interpreting the suicide as an act of resistance best understood through West African cosmology, Marshall leaps to the conclusion that Yombo’s memory of his parents’ act imbued him with inner strength and a commitment to retain his African religion, language, and values. This chapter also argues that African religions helped newly enslaved people—such as Yombo’s putative parents—survive the Middle Passage. This is creative history—maybe too creative, but Marshall presents his sources clearly so that readers may critically engage his analysis. The following chapter integrates Yombo’s life story with astute interpretations of slave truancy, the effects of the American Revolution, and the functions of slaves’ meanness. Yombo’s meanness, Marshall says, “invested him with the power to convert physical space within the Malick household into his own” (p. 83).

Chapter four discusses the second of Marshall’s subjects, Quamino. As with the previous chapters, it uses Quamino’s history to investigate important themes in slaves’ day-to-day lives, including separation from family, the terror created by elaborate rituals of white violence, and the multiple uses and meanings of Christian religion. Marshall seems to take Christianity less seriously than African religions, seeing Quamino’s conversion as partly an instrumental choice designed to ameliorate his relationships with white people, while at the same time assert his own individuality.

In the final chapter, “courteous and quiet” Dick and his wife Nance take center stage (p. 109). Having shown how much anger even the well-liked Quamino must have held, the book convincingly analyzes Dick’s behavior in similar terms. The gender analysis in this final chapter includes Nance, portraying her as someone who was keenly aware of the assaults on her husband’s masculinity and took a subordinate role in her family, in part to shore up Dick’s manliness.

Marshall’s thoughtful interpretations should provoke lively discussions among students of slavery and African Americans, but the book’s scholarly conventions, especially the appearance in the text of so many scholars’ names, will probably scare off most undergraduates. For historians, the book raises the question of the extent to which we can, or should, write transhistorically. While Marshall rightly places his subjects within their historical context, he also collapses the distance between the eighteenth century and our own when he uses modern black males’ “cool pose” to analyze enslaved men, or states that the history of slavery might justify

"why many black males today remain angry in the age of the country's first black president" (pp. 5, 138).

EVA SHEPPARD WOLF

San Francisco State University

MAX GRIVNO. *Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790–1860*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 269. \$50.00.

In this insightful history of labor in northern Maryland before the Civil War, Max Grivno adds to a wave of studies that has found the line between slavery and freedom to be far more blurred than previously thought. *Gleanings of Freedom* shows the ragged, uneven advance of free labor in a borderland that was fully implicated in the global network of commodity exchange.

The book concentrates on six rural, wheat-growing counties along the southern edge of the Mason-Dixon line that separated free Pennsylvania from slave Maryland. Despite conventional wisdom that free labor was better suited to grain crops, which required a more flexible labor force than did cotton and sugar, there was nothing inevitable about the demise of slavery in northern Maryland. Until the Panic of 1819 the institution was expanding because high returns on wheat attracted planters from the played-out tobacco lands of southern Maryland. The disruption of the panic combined with the southwestern cotton boom to reverse this pattern. The number of slaves fell from seventeen percent of the six-county population in 1810 to five percent in 1860 as farmers manumitted elderly slaves and sold prime hands south. Although the institution was in retreat, "masters and mistresses fought a stubborn rearguard to preserve slavery as long as they could" (p. 90).

Rejecting local tradition that borderland slavery was milder than that of the plantation belt, Grivno shows that—despite the comparatively lighter work demands of wheat cultivation—northern Maryland's slaves lived in greater isolation due to the small size of slave holdings, faced unrelenting hostility from their non-slaveholding white neighbors, and were under constant threat of sale south. Because slaveholders could always turn unwanted hands into profitable sales, the threat of the slave market constrained efforts by the enslaved to press for better treatment.

Although slavery is at the forefront of his study, Grivno works assiduously to present "the workforce as a single unified whole" (p. 8). Slavery belonged to a bundle of labor relationships that included waged labor, cottage tenancy, indentured service, apprenticeship, and the unpaid labor of women and children working in family units. Landowners exploited these diverse options to maximize profits and discipline labor. They also used law and reform culture to govern the workforce. Temperance was an especially important cultural battleground because of alcohol's customary role in harvest work routines and holiday celebrations.

Countering the leverage that slavery gave employers,

the fact of freedom in nearby Pennsylvania offered the enslaved a ready tool for fighting back. Grivno shows African Americans moving back and forth over the Mason-Dixon line, a practice that Maryland lawmakers combatted by restricting free black travel across state borders.

In regard to rural workers' collective identity, Grivno argues for the primacy of race over class. Although whites sometimes sided with their black co-workers, more typical were men like William Otter, a Frederick plasterer who tracked down runaway slaves for the reward money offered by slaveholders. As Grivno puts it, "poor whites were opportunists [who] . . . sniffed about the countryside for chances to profit from the slaves' dreams of freedom" (p. 192).

Grivno has mined local records to provide a surprisingly detailed account of rural workers, a group notoriously hard to find in archival records. His close study of the census shows that landless workingmen typically married and had children, countering a stereotype of rootless singles in search of social mobility. Instead of rising up or moving out, most farm hands in northern Maryland barely got by and ended their lives in poverty. This finding also shows the importance of family labor in the countryside; farmers preferred to hire men who brought with them the labor of their wives and children.

If there are weaknesses with this impressive study they lie in the difficulty of placing northern Maryland in the larger economy. Grivno does well to situate the Maryland border in the context of domestic slave trade and global wheat trade, but he largely ignores connections with Philadelphia and Baltimore, the second and third largest cities in the Union (that were within thirty to one hundred and fifty miles of these counties.) In comparing slavery on the border to slavery in the cotton belt, greater exposure to urban networks stretching from the cities to substantial towns like Frederick, Hagerstown, and Havre de Grace added another element in shaping labor relations and opportunities for freedom.

This minor criticism should not detract from Grivno's achievement. *Gleanings of Freedom* shines light on an important, underappreciated site in the history of slavery and makes a lasting contribution to the study of American workers and the slave South.

FRANK TOWERS

University of Calgary

SAMUEL MORRIS BROWN. *In Heaven as It Is on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Early Mormon Conquest of Death*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 392. \$34.95.

Samuel M. Brown's new study is a highly debatable intellectual history of Joseph Smith's doctrines and religious practices. Brown's thesis—that Smith's evolving religious convictions stemmed from his lifelong preoccupation with death—is an exciting new paradigm for interpreting early Mormon history. Such uniquely Mormon beliefs as baptisms for the dead, patriarchal blessings, spiritual adoptions, temple endowments, and eter-

nal marriage are portrayed as part of Smith's attempt to "conquer death."

Making "no attempt to assess the veracity of Joseph Smith's religious claims" (p. 5), Brown, an intensive care physician by profession, believes that the early death of Smith's beloved brother, Alvin, and later the deaths of six of Smith's eleven children, cast long shadows over his life. "Obsessed" with death, Smith set out to conquer it by developing doctrines and implementing sacerdotal temple rites and ordinances that "sealed" the faithful horizontally with God and vertically with families in an eternal chain of being, becoming, and belonging. Such "eternal progression" eventuated in the literal resurrection of both men and women in an eternal family exaltation and process of divinization. As Smith made clear in his famous King Follett Discourse of 1844 (later paraphrased by Mormon Church president Lorenzo Snow), "As man is, God once was; and as God now is, man may become."

Part one focuses on the early nineteenth-century culture of death and "holy dying" (p. 21). Smith's involvement in digging for treasure was due less to an interest in magic and money than to one "mediated by the dead" (p. 71). The Hill Cumorah was a "massive grave mound" of ancient American peoples. The Book of Mormon, the Book of Moses, and Smith's "inspired translation" of the Bible represented restored "voices of the dead." Smith's interest in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, mummies, and papyri resulted in the Book of Abraham and in the recovery of voices of the dead as far back as Adam. Mormon settlements were deliberately positioned near ancient Indian burial grounds to allow the Latter-day Saints to identify with the dead and for the dead to give meaning to the present.

Part two discusses Smith's development of doctrines, temple rituals, and covenants "aimed at overcoming the grave." Skillfully placing Mormon theology within the broader Protestant context, Brown argues that Mormonism vigorously rejected Calvinism's capricious God and mankind's utter depravity. Instead, Smith's divinity was a kind, loving, and very literal corporeal "Father in Heaven" with a "humanized divine wife" at his side (p. 227). Heaven was an extension of the human family and other social relationships where married men and women, because of temple ordinances, could experience eternal family union and exaltation, eventually becoming "equal" to God. Brown further argues that plural marriage was a radical subset of the extended family hereafter joined together by the priesthood (p. 240). Family exaltation, and not the individual salvation of Protestantism, was central to Smith's view of a "heavenly network of belonging" (p. 243).

Brown concludes his study with Smith's martyrdom in 1844. Yet even in death, his followers believed he lived on, "mingling with Gods," a "Savior on Mt. Zion" to his people—evidence that his lifelong struggle with death had turned to ultimate victory. This stunningly ambitious study may be too unidimensional. What of the many other influences in Smith's life, such as revelation and scripture? And why does Brown not discuss the re-

ligion of Mormonism and its impact upon behavior in this fundamentally philosophical treatise? Surely the motivations for plural marriage were more than just a response to death. And, while he draws many parallels between Mormon temple worship and freemasonry, Brown fails to fully explain their profound differences. Nevertheless, this is a forceful and engaging book that will be read and studied for years to come.

RICHARD E. BENNETT
Brigham Young University

DANIEL CAVICCHI. *Listening and Longing: Music Lovers in the Age of Barnum*. (Music/Culture.) Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 256. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

Music has been part of the human experience for thousands of years. As with most cultural practices, the meaning and function of music are dynamic—what signals a fashionable high status for one generation is the epitome of obsolescence for the next. Nineteenth-century Americans in particular lived through a transformative age, when the relationship among music, market, and society cultivated new ways for them to hear. In this book, Daniel Cavicchi offers a look into the "emergence of music listening in the United States" (p. 12). Cavicchi tracks the interplay among music, social prestige, and geographic reputation, the development of listening as a distinct skill, and the early history of music fans.

The American music scene underwent great change in the nineteenth century. Where early American music performances were infrequent and centered on European compositions and performers, by the 1850s a diverse lot of music experiences, from public concerts to private sheet music presentations, became the norm. Music was one of several new technologies, a tool that changed how the world was experienced, and scholars have taken note. The likes of Mark M. Smith, Jonathan Sterne, Peter Hoffer, Richard Rath, Graham White, and Shane White have helped to define the social, cultural, and racial ramifications of the American soundscape. What did Americans hear and how did they understand what they heard? These questions are central to understand not just music but the larger sound world in which people lived. When Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau focused their ears on the natural world, they took part in a process in which nineteenth-century middle-class listeners cultivated a refined listening aesthetic in response to industrialization and what they perceived as a noisy lower class. When Frederick Law Olmsted stumbled into African American church services in New Orleans and expressed disgust, he demonstrated a bias that shaped the ears of many white Americans, who found the loud, demonstrative sounds of black Christians evidence of an anti-intellectual bent even though similar conduct, which they noted as piety, was central to white religious revivals.

Cavicchi approaches the nineteenth-century sound-

scape from the viewpoint of the consumer, a welcome corrective to many volumes focused solely on performers. To gain this perspective, the author mined an array of nineteenth-century diaries and personal papers, many of which appear in other recent studies. His research reveals how money was made off of music, how concert attendance forged a new mode of listening, and, ultimately, how consumerism and music listening made possible the earliest instances of devoted music enthusiasm, in Cavicchi's terms, the "music lover." Music lovers of the 1850s, the author declares, operated outside of the market-established norm, the exchange of "a ticket for a performance." These cutting-edge consumers indulged in concert experiences of "sensation, personality, and the environment," a behavior that became standard, indeed institutionalized, by the 1890s (p. 184).

While Cavicchi's book reveals the varied relationship between nineteenth-century American consumers and music, it struggles to explain the significance of the transformation. Despite early attention to the geography of American culture, Cavicchi confines his exploration to the East. Yet music in the nineteenth century signified different cultures and cultural patterns. Whether a performance took place in Boston, New Orleans, or Chicago made a real difference. The author also keeps important musical developments largely separate from his study. At the same time that the banjo underwent a remarkable makeover from a plucked, artisanal instrument indicative of black plantation life to a strummed, mass-produced instrument vital to middle- and upper-class whites, Cavicchi's listeners appear more static; they start and end as members of well-off white families.

How did the new modes of music listening and music devotion influence the way in which these consumers witnessed the world? In the 1840s, Americans used music and their wallets to identify with social causes, such as antislavery, to take political positions, and to promote regional and national ideals. What changed in this relationship between the consumer and American cultural productions from the 1840s to the 1890s is unclear. What is certain, though, is that Cavicchi's book, an attempt at a history of American popular music from the view of the audience, has opened the door. From a seat in the theater, readers of *Listening and Longing* will excitedly await "a more complex and layered performance of America's musical culture," one that will appear due to the increase in scholarly attention to consumerism, listening, and performance (p. 35).

SCOTT GAC
Trinity College

DEBRA A. REID and EVAN P. BENNETT, editors. *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction*. Foreword by LOREN SCHWENINGER. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2012. Pp. xviii, 350. \$69.95.

For much of the nation's history, Americans have believed that access to land ownership has played a central role in the development of a uniquely American character. Although the nation's population has become increasingly urban since the late nineteenth century, it is safe to say that Americans still hold assumptions about the frontier, farming, and national character. Despite the fact that millions of African American slaves and then freedmen worked the land over the course of generations, the concept or label of American *farmers* has usually been applied to whites. One thread that binds the twelve essays gathered here is the argument that African Americans should be included in the definition of American farmers. Indeed, the class action lawsuit *Pigford v. Glickman* (1999) is an attempt to force the United State Department of Agriculture in particular, and the nation as a whole, to acknowledge this fact.

The reason African Americans do not figure into American notions of farmers is that the national consciousness has linked "real" farmers not only to race but also to land ownership. The civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s often played out in urban settings, further severing the perceived linkage between land and African Americans. This collection of essays serves the discipline well in redirecting attention back to the land when examining African American life and culture. It also highlights the often-neglected landowners of color as individuals worthy of close attention, despite their minority status within American agriculture.

The essays in *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule* span a wide range of perspectives. Some focus on the sheer weight of racism and its stifling effect on efforts by African American farmers to become landowners, while others focus more on the triumphs of farm families in the face of Jim Crow. The rich yet discrete nature of these studies, however, highlights opportunities for future scholarship and the need for many more localized studies, as well as the need for scholars to begin to synthesize the experiences of African American farm families.

The editors have gracefully organized the disparate essays into coherent subsets that address historiography, farm acquisition, agrarianism and politics, farm families, and civil rights. The essays are solidly researched and written, and are of uniformly high quality. Common themes emerge from the essays, but not always those one might expect. Race is important, argues Adrienne Petty, but requires close examination in order to understand the "social, economic, and political conditions upon which racism rests" (p. 30). There were, after all, many southern whites who did not become prosperous landowners. Essays such as those written by Scott E. Casper, Keith J. Volanto, and Mark Schultz provide thick descriptions of the lives and environments of African American farmers in Virginia, Texas, and Georgia, respectively, and raise intriguing questions about the opportunities and hurdles African American farmers faced across the South.

The southern political landscape was dominated for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Jim

Crow. Omar H. Ali and Jarod Roll explore how African American farmers fared when they attempted to organize and use the political system to confront the status quo. In Roll's view, "black farmers sustained well into the 1930s an idealized agrarian vision, rooted in the rural black movements of the late nineteenth century, which held sacred the right of small producers to independent livelihoods on the land they worked" (p. 133). Work was central to their identity and remained so even though few achieved the dream of landholding independence.

The essays in the section on farm families are among the best-written in the collection. Debra A. Reid, Evan P. Bennett, and Kelly A. Minor broaden the perspective of some of the earlier, more focused contributions. Reid asserts that, for a short time, African American farmers created in Wisconsin an "exclusive farm utopia" based on wheat cultivation, supportive legislation, and a usually tolerant community. The number of farmers in Reid's study is small, but they were very successful. Reid also describes successful black farmers in Missouri. Not surprisingly, children of successful African American farmers usually received better educations than their landless counterparts; ironically, this enabled them to leave the land. Bennett's study, like Reid's, looks at a pocket of prosperous African American tobacco farmers in North Carolina. Minor's essay argues that black home demonstration programs in Florida were profoundly shaped, not by federal or state mandates, but by the preferences of farm wives who participated in the programs. Farm wives, states Minor, "came to accept home demonstration agents because the agents let the women choose what the service would become in their communities" (p. 204).

In the end, prosperous or poor, almost all African American farmers disappeared from the American landscape. Some left by choice, but others were denied programs that saved white farmers from economic ruin. The final section of the collection provides a connection to the present in the essays of Veronica L. Womack, Carmen V. Harris, and Valerie Grim. Rooted in the rural South, a deeply held activism continued even as black farm ownership declined. Likewise, the civil rights struggle of the latter half of the twentieth century emerged from lessons learned in a rural, not an urban, culture. The volume concludes with a rich bibliographic essay penned by Reid that offers numerous suggestions for further research on African American farmers. This is a very satisfying collection on every front.

GEORGE B. ELLENBERG
University of West Florida

BLANCA TOVÍAS. *Colonialism on the Prairies: Blackfoot Settlement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920*. (First Nations and the Colonial Encounter.) Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 307. \$74.95.

In recent years a new trend has been emerging in Native American/First Nations studies. This new approach

gives voices to the Native peoples themselves. By using interdisciplinary methods, scholars both Native and non-Native have sought to represent these people's experiences from the time of contact to the present. This approach has utilized methods from history, anthropology, ethnohistory, linguistics, literature, and many other fields to achieve more complete and balanced accounts of North American history. Blanca Tovías's *Colonialism on the Prairies: Blackfoot Settlement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920* fits beautifully into this new tradition, bringing Blackfoot experiences to the foreground.

Over the past few years I have been pleased to see the emergence of scholarly works that focus on the period of transition after the last battles of the 1870s and 1880s. While previous scholarship mostly neglected the years of early reservation life—perhaps it was not exciting enough—the new generation of scholars has shown this period to be of utmost importance for many Native peoples. On the reservations, Indian tribes had to adapt to new situations, new ways of life, even new religions. The problems resulting from assimilation policies forced upon Indian people are well known, but work like Tovías's portrays Indians on reservations as maintaining active, vibrant cultures, not simply being passive onlookers as Euro-Americans forced changes upon them.

Tovías begins her analysis with a brief introduction to the Blackfoot people, then presents four different case studies that show how Blackfoot culture not only changed as circumstances changed but also how Blackfoot people adapted to new circumstances. In her first chapter Tovías demonstrates that the most important ceremony for many Plains Indian tribes, the Sun Dance (or *Ookaan*), played an important role even on the reservations, despite the fact that all native religious ceremonies were officially forbidden. The *Ookaan* remained a central part of Blackfoot culture, and although it has undergone changes over time it still has important religious and cultural significance today. The second chapter focuses on the significance of dress as a medium for resisting acculturation. Tovías shows that the way in which the Blackfoot used traditional as well as white people's clothing signifies as much continuity and resistance as acculturation. In her third chapter Tovías focuses on traditional stories and the Blackfoot contribution to ethnographic studies. The fourth chapter analyzes characters in several novels that deal with Blackfoot culture. This chapter is different and to a certain degree stands apart from the whole. Still it offers another way of explaining Blackfoot experiences, and the theme of continuity emerges in this chapter as well.

Tovías has done a tremendous amount of research for her book. She has utilized materials in various archives, ethnographers' field notes, reports and papers from government officials, and Blackfoot oral materials. She is also well acquainted with secondary sources and literature. In the truest sense of the interdisciplinary tradition Tovías has not shied away from any relevant sources. Her scholarship is sound and credible.

However, one major question arises: how often, in reality, did the Blackfoot people (of the early twentieth century, for example) practice *Ookaan* as a way to resist acculturation, as opposed to it simply being religious ritual? This is an important question and, while Tovías presents her case very convincingly, I believe that more research needs to be done. Another thing that strikes me as somewhat problematic is her use of the term “First Nations” even for Native people living in the United States. She does explain her choice in the introduction, but it still seems rather artificial, since no one really uses the term in that way. In conclusion, Tovías has produced a well-written and interesting book that sheds new light on the effect of colonialism in the Northern Plains. The Blackfoot serve as an example here, but surely similar experiences could be found among other Native peoples in North America and worldwide. This is a book that needs to be read by all interested in Native American/First Nations studies.

RANI-HENRIK ANDERSSON
University of Helsinki

ADREA LAWRENCE. *Lessons from an Indian Day School: Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico, 1902–1907*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2011. Pp. x, 309. \$34.95.

In this book, Adrea Lawrence offers a view of U.S. Indian Service attitudes toward Pueblo Indian people of the Rio Grande valley—occasionally interspersed with Tewa Indian perspectives—all within a backdrop setting during the final moments before New Mexico slipped out of its lengthy territorial apprenticeship into bona fide statehood (1912). Limiting her gaze to this epicenter of the New Mexico borderlands, Lawrence constructs a tale in miniature, one that might be construed as a microcosm for federal-Indian relations of the era but which, in reality, demonstrates the uniqueness of the peoples of the northern Rio Grande.

Focusing primarily on the Pueblo of Santa Clara and the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), Lawrence establishes strict parameters for her study. The main characters are few. The two figures that lie at the heart of the narrative epitomize the OIA’s local voice in its turn-of-the-century guise. Clara D. True, Indian Service teacher at Santa Clara Day School, receives a sympathetic portrayal. Clinton J. Crandall, True’s boss, who served simultaneously as superintendent of Santa Fe Indian School, emerges as a rigorous spokesperson for federal regulations and assimilation. The people of Santa Clara form the third dimension of Lawrence’s study but they remain in the background. The local Hispanos/as come onstage as the fourth side of this relationship, but Lawrence introduces them largely as a foil for the Tewa people, in their role as seemingly under-terred competitors for Santa Clara’s land and natural resources.

Lawrence assesses these relationships within a tightly restricted time frame. The entire narrative revolves around True’s five-year teaching stint at the Santa Clara

school, which came to a sudden halt when Crandall eased her out of the position with a transfer to an Indian school in southern California. Both True and Crandall carved out lengthy careers with the OIA and, for a historian of education, their exchange of correspondence offers an intriguing glimpse into the mindset of OIA educators serving in New Mexico just after the expansion decades of Indian Service education (c. 1880–1900).

The most important parameter for Lawrence’s study centers on her interpretation of the term “education.” Lawrence sidesteps the definitions of education once propounded by scholars such as Bernard Bailyn and Lawrence A. Cremin because they appear too diffuse. Crafting her own definition, she relies on equally diffuse concepts, which she dubs “patterns of learning” that, in turn, indicate “educative processes” for the peoples of northern New Mexico. Since the patterns of learning she traces in this work took place largely “out of the classroom,” Lawrence has forged a study that leaves the classroom behind.

Lawrence’s book relies almost exclusively on an assessment of issues emerging from the True-Crandall correspondence; the study concentrates on the controversies that drove their letters. These issues provide the book’s organizational structure, yet they seldom originated in the day school itself. Consequently, Lawrence focuses on the intense disputes over land ownership among the peoples in the region, and the ultimate creation of the Santa Clara reservation in 1905 to protect the land from trespassing. She examines a diphtheria epidemic that struck the Tewa people and interprets what it taught True about the Pueblo’s sociopolitical organization. Lawrence also addresses the changing legal status of Pueblo Indian citizenship during these years. Further, she evaluates the federal Indian schools and the OIA itself as symbols of U.S. colonial power, although she maintains these institutions fall outside the parameters of her study. Finally, she evaluates pragmatic forms of education pursued by Santa Clara people themselves. Some traveled to St. Louis to demonstrate their culture before thousands of spectators coming to view the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, while others remained at home where they engaged in shrewd, chameleon-like responses that shifted in accord with the varying expectations of tourists traveling to the Southwest to view the “other”—Indian Pueblos and Hispano/a communities.

In spite of its title, *Lessons from an Indian Day School* seldom addresses the inside of the Santa Clara school, although the study does offer a perceptive interpretation of the True and Crandall understandings of these Tewa people. Further, Lawrence reveals the uneven relationship among New Mexico’s residents of these years: the northern Pueblo people, the Hispanos/as and the newer arrivals who came as emigrants from eastern states during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Although the repetitive reminders of the book’s organizational structure frequently interrupt the pace of the story, Lawrence’s insights into this microcosm of early

twentieth-century New Mexico lead to an absorbing study.

MARGARET CONNELL-SZASZ
University of New Mexico

MAZIE HOUGH. *Rural Unwed Mothers: An American Experience, 1870–1950*. (Perspectives in Economic and Social History, number 4.) London: Pickering and Chatto Publishers. 2010. Pp. vi, 235. \$99.00.

In recent years, historians have begun to delve into issues of sexuality and reproduction. Yet some people and behaviors are particularly difficult to study, and Mazie Hough's book deals with one of the more elusive groups: young pregnant women in rural America from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Although many popular and scholarly studies have examined the lives of unwed mothers in the late twentieth century, particularly in terms of their relinquishing infants to adoptive parents, earlier unmarried pregnant women have received less scrutiny. Pairing women from rural Maine with those from Tennessee, Hough employs a comparative approach to show regional differences as well as changes over time in the way that states and communities responded to women, their pregnancies, and their later lives.

Hough devotes her early chapters to showing the different legal contexts that unwed mothers navigated in these two states during the mid-nineteenth century. Maine long relied on the mother, while in labor, naming the putative father as a way to force the latter to support the child, but Tennessee provided few options to women who tried to make their lovers support illegitimate offspring. In fact, a Tennessee woman successfully proving paternity could only gain three years of child support, which at most totaled ninety dollars. Moreover, involving the father meant that he could demand custody of the child, if he so desired.

Among the many reforms occurring in mid-nineteenth century America was the establishment of institutions to aid and possibly rehabilitate unwed mothers. Much of Hough's data comes from Maine and Tennessee forerunners to the better-known Florence Crittenton homes of the early twentieth century. Soon after the Civil War, shelters for unwed mothers opened in Chattanooga, Nashville, and Memphis, Tennessee. Hough concentrates on the last city, where, by the 1870s, some prominent ladies included outreach to "fallen women" among their benevolent work. In particular, the Women's Christian Association (WCA) opened the Navy Yard Mission, which housed young working women from the countryside and also provided rooms to pregnant unmarried women and allowed them, like the other residents, to learn skills for self-support. Strapped for funds by 1889, the WCA adopted a more restrictive approach, isolating unwed pregnant women from the others in a separate building.

Two homes for unwed mothers in late nineteenth-century Maine provide the foundation for Hough's most vivid and compelling analysis. While the Tempo-

rary Home for Women and Children in Portland intended to reform those "girls" who came to it, the Good Samaritan Home in Bangor, established in 1902, strove to make "the women self sufficient and responsible for their children" (p. 115). About one third of residents at the latter were able to take jobs that allowed them to keep and support their children; many of the others married. The few who relinquished infants for adoption generally gave them to family or community members. The author's use of letters written by the unmarried mothers strikingly show how the Good Samaritan Home tried to enhance the choices available to rural unmarried mothers.

The later chapters of Hough's book contrast the changing treatment of unwed mothers in Maine and Tennessee during the twentieth century. In both states, social workers became a part of the process, and many of them increasingly advocated that unwed mothers give up their children. In Tennessee, where the rights of unwed mothers had always been more tenuous, judges and benevolent groups had long pressured unwed mothers to give up their children. This trend apparently culminated in the notorious Tennessee Children's Home Society, which, under the leadership of Georgia Tann, coerced thousands of women into placing their children with adoptive parents in the twentieth century.

Hough gives a careful, compelling analysis of the changes in Tennessee and Maine. Yet some readers will wish that she had further attempted to determine how fully each state represented its region. Certainly she implies a distinct difference between North and South. Some will wonder to what extent Tennessee's continued callousness toward unwed mothers and its compulsory adoption practices were typical of other states. Moreover, while Hough clearly is familiar with the historiography of sexuality and family, a greater use of these studies to deepen the context of her findings would have improved her provocative book.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

DANIEL FREUND. *American Sunshine: Diseases of Darkness and the Quest for Natural Light*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 216. \$40.00.

This is an intriguing study of an unexplored topic in environmental and cultural history: Americans' concerns about their loss of sunlight as daily life moved indoors in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Daniel Freund opens his book with a look at the critique of urban slum housing, in what he broadly defines as an era of "Progressive" reform from 1850 through 1920. John Griscom, Jacob Riis, Lawrence Veiller, and other housing reformers deplored the lack of windows in big city tenements—a condition they saw as threatening to both physical and moral health. Air pollution and high-rise construction, too, were criticized for blocking out the health-giving light of the sun. A sense of unease about modern civilization lay beneath these critiques,

but rather than demanding a return to the countryside, reformers proposed ways of adapting human life to the city: housing codes that required more windows, zoning rules that restricted building heights, and rooftop playgrounds and open-air schools for children.

These measures more easily addressed the lack of ventilation than the lack of sunshine. Indirect light entering apartments and classrooms proved deficient in ultraviolet radiation, identified in the 1920s as one of the best preventative measures against the deforming childhood disease of rickets. Glass windows filtered out most ultraviolet wavelengths, while slanting winter sunlight and smoggy skies limited the benefits of outside exposure for much of the year. Glassmakers introduced Vita Glass and competing products that admitted somewhat more ultraviolet light but were expensive and less durable than regular glass.

Frightened by inflated claims that rickets affected more than ninety percent of children, some Americans purchased sun lamps for use in homes and schools. Medical practitioners also used sun lamps but preferred natural forms of "heliotherapy"; sanitariums had sickly children bask in the sun or ski cross-country in loin-cloths. (Freund provides amusing photographs of these therapeutic efforts.) Although the American Medical Association remained cautious, some doctors made extensive claims about the value of sunshine in preventing or curing other ailments. Sunbaths or exposure to sunlamps were recommended for fighting tooth decay, baldness, and tuberculosis. General Electric produced laryngeal, vaginal, and rectal applicators to insert healing ultraviolet rays where the sun didn't shine. Medical enthusiasts recommended specific frequencies of light for the individual patient, as if prescribing medicines. "In making these moves, experts created a third option to the conventional natural/unnatural binary; it was, for lack of a better word, 'hypernatural,' writes Freund. "It took its inspiration from nature but moved beyond it, creating a more perfect cure" (p. 94).

Sunlight therapy gained popularity in the late 1920s and 1930s. Public health officials promoted sunbathing for children, affluent people vacationed in Florida, and extremists advocated recreational nudism. A suntan, now signifying leisure instead of farm work, came to be considered healthy and beautiful. Freund could have more fully developed his discussion of tanning. The growing acceptance of a darkened skin in the middle decades of the twentieth century might suggest an important rethinking of a visible marker of race, and perhaps a creative response to earlier eugenic concerns about the sickliness of overcivilized Euro-Americans.

Florida vacations remained out of reach for most people, sunlight remained scarce in northern cities, and sunlamps and Vita Glass remained expensive. A simpler, more effective public health response to sunlight deficiency proved to be vitamin D fortification to prevent rickets. Vitamin D-fortified bread was marketed in the late 1920s, and Schlitz Beer tried fortification in the 1930s, but milk seemed a more promising product for preventing this childhood disease. Freund shows that

Borden's Dairy used the comforting imagery of natural sunshine in promoting its vitamin D milk in the 1930s, even though the irradiated product was more hypernatural than natural.

Freund adds a brief epilogue in which he hurries through the decades after the 1930s, touching on the rise of skin cancer in the late twentieth century. Mentioning a resurgence of rickets and growing concerns about Seasonal Affective Disorder, he suggests that we may have gone too far in our recent avoidance of direct sunlight.

The book is briskly written and draws on a range of source material from medical reports and government publications, to newspaper and magazine articles, to advertising and trade literature from the lighting and glass industries. Freund is aware of relevant scholarship on the histories of health, housing, anti-modernism, and lighting, and he uses it effectively to contextualize his study. Some readers may wish the study were not so tightly focused on the early twentieth century, but urban, cultural, and environmental historians will appreciate this quirky, engaging look at how Americans adapted to a perceived crisis in modern life.

PETER C. BALDWIN

University of Connecticut

ELENA RAZLOGOVA. *The Listener's Voice: Early Radio and the American Public*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. 216. \$39.95.

Roland Barthes argued that listening—as opposed to hearing—is not a mere involuntary reaction to acoustic phenomenon but an active, conscious response. Moreover it has an impact upon the speaker; Barthes even suggested that "Listening speaks" (*The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation* [1985], p. 259). How then does one measure the decibel level of the murmurs produced by the radio audience? As I have argued in *Emergency Broadcasting and 1930s American Radio* (2003), radio transmits and isolates voices with results that are both risky and pleasurable. If one insists that listening is not passive, how have radio audiences—who are listeners par excellence—made themselves heard?

This question motivates Elena Razlogova's new book on American radio history. Her reply resonates with unexpected insights and fascinating details that allow the reader to imagine a radio history that centers upon the audience and its impact upon programming. Razlogova asserts: "Like the serial novels of the nineteenth century, radio programs unfolded as if in an intimate conversation with their audiences" (p. 8). She argues that: "audiences were critical components in the making of radio, the establishment of its genres and social operations" (p. 5). In constructing this argument she is implicitly disputing those historians and theorists who assume that radio (and other forms of media) were imposed upon the public by corporations enabled by government legislation, without the audience's advice and consent. Radio historians have previously argued

that the 1920s was an exciting if chaotic time in radio history when new local stations emerged from every quarter of the culture. The Radio Act of 1927 and the Federal Radio Commission (replaced by the Federal Communications Commission in 1934) stepped in to curtail this activity, laying the groundwork for a virtual corporate takeover of the medium.

Razlogova, however, suggests that “the early experimenter period” (p. 5) set a precedent for the involvement of the radio audience, which created a listening public poised to challenge “corporate broadcasters’ authority” (p. 13). For Razlogova, radio audiences talked back to radio producers and sponsors, even when the medium became orderly in what was referred to as the “Golden Era.” Her case studies include the show *Gang Busters* (a program in which listeners called in offering tips on crimes), prize fights (in which listeners demanded that certain details be included in the broadcast), the letters sent to broadcast fan magazines, and Princeton’s Radio Project (where scholars derived new methodologies for the study of radio that involved attending to the response of listeners).

Razlogova is one of a number of researchers who have reconceived radio and media history, invigorated perhaps by the concepts used to understand the internet and social media: user-generated content, crowdsourcing, convergence culture, and even the more passé term interactivity. What has become increasingly clear for scholars is that listeners and viewers have always been involved in the production of media. This involvement has taken the form of letters to the editors in newspapers, radio call-in shows, petitions to network executives about plot points in popular series, as well as public access broadcasting. The American audience has never been passive and silent; media has always been interactive to varying degrees; and audiences and producers have always clashed over media content, even though these aspects of media history have not received their due focus until recently. For example, in a recent article published in *The Radio Journal* and entitled “Exchange and Interconnection in US Network Radio: A Reinterpretation of the 1938 *War of the Worlds* Broadcast” (2011), Joy Elizabeth Hayes and Kathleen Battles argue that the audience’s response to the Mercury Theatre adaptation of H. G. Wells’s novel should not be understood as panic. For Hayes and Battles listeners’ reaction to this historic event “is better interpreted as the effort of listeners to ‘talk back’ to broadcasters” (p. 60). This emerging “school” of radio history valorizes the efforts of the audience to gain an authentic voice and the listeners’ ability to parley with broadcasters over content.

Razlogova’s book is an important addition to the burgeoning field of radio studies and a very useful source for scholars of American cultural history. Her attention to the listener corrects an omission in media history. Yet there is also a potential limitation to this approach if it downplays the decisiveness of corporate policy in guiding the negotiations between auditors and producers. For example, in the contemporary mediascape, Fa-

cebook relies upon users for content as well as for contestation over innovation. When the social media site—or broadcaster—is even reluctantly responsive to “talk back” from users (or listeners), it is also fulfilling a strategy that is integral to the branding of the corporation.

EDWARD D. MILLER

College of Staten Island

and *The Graduate Center, City University of New York*

DANIEL KATZ. *All Together Different: Yiddish Socialists, Garment Workers, and the Labor Roots of Multiculturalism*. (The Goldstein-Goren Series in American Jewish History.) New York: New York University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 298. \$39.00.

American labor history has been traditionally union history, with unskilled immigrants, women, and ethnoracial minorities excluded from both labor unions and labor historiography. Daniel Katz turns this historiography on its head with his study of one of the United States’ most important unions, the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU). Examining the ILGWU’s educational and social programs from the early 1900s through the late 1930s from a gender perspective, Katz finds significant militancy and a deep commitment to both socialism and multiculturalism on the part of Russian Jewish women who formed the majority of the ILGWU’s membership in the pre-World War II period.

Katz tackles the question of whether multiculturalism is compatible with the class consciousness required by Marxist doctrine to build a successful labor movement and seeks to reveal “both the multicultural roots of labor and the labor roots of multiculturalism” (p. 7). He argues that Jewish socialist feminists sought to build a different kind of labor movement that was sensitive to the cultural differences of workers, what Katz calls mutual culturalism. This mutual culturalism was initially successful in attracting non-Jewish workers, particularly Italians and later African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Latinas, to a socialist labor movement before it was weakened by male union leaders who were more interested in stabilizing union strength than in fostering working-class consciousness.

The book is organized in three parts. Part one looks at the ideological origins of social unionism, or multiculturalism in a union context, among Russian Jewish immigrants in the early twentieth century. Katz argues that Jews’ Yiddish socialism was the foundation of their multiculturalism and willingness to build coalitions with other ethnoracial minorities. As the structure of the ILGWU evolved in the 1910s and 1920s, competition resulted between local unions seeking autonomy over social and educational programs and the power and authority of the international organization to dictate local efforts.

Part two argues that the strategy of social unionism allowed the ILGWU to attract and retain a diverse

membership especially after the 1909 to 1910 shirtwaist and 1910 cloakmakers strikes caused membership to soar. International office leadership tolerated local control of educational and social programs mainly to counter competition from the Communist Party after 1919, yet locals' programs were already strongly oriented toward socialism and labor radicalism. Locals' social and educational programs trained rank and file members for leadership and fostered a militant working-class consciousness through such group recreational activities as singing, dancing, camping, and athletics. Female unionists understood that members' socializing within the union fostered the trust and friendships that were necessary for solidarity and union strength. *All Together Different* focuses on the social union programs of Local 22, which was based in New York City and made up mainly of Russian Jewish women, with a large minority of Italians, and eventually Latina and African American members.

Part three looks at the decline of social unionism after 1936, once the ILGWU joined the New Deal coalition. Male leaders of the international did not need local militancy to pressure industry as much after the passage of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act because legal protection was now available at the federal level. The theater production "Pins and Needles," which ran between 1937 and 1941 on Broadway and toured the nation, reflected the changes in union ideology from Yiddish socialism to more moderate Jewish liberalism and from working-class consciousness-building to union stabilization. Female union leaders' militancy was curtailed in the late 1930s as radical women were cut out of leadership positions and locals lost power to the international. Before that happened, however, the ILGWU built a union that linked socialism, respect for ethnic and racial cultural differences, and a militant labor movement.

This well-researched book has several strengths, in particular the use of oral histories and interviews, both published and conducted by the author, which allow the activists to speak in their own voices. Katz's research at Cornell University's Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, which houses the ILGWU papers, and at the New York Public Library uncovered the importance of Fannia Cohn, an international organizer who forcefully articulated and implemented a socialist feminist approach to union organization and programming between the 1910s and 1940s. As a former union organizer, Katz navigates and clearly explains the complex political environment of labor unions' internal power struggles between locals and the international branches, as well as among socialists, communists, and moderates both within and outside the labor movement.

All Together Different will be a useful text for students of American labor, immigration, Jewish studies, and women's studies. It should also be required reading for any current labor activist or activist on the political left

interested in bridging the ethnoracial differences among the "99 percent."

CHRISTINA A. ZIEGLER-MCPHERSON

State University of New York, Empire State College

THOMAS A. ROBINSON and LANETTE D. RUFF. *Out of the Mouths of Babes: Girl Evangelists in the Flapper Era.* (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. 240. \$55.00.

Thomas A. Robinson and Lanette D. Ruff have identified an intriguing topic: the popularity of evangelical and Pentecostal "girl evangelists" during the 1920s and 1930s, when girls as young as three, but more often in their preteen or teenage years, drew audiences to revivals throughout the United States and Canada. Newspaper coverage of girl evangelists surged dramatically during the 1920s and 1930s, and from that fact the authors conclude that girl evangelists were both more numerous and culturally more significant during those years. Concurrent with the rise of child stars in Hollywood, girls and young women maintained grueling schedules as they crisscrossed the continent delivering sermons, publishing newsletters and tracts, and, in a few instances, practicing faith healing.

Most importantly, Robinson and Ruff assert, these "girls" (many of whom continued to call themselves "girl evangelists" until they were well into their twenties) contrasted themselves to the sexually libertine "flapper." Based on an analysis of newspapers, memoirs, novels, films, and limited archival records, the authors demonstrate that girl evangelists participated in the culture wars of the 1920s (and, less persuasively, the 1930s) and helped shape the history of evangelical revivalism.

This book expands what we know about female preachers and the growth of evangelical Protestantism and Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century. It builds upon scholarship about Aimee Semple McPherson, the renowned (and occasionally infamous) Pentecostal preacher in Los Angeles; the more famous girl evangelists such as Uldine Uteley, who preached to crowds of thousands at Madison Square Garden in the 1920s; and changing images of feminine respectability in the early twentieth century. Robinson and Ruff compiled a database of 178 girl evangelists active during these years, approximately two-thirds of whom were affiliated with Pentecostal churches. The authors briefly discuss how Pentecostal theology, with its emphasis on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, offered a non-hierarchical model of religious authority that expanded opportunities for women and children as preachers. By offering a composite analysis of the girl evangelists, Robinson and Ruff illuminate the extent of the girl evangelist as a cultural phenomenon and assert the importance of these girls and young women to the fundamentalist-modernist controversies that animated American Protestantism in the 1920s. Fighting on the side of the fundamentalists, girl evangelists self-con-

sciously projected images of sexual innocence that rejected modern women's emancipation.

Throughout the book, the authors make some useful observations. Although girl evangelists often contrasted themselves with flappers, many girl evangelists adopted the flappers' bobbed haircuts and dress styles. Robinson and Ruff argue that girl evangelists and their "handlers" exaggerated the contrast between them and flappers because the idea of a "clash of cultures" between the "risqué flapper" (p. 12) and the demure girl evangelist made for good copy and attracted crowds. Yet the girls remained committed to a spiritual message, not simply a cultural one, as they promised their audiences that faith in Jesus Christ helped them avoid the temptations of secular immorality.

Unfortunately, the authors tend to overgeneralize. "The 1920s was a good time to be young and talented—and a girl," they assert, linking the fame that increasingly surrounded girl evangelists to the popularity of child performers in the early twentieth century (p. 3). On occasion, Robinson and Ruff freely postulate without evidence, as when they write, "In a revivalist tradition, there is little doubt that many children pretended to be preachers at home in play, mimicking the behavior they frequently observed in their church" (p. 90). And while the authors found no evidence to support their theory, they nevertheless contend "There must have been some competition among the girl evangelists" (p. 102).

Robinson and Ruff may be forgiven for exaggerating the connections between the girl evangelists and McPherson, one of the most dynamic and controversial religious figures of her day. "A few girls" attended a summer program McPherson sponsored (although the footnotes list only two), and the authors extrapolate that McPherson functioned as a role model for "many children" who decided to become preachers (p. 96). Yet by overstating the direct links between McPherson and the girl evangelists, they miss an opportunity to consider how women of all ages shaped fundamentalist and Pentecostal Protestantism's gendered portrayal of the sacred and profane battles against modern temptations.

By demonstrating the prevalence of girl evangelists, Robinson and Ruff have enriched our knowledge of American religious practices during the 1920s and 1930s. Although the authors struggle to interpret the broader significance of girl evangelists for either the gender roles or the religious controversies of the era, they bring to light a chapter in American religious history that deserves further attention and study.

REBECCA L. DAVIS
University of Delaware

KIRSTEN MARIE DELEGARD. *Battling Miss Bolshevik: The Origins of Female Conservatism in the United States*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. 313. \$65.00.

At the beginning of the 1920s, female reformers seemed well positioned to carry on their decades-long battle to ensure greater government responsibility for industry and social welfare through federal reform legislation. Combining their numbers and resources in the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, a massive lobbying clearinghouse whose member organizations included the League of Women Voters and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, organized women handily secured Congressional passage of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act in 1921 and the Child Labor Amendment three years later. By the end of the 1920s, however, female reformers had lost congressional support for their legislative program and the authority to claim that their reform vision represented the interests of newly enfranchised women or the American public.

Why organized women lost political influence during the decade following passage of the Nineteenth Amendment is a question that has long occupied historians' attention and is taken up once again by Kirsten Marie Delegard in this engaging, well-researched study. For Delegard, the decline of organized women's political power in the 1920s is attributable primarily to the rise of anti-radical, conservative women who skillfully connected reformers' campaigns for peace and social welfare legislation to Bolshevism, the breakdown of traditional gender roles, and the weakening of American national security.

Delegard creates a rich narrative detailing how middle-class clubwomen, alarmed by the threat of Bolshevism and global revolution, began to characterize peace movements and federal reform measures as communist-inspired and antithetical to American ideals and security. Although these conservative women gained their political education through female voluntary organizations that included liberal women, they became formidable opponents of female reformers. Blindsiding women reformers who looked outward, not inward, for sources of opposition to their legislative agenda, anti-radical women masterfully employed the same rhetoric and techniques as their liberal counterparts to defeat organized women's peace and social reform programs and to move women's organizations to the right. By the middle of the decade, the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), for example, had transformed from a progressive organization that supported measures like the Sheppard-Towner Act to an anti-radical, conservative group that used blacklists to ostracize so-called "disloyal" members and to convince clubwomen and members of the public that peace and social reform measures were part of a radical plot dictated by Moscow.

Anti-radical women not only transformed existing institutions but created new organizations, most notably the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense (WPCND), to mobilize conservative women. Calling for increased military expenditures and a program of patriotic education for young people, the WPCND was a key aspect of the new political realm

that conservative women created during the 1920s. This new realm changed the direction of women's politics and signified the beginning of organized women's conservative activism in the twentieth century. Unlike liberal women, whose work was largely supplanted by the growth of male-dominated bureaucracies during the New Deal, conservative women were able to maintain their autonomy and influence in separate women's organizations. This allowed them both to safeguard conservative activism throughout the 1930s and to groom grassroots leaders like Phyllis Schlafly, who carried anti-radicalism forward later in the century.

Much of Delegard's narrative is familiar territory. Previous scholars have amply documented conservative women's role in campaigns against peace and social welfare legislation and their use of red-baiting to discredit female reformers during the 1920s. Yet, Delegard gives a depth and dimension to anti-radical women that previous scholars have not. Under Delegard's skillful direction, anti-radical women appear not as irrational reactionaries intent on destroying liberal women's agenda in order to protect their class interests but rather as complex and sincere historical actors who, much as their more progressive sisters, believed that their politics represented the best interests of women, children, and the American public.

This portrait is possible in part due to Delegard's location of conservative women within many of the same organizations that formed the network of Progressive-era female voluntary associations and her ability to demonstrate the tactics and ideologies that anti-radical and reformers shared. As she notes, "[t]he activism of conservative and progressive women remained closely interwoven, like the warp and weft of a cloth. By only looking at the progressive and radical strands, historians have missed the larger pattern of the fabric" (p. 7). Delegard deftly corrects this oversight by demonstrating that anti-radical women shaped women reformers' access to political influence, recast key women's organizations and the trajectory of American reform, and created a new political agenda for organized women. In stressing the importance of anti-radical women and red-baiting tactics to the defeat of liberal women's social reform agenda, however, Delegard underestimates the crucial roles of manufacturers associations and the influence of economic considerations on Americans' ultimate rejection of measures like the Sheppard-Towner Act and the Child Labor Amendment. Nevertheless, Delegard's book is a valuable and important contribution to the history of women in American politics.

JAN DOOLITTLE WILSON
University of Tulsa

MARNI DAVIS. *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition*. (The Goldstein-Goren Series in American Jewish History.) New York: New York University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 262. \$32.00.

Marni Davis's felicitously titled *Jews and Booze* begins with a good idea and ends in a solidly researched, well-

organized monograph. By investigating a previously ignored topic—the relationship between American Jews and alcohol from the mid-nineteenth century through Prohibition—Davis successfully underscores the way in which American Jewish history not only speaks to the larger field of U.S. history but indeed is part of its very essence. Investigating the trajectory of one group—diverse in religious, national, ethnic, and class backgrounds but generally united in its attitude toward alcohol—turns out to yield important new perspectives on that oddity of American history, the Eighteenth Amendment. Davis reminds readers of the long temperance movement that preceded Prohibition and then complicates the history of that movement by examining it through a lens focused squarely on the American Jewish experience.

This relatively brief text is comprised of three main sections. In the first, Davis provides the historical context for Jewish involvement in the alcohol trade, both in the United States and elsewhere in the world, and then examines American Jewish critiques of the nineteenth-century temperance movement. Noteworthy here is American Jews' recognition that the Protestant values undergirding temperance represented a threat to the non-sectarian nature of American civil life that they valued so highly. The following section explores the further expansion of American Jewish interests in the liquor industry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century mass migration of Eastern European Jews to the United States. In this section, migration is coupled with the concomitant growth of antisemitic discourse around Jews as purveyors of vices such as alcohol. While in some parts of the country Jews did become disproportionately involved in the liquor business, the accusations of monopoly had more to do with larger debates about economic stratification and antisemitism than anything else. The final section of the book documents Jewish bootlegging after the Eighteenth Amendment passed, and the communal debates over how best to respond to a new reality, in which the previous Jewish defense of alcohol was clearly not a winning strategy for an ethnic group seeking some level of acculturation. The Volstead Act's (1919) exemption of sacramental wine opened the door for illegal and unethical shenanigans but also reassured at least some American Jews that the law would continue to protect their religious practices.

Although Davis posits a break, or at least a new stage, in the experiences of pre-1880 and post-1880 Jewish immigration to America, she illustrates continuities of experience that shifted more in degree than in kind. As she points out, it was the American Jewish community's unwillingness or inability to change its longstanding attitude toward alcohol that came to represent a threat to its attempts to acculturate through economic activity. Her evidence suggests that economic self-interest played a central and crucial role in this story and almost certainly in the stories of other immigrant groups as well. As a result, *Jews and Booze's* contention that American Jewish responses to temperance and Prohi-

bition "refined their communal position on the relationship between religion and politics in the United States" (p. 43) might be claiming too much.

Throughout the book, Davis relies primarily on institutional sources, although she makes clever use of business records from across the United States as well. This strategy, while understandable and mostly effective, results in an oddly dry book, given the topic at hand. Still, Davis clearly positions *Jews and Booze* within one of the most exciting trends in modern Jewish historiography today: economic history. She also draws interesting connections to the equally hot topic of consumerism. Additionally, this book contributes to immigration history, both by connecting Old World and New World experiences and by taking seriously the great harm that antisemitism and other forms of nativism and racism could do to the communal, familial, and individual aspirations of newcomers to the United States. As such, the book deserves a wide audience for its creative inquiry and suggestive approach to American immigration and ethnic history.

MELISSA R. KLAPPER
Rowan University

SHIRLEY J. YEE. *An Immigrant Neighborhood: Interethnic and Interracial Encounters in New York before 1930*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 243. \$26.95.

In this book, Shirley J. Yee explores interracial and interethnic contacts in Lower Manhattan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By focusing on the "lived experiences and everyday practices" of New York's immigrants, Yee hopes to revise a historical literature that stresses spatial isolation and difference in favor of a more complex understanding of interethnic relations. Yee declares that her "main argument is that between the end of Reconstruction and the 1930s, national and local efforts to reify racial boundaries through Jim Crow segregation, immigration exclusion laws, and urban reform movements often facilitated interracial/interethnic social and economic relations" (p. 4). Yee's analysis illustrates how working-class immigrants of diverse backgrounds often crossed the borders of well-established ethnic neighborhoods.

The book is well researched, particularly in secondary sources; the author's argument is cogent and her style is clear. But *An Immigrant Neighborhood* ultimately falters and seems to be less than the sum of its parts. It seems rather to be a collection of loosely linked essays: the first three successfully advance the thesis of interconnectedness and backlash from the majority population; the remaining two chapters focus on the Anti-vice and Settlement House movements, which are connected by time and place, but speak of relationships that are fundamentally different in nature, rendering these chapters less effective. Moreover, Yee's observations, while interesting, lack sufficient heft to warrant attention beyond that of the specialist.

Yee recounts the formation of multiethnic house-

holds and families in Chinatown, and the economic relations resulting therefrom, notably in restaurants and especially funeral parlors. Here, Yee's findings are unsurprising. Despite her protestations otherwise, New York's ethnic neighborhoods were never isolated islands of homogeneous populations. Rather, because of the lack of other opportunities and an immigrant's desire to live among those with whom they felt most comfortable (i.e., most like themselves), New York's ethnic neighborhoods were areas in which specific groups predominated and thus took on an exclusive ethnic atmosphere. So it is unremarkable that mixed-race couples should exist and that, as Yee notes, entire apartment buildings on Mott Street might have interracial households (p. 35); or that Chinese restaurants would be frequented by a diverse clientele (p. 63).

Yee also traces the legal and cultural ways by which the native majority imposed an image of otherness on the immigrant groups. Here, the author achieves more success. Yee chronicles the legal and extralegal injustices faced by immigrant groups through a litany of discriminatory laws and actions: not only the obvious "Exclusion Acts," but also the customary restrictions on employment and promotion opportunities perpetrated by political bosses and their voting blocs. Indeed, were one looking for it, in this discussion Yee provides an excellent apology for affirmative action. Yee also convincingly observes how pulp literature and other types of popular culture influenced how these immigrant neighborhoods were viewed: seeing them as havens of exotica, erotica, and vice.

Images of danger and moral corruption in the ethnic neighborhoods provide a springboard for Yee's discussion of the reformers. Yee intends to examine "the ways in which urban reformers and local immigrant working-class residents together shaped race and ethnic relations during the Progressive era" (p. 105). However, the author gets mired in the minutia of the "Committee of Fourteen" and "Committee of Fifteen," and imposes an unconvincing gender bias on the discussion. More significantly, the author tells rather than shows that "[c]ross-cultural interactions were integral" to these programs (p. 136). A clearer and more subtle analysis of the diverse nature of social relationships here might have helped. Any contact across racial and ethnic lines is an "interracial/interethnic encounter" but, given the clear disparity of status between the native majority and the immigrant group, the encounters between the Progressives and the immigrants are quite different from the encounters between immigrant groups themselves. The apparently heavy-handed approach of the Progressives, which Yee describes, renders the interethnic character of the interaction less significant than the hegemon's imposition on the minority group. The author clearly understands this, given her description of the many ways the majority attempted to "reify boundaries," but she does not create a convincing argument as to how this facilitated meaningful interracial/interethnic social and economic relations among individuals or groups.

In the end, *An Immigrant Neighborhood* actually provides greater support for a more dramatic thesis: the conjunction of the attitudes and policies of bigots and do-gooders leads to a more stratified and less integrated society. Now that would be a topic worth debating.

STEPHEN GRANT MEYER
Northview High School
Statesville, North Carolina

ERIKA LEE and JUDY YUNG. *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xxv, 394. \$27.95.

Angel Island operated as an immigration station between 1910 and 1940, during which time over half a million people came through it on their way into the United States. It is often referred to as the "Ellis Island of the West." Yet, as Erika Lee and Judy Yung persuasively argue, unlike its East Coast counterpart, which served mainly as a processing center for European immigrants, Angel Island was the main point of entry for Asian immigrants and thus served as the place where restrictive American immigration policies that excluded Asians were set in motion. Rather than a monument that celebrates the United States as an open-door nation of immigrants, Angel Island is a sad memorial to the selective closing of America's gates.

The closing of America's open doors began in 1875 with the passage of the first federal law to regulate immigration (the Page Act). This was followed by the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement between the United States and Japan. All specifically aimed to bar Chinese, Japanese, and Korean immigration based on race, sex, and class. In 1917 the exclusion was extended to all aliens within the "Asiatic Barred Zone," and further re-enforced by the 1924 Immigration Act, which denied entry to all Asians. As a result, Asians were kept on Angel Island, often for months, while omnipotent immigrant officials with the intimidating attitude that one was "guilty until proven innocent" carried out elaborate investigations into the basis for their admittance into the country.

Lee and Yung, eminent immigration scholars, have both written extensively about Chinese exclusion and the Chinese experience on Angel Island. Here they have expanded their research to produce the first comprehensive history of the Angel Island Immigration Station to mark the centennial of this National Historic Landmark. Having meticulously sifted through thousands of U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service files stored in the National Archives and supplemented this material with oral interviews of survivors and their relatives, they are able to tell the story of all immigrants who passed through the island: not just the Chinese, who were the largest group, but also the Japanese, South Asians, Koreans, Filipinos, Mexicans, Russians, and Jews, as well as an odd assortment of other Europeans and South Americans. More importantly, they

are able to show how the station operated as an extended arm of American domestic and foreign policy.

The treatment of different groups on the island, the authors reveal, reflected the hierarchical order of immigrants according to race, ethnicity, class, nationality, gender, American sympathies, and American foreign policy priorities. Race was clearly a major factor, because even after the 1920s, when American laws began to restrict immigration from eastern and southern Europe, Russians and Jews on Angel Island were given better food and living quarters separate from Asians. Hardly any were deported, even if they were illiterate or penniless and thus "likely to become public charges," which was the normal standard for rejection.

But different Asians were also treated unequally, primarily based on their nationality. Chinese, viewed as people from a weak nation, were treated harshly compared to the Japanese, whose country was gaining grudging respect for its growing economic and military power. Japanese immigrants were detained separately in better quarters than other Asians. Their detention was typically short, with only cursory verification of documents. The officials only took pains to authenticate the claims of "picture brides" to prevent the entry of women with "immoral purposes."

Koreans were colonial subjects of Japan and people from a "weak" nation. Yet because Japan was the main competitor for power in the Pacific, American officials were rather sympathetic toward Koreans, particularly those who escaped to Shanghai to apply for political asylum in the United States. The restrictions for Koreans were minimal and their deportation rates were low. Asian Indians, by contrast, had the highest repatriation rate. Mainly poor and coming to work as farmhands, they were frequently rejected as "likely to become public charges." Even more influential was British pressure on the United States to restrict the immigration of likely subversives advocating for Indian independence. Only Indians with proven property ownership had an easier time.

The class factor applied to Mexicans as well. The majority of Mexican immigrants were laborers who crossed the border by land and were often rejected. The few who arrived by sea via San Francisco tended to be wealthy and passed through Angel Island with ease.

Another factor that influenced the treatment of immigrants was their immigrant community's ability to assist them through kinship or national associations in San Francisco or by retaining the services of skilled immigration lawyers. They could also bail out detained immigrants by posting their bonds. Jews, Russians, and Japanese took full advantage of such resources. The high deportation rate of South Asians reflects their community's deficiencies in this regard.

Angel Island skillfully depicts the multilayered interplay of race, nationality, class, gender, American foreign policy priorities, and political sympathies that determined who might enter the United States and who might not. The book also demonstrates the ability of immigrants to organize in ways that shaped the daily

decisions of immigration officials while fully reflecting the logic and values of American society at large. Few books accomplish such a feat. This is a masterpiece and a worthy contribution to a better understanding of the role Angel Island played in American history.

PETER KWONG
Hunter College

KIMBERLEY JOHNSON. *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age before Brown*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 326. \$35.00.

Studies of Jim Crow are showing a refreshing subtlety. Moving beyond consideration of figures like Bull Connor and W. E. B. Du Bois, who respectively supported and opposed Jim Crow, historians are paying attention to those in the middle of the debate, often white moderates. Sometimes moderates are seen in positive terms, as people who opened space for more radical reformers. For others, as with Anders Walker's *The Ghost of Jim Crow: How Southern Moderates Used Brown v. Board of Education to Stall Civil Rights* (2009), moderates are depicted as people who impeded reform. Kimberley Johnson's book adds important precision to the role of moderates. Johnson examines Jim Crow in three dimensions, for she focuses on ways that moderates' positions were shaped by Jim Crow laws and political reality, as well as how moderates reshaped Jim Crow. It is, as she says, "about how political opportunities can be created and exploited" (p. 9). In contrast with other studies that see reformers as the vanguard of change or as apologists whose modifications only made the system of segregation more viable, Johnson portrays reforms as pointing in both directions.

Johnson's other key innovation is to look at the role of the state in Jim Crow. We all know that legal institutions, legal actors, and statutes—which are often referred to collectively as "laws"—as well as social norms were central to the maintenance of racial hierarchy and the lines separating the races. Johnson peers behind the "laws" to see how specific facets of Jim Crow, like voting regulations and school segregation, functioned. She explores the role of "the state" in maintaining Jim Crow and also in undermining it.

The collapse of Jim Crow came shockingly quickly. Although someone surveying the world in 1934 might have predicted that legal segregation would continue for generations, its end was surprisingly near. Support for Jim Crow collapsed within two decades, in part because of state practices that undermined its political base or called attention to its moral and legal contradictions. Reforms such as limitation of discrimination in voting tended to undermine the order, for instance. At other times, reforms such as improving black schools may have helped to legitimize segregation. All of this occurred alongside other efforts intended to limit democratic participation more broadly. For example, many southern states enacted poll taxes that disenfranchised the poor of all races.

Jim Crow reformers encompassed many people, from

white academics who turned to scientific studies and science-based policies to politicians (often Democrats) who increasingly saw the value of appealing to African American voters. Other reformers were African American intellectuals who dreamed of a world where lynching had ended, segregated schools received equal funding, and voting rights were not limited to whites. Thus, Johnson moves outward from the first chapter on the movement against lynching to consider state economic reforms, often conducted in conjunction with the New Deal, and democratization in the white South. The next three chapters address the Jim Crow school system, which extended to colleges and universities. The eighth chapter turns to the "rebirth of black political citizenship" (p. 194), the culmination of increasing education and African American political participation (although it was not until the 1960s that African American voting in the South returned to the rate of the 1870s). In this era, the white primary was outlawed, African American voter registration grew in correlation with membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and African Americans' political participation increased nationally. The end of Jim Crow reform, at least as Johnston interprets it, came as many white reformers became frustrated at the increasingly bold demands of African Americans. The "sane and sensible" reforms (p. 226) they had favored released enough of the constraints that more radical change was possible. Thus, the movement for racial justice went from reform to protest (pp. 228–229).

How much credit for the end of Jim Crow is due to reformers rather than activists? The multiple regression equation that explains the end of Jim Crow probably owes a lot to both. Johnson's study establishes that reformers often had countervailing goals, that the state was central to the reform and support of Jim Crow, and that understanding how all these variables fit together is very difficult. We need to learn from this excellent book and its methods and data as we try to understand how social, political, and legal change occurs.

ALFRED L. BROPHY
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

KAREN KRUSE THOMAS. *Deluxe Jim Crow: Civil Rights and American Health Policy, 1935–1954*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2011. Pp. xvii, 372. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

Karen Kruse Thomas's story is not a new one: African American professionals—in this case, medical professionals—launched an indefatigable fight against Jim Crow, coming up with victories in the relaxation of race-based exclusionary policies in medical school admissions and patient hospital access. Recognizing (or, in some cases, celebrating) that black-run hospitals were on the wane, men such as Louis T. Wright, W. Montague Cobb, John Kenney, and others joined the New Deal and postwar hospital expansion movement, fighting first for parity within Jim Crow systems, and then for

full integration, as a condition for federal funding. In this valiant effort, they were assisted (or, in Thomas's version, often led) by moderate to progressive whites, many of whom were southerners. The denouement of this effort, of course, is the passage and implementation of the much-storied Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Act of 1946.

The strength of the book is its compendium of organizations, dates, and individuals involved in the debates regarding access to hospitals and regarding how much civil rights strategy should focus on advocacy for nondiscrimination clauses. In this regard, it compares well with the second volume of W. Michael Byrd and Linda A. Clayton's *An American Health Dilemma* (2002). Although Thomas published the better parts of this account in an earlier article, here she covers in even greater detail the intricacies of a short period of time, but without the context required to develop novel interpretations. Readers familiar with the work, nearly a generation ago, of David McBride, Edward Beardsley, and Vanessa Gamble, among others, will find Thomas's interpretations little different from theirs. This may be why the publisher did not require even a brief literature review within the work's four-page introduction. Even the phrase "deluxe Jim Crow," which shows up several dozen times, is more a catchphrase (coined by an African American newspaper in 1927 to refer to the persistence of Jim Crow even in modern facilities) than a genuinely new theorization of a specific aspect of, for example, the shifting political economy of medicine and race.

The outstanding weakness of *Deluxe Jim Crow* is its handling of the central question of mid-twentieth-century racial liberalism, something which has been accomplished again and again by a long list of historians and political scientists. Thomas's contribution is less a novel perspective than an application of tried and true approaches to the area of medical policy during the late 1930s through the early 1950s. Unfortunately, where one might hope for the kind of explication of, for example, liberalism offered by scholars of American political development, one finds a rather facile approach that tries to connect the dots between characters who individually appear, depart, and reappear almost at random, for the author to confer their liberal credentials. The test, unfortunately, is limited largely to the presence or absence of stridently racist views and/or the belief that any efforts to improve southern health automatically would improve the health of southern blacks, even if not intended to do so. North Carolina segregationist and eugenics enthusiast Clarence Poe earns the label of "progressive" for having "by the early 1950s . . . moved toward more moderate racial views" (p. 145). On occasion, Thomas sets up and summarily tilts at straw arguments, such as when she admonishes one scholar for having labeled a Duke Foundation Trustee a "racist" despite the fact that the Duke Foundation gave one dollar per patient per day to black and white hospitals alike. For the scholar in question, however, the larger and more nuanced point had been

about the nature of southern racial liberalism and its connection to institutional medicine. On the other side, the surprise for Thomas is that black medical leaders collaborated and compromised with liberal whites and some even not-so-liberal ones, pragmatically seeking gains wherever they may be had, even within segregated but improved facilities. The book offers a long explication of some black leaders' alignment with national interests while in pursuit of equality during World War II, a strategy identified in most U.S. history textbooks as the "Double V" campaign, but to which Thomas inexplicably makes no reference.

Perhaps the book's greatest weakness is its inattention to gender and its relative lack of consideration of, for example, nursing or maternalist politics. This is not simply a matter of a missing leg of the stool of race-class-gender; in fact, for most poor people during this period, health care was provided by women who worked outside hospitals, not the male physicians who dominate Thomas's book. Having forgotten (or perhaps not realized) this, Thomas throughout describes the availability of health care and hospital access as though the two were synonymous. Attention to the gender dynamics of health provision might have clued Thomas into the fact that many of the male "progressive" protagonists of this story were pressing not only for "civil rights" but also for the hegemony of institutional medicine and a share of the federal largesse arrayed behind postwar hospital construction.

SAMUEL ROBERTS
Columbia University

ETHAN BLUE, *Doing Time in the Depression: Everyday Life in Texas and California Prisons*. (American History and Culture.) New York: New York University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 326. \$40.00.

Tom Joad, the fictional character from John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), famously said, "Wherever there's a cop beatin' up a guy, I'll be there." Ethan Blue's *Doing Time in the Depression* makes clear that a stretch in San Quentin would be the sure result of such an encounter. Once there, Joad would join a rapidly growing population of new migrants.

Blue begins his book by documenting how mobility shaped growing prison populations. Poor whites from Texas and the Dust Bowl region accounted for much of the increase in California's prison population; Texas's prisons were filled with state residents recently arrived in its cities. This contrast sets the tone for other comparisons, many of them demonstrating a shared goal of reform. Both California and Texas implemented or expanded systems of classification, recreation, and supervised early release during the 1930s. Officials in both states described their efforts as "modern," yet older ideologies of race, gender, sexuality, and class shaped prison life. Prisoners hoping for early release in Texas relied on political patronage, whereas those in California applied to the parole board. In Texas, the system of patronage benefited only the few—mostly whites—who

had the ability to forge political ties. In California, the parole board demanded that those eligible for parole needed to secure employment, a Kafkaesque obstacle during the Great Depression. Blue is careful to point out that these systems were not capricious, as earlier historians asserted. Rather, each state's policies and practices were firmly rooted in either bureaucratic liberalism (favored in California) or in gaining the support of elite white patrons (favored in Texas).

The heart of the book lies in the author's use of a range of sources to document the complexity of prisoner experiences. Whenever possible, Blue shows how prisoners gave meaning to their lives and deaths through their songs, letters, journalism, and memoirs. These sources lead to nuanced arguments about differentiated labor regimes, the role of "queens" in dormitories and cellblocks, and the ways prisoners could turn state-sponsored entertainment and sporting events into avenues for self-expression. Blue captures everything from desperate self-mutilation as a means to escape the drudgery of the fields to the exhilaration of rodeo success and offers well-informed speculation as to what these experiences may have meant to the prisoners.

Blue disabuses readers who might be tempted to romanticize oppositional comradeship among prisoners by arguing that division and conflict defined prisoners' everyday lives. In Texas, prisoners worked on segregated farms. Only whites had access to industrial jobs in Huntsville's "Walls" Unit, a rare reprieve from the plantation labor that characterized the rest of the Texas prison system. In California, African Americans and Mexican Americans celled on the least desirable tiers. They worked alongside violent or resistant whites in San Quentin's jute mill and Folsom's quarry—the worst jobs in the prison system. Asian American prisoners worked with effeminate whites in the laundry, or as servants for prison administrators. Despite these divisions, there were some opportunities for camaraderie, even under the most trying of circumstances. When picking cotton or harvesting trees, prisoners dictated the pace of their labor through their work songs. Team sports, dances, and Juneteenth offered opportunities for celebration.

Blue pays close attention to the ways that masculine and feminine gender identities shaped many aspects of prison life. The personnel of the San Quentin laundry indicate that race, sexuality, and gender served as markers of power in prison. Blue discusses women prisoners only in passing (which the author justifies by pointing out that men comprised the overwhelming majority of prisoners in both states). The ability to sexually and physically dominate other prisoners became a key marker of masculinity. In California, prisoners who controlled labor and commodity markets (including trade in clothing, food, and tobacco) served as "con bosses" or "key men" who reported directly to guards and prison managers. Texas officials depended on prisoner "building tenders" to keep order in the dormitories. In exchange for special privileges that included guard-facilitated sexual exploitation of new prisoners

and easier work assignments, stronger prisoners served as proxies for state power by dominating other prisoners. In this way, Blue writes, prison authorities mobilized gender "as a technique of social control" (p. 10).

Doing Time in the Depression compellingly connects prisoners to the social, political, and economic turmoil of the 1930s. The weight of a prisoner's incarceration reflected and reinforced practices of exploitation, abuse, and inequality while disproportionately impacting the poor, communities of color, and homosexuals. Blue's excellent contribution to the growing literature detailing incarceration in U.S. history shows how the fields and factories of prisons in Texas and California compounded the period's economic desperation, racist state practices, and liberal reforms. As these institutions expanded throughout the twentieth century, the experiences of Depression-era prisoners serve as striking markers of the development of the power to punish.

LEE BERNSTEIN

State University of New York at New Paltz

GEOFFREY C. BUNN. *The Truth Machine: A Social History of the Lie Detector*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 246. \$34.95.

Americans love machines and the people who invent them. They also fervently believe in the human ability to fix what ails society. Reformers have ameliorated many serious problems throughout the centuries, but one problem has proved stubbornly resistant: crime. In the early twentieth century, the passion for machinery and desire to thwart criminals forged a union that produced the lie detector. Proponents claimed that even the prospect of being hooked up to a machine and compelled to answer questions should terrify all but the most psychopathic subjects. Scientists, psychologists, and police bannered the polygraph as "modern," incapable of error, and "objective." But the lie detector appeared at a time when social commentators disputed the notion of machines as solely a force for "good" and when advocates of reform and the mass media engaged in a frenzied competition to shape debates about crime. Geoffrey C. Bunn places the polygraph squarely in the center of this transformative period of history.

Bunn begins his story with the rise of criminology as a discipline led by Italian pioneer Cesare Lombroso, who, in the late nineteenth century, argued that criminals were mostly born that way. Readers unfamiliar with debates over criminality at this time might be entertained by what passed for "scientific" research. Proponents of the Lombroso school felt head bumps, measured facial angles, and declared that couples who conceived children while drunk were more likely to produce criminals. But scholars had largely abandoned the notion of inherent criminality by the time inventors began tinkering with a machine to catch liars. In fact, Bunn argues, the lie detector could not have been invented without this paradigm shift. How could prevaricators be convinced to change their ways if their be-

havior was genetically based? The notion of “lying” itself also had to be redefined, according to Bunn. Rather than socially useful for getting ahead, it had to be understood as an “unambiguously shameful” act that fostered guilt.

Both of these conditions were in effect when the lie detector was launched as a crime-fighting tool in the early 1920s. Members of a public already steeped in stories of real life criminals, pulp magazines, and detective novels were prepared to be awed and entranced by a machine designed to trip up vicious liars. But promoters faced a conundrum: they wanted to tout their invention as a product of science and objectivity but could not deny that it relied on subjective factors such as body language, facial expression, and perspiration. How media sold the lie detector given these constraints is the most interesting part of Bunn’s book. Writers emphasized both aspects; the miracle contraption possessed the personal qualities of operators and the clinical preciseness of a machine. It was, in short, a “scientific instrument that could perform magic” (p. 152). By the 1930s, the polygraph had become a fixture in crime films and police stations. Advocates still maintained that it was practically infallible; virtually no one claimed that it was totally infallible. The notion of objectivity, it seems, had gone by the boards.

Media attention did more than excite the public, it helped fuel an intense rivalry among the three men most responsible for creating the lie detector: William Marston, a Harvard psychologist; John Larson, a Berkeley Ph.D. and police officer; and Leonarde Keeler, a protégé of Berkeley’s progressive police chief August Vollmer. Each man claimed to have been the prime mover in the creative process. In fact, all three played significant though differing roles. Over time, writes Bunn, the men came to “criticize each other’s questionable ethics, illegitimate qualifications and grubby ambitions” (p. 131). Not surprisingly, each sought the limelight for himself. Both Keeler and Larson traveled the country as crime-fighting experts, and Keeler played himself in the film *Call Northside 777* (1948). In 1941, Marston developed a comic strip featuring a powerful female crime-fighter he dubbed “Wonder Woman.”

The reference to “Wonder Woman” comes late in the book and is somewhat jarring. Bunn presents lie detecting as the purview of men with decidedly traditional ideas on gender. From the beginning, male researchers postulated that women’s emotional and deceptive natures made them casual liars and thus good subjects for study. Photos of female polygraph subjects depict a power imbalance as men tower over them in menacing poses. Marston exhibited misogynistic tendencies when he playfully touted the polygraph’s ability to determine whether blonde, redheaded, or brunette women were more emotional. Yet one woman, Frances Kellor, played an early role in the development of a truth-telling apparatus, and Marston created a feminist icon who fought crime not with cold, hard machinery but with a golden lasso. Bunn does an excellent job of using the

polygraph to examine the relationship between science and popular culture. Gender proved a trickier, more elusive subject.

KATHLEEN A. CAIRNS
California Polytechnic University,
San Luis Obispo

JOEL ISAAC. *Working Knowledge: Making the Human Sciences from Parsons to Kuhn*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 314. \$49.95.

Joel Isaac, a historian of twentieth-century American philosophy, has written a creative and original book concerning the development of a unique view of the epistemological foundations of human sciences from the 1920s to the 1970s and especially influential in the 1950s and 1960s. Centered at Harvard University and culminating in Thomas Kuhn’s classic *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), this approach denied the traditional ideological conflict in the social sciences between hard-core scientific objectivism and a more humanistic, purpose-driven methodology. Instead, relying upon the history of science and the Italian economist Vilfredo Pareto, it argued that how one learns is equivalent to the scientist acquiring laboratory proficiency. Knowledge is not obtained through pure reason but with practical skills. Isaac defines his work as “an intellectual history of philosophical, sociological, and psychological concepts” (p. 6).

Isaac’s most original contribution is his explanation for the development of this perspective at Harvard. Even more than most American colleges and universities, Harvard reflects its location. Due to generous local financial support to some programs and not others, and an unclear elective program, some departments and even non-departments flourished while others were extremely weak. Management science, sociology, anthropology, and psychology were among the weakest, with psychology being part of the philosophy department until 1934. This vacuum was filled with what Isaac calls “interstitial” institutions—long-running seminars, interdisciplinary programs, discussion groups, and undergraduate teaching programs. This so-called “Harvard complex” provided communication between the disciplines and alternative perspectives. Some of these institutions included the Royce Club, the Pareto Circle, the Society of Fellows, the Science of Society Discussion Group, the Department of Social Relations, and the General Education Program.

First and foremost among Harvard’s academic entrepreneurs was the biochemist L. J. Henderson, who championed the economist/sociologist Pareto as a genius. Although Pareto’s emerging fascism eventually led to the dissolution of the Pareto Circle, his original appeal throughout the university lay in his theory of scientific knowledge. Henderson, a powerful figure within the university, controlled everything about the seminar from the weekly topic to the type of wine served. He permitted only those individuals who met his ideological approval to teach a class in the prestigious under-

graduate seminar on Pareto and the use of his case method. For Henderson, how one handled specific cases reflected the accretion of knowledge by a true research scientist and was applicable to all types of disciplines. Despite his lack of training in the social sciences, Henderson insisted upon his superior knowledge. In 1936, he and Professor of Public Health Edwin Wilson, as members of the Executive Committee of the Tercentenary Conference, rejected all the projected sociology speakers as "very poor" and instead turned to acquaintances.

All of the figures examined had some connection with Harvard; most spent their entire academic careers from undergraduate on at the institution. A few like the European exiles Rudolf Carnap and Alfred Tarski stayed for a few years, usually associated with interstitial groups, before joining other American universities or returning to Europe. While many theoretically oriented social thinkers appear, Isaac organizes his discussion around Henderson; the physicist Percy Bridgeman and his theory of meaning, known as operationalism; the behavioral psychologist B. F. Skinner; the analytical psychologist W. V. Quine and his advocacy of logical empiricism; Talcott Parsons and his goal of systematic grand social theories; and Kuhn and his pedagogical approach to the history of science.

Although Isaac generally praises the interstitial groups, not all succeeded. One of the most famous, the Department of Social Relations, formed in 1946 when a group of younger faculty sought to construct a single theoretical model of human behavior across societies. Doing so required universal definitions for central sociological terms like culture and society. Given a large grant by the Carnegie Corporation, Parsons dominated the staff and virtually excluded the junior faculty, who then successfully revolted. By the end, two opposing groups produced entirely different and irreconcilable theoretical texts.

Isaac not only understands his complex material well, but he writes extremely carefully about it. Ironically the most careless part of the book is its subtitle—almost certainly the press's choice. In fact, the period from Parsons to Kuhn spans only twenty of the seventy years covered in the book and ignores the most original chapters. Isaac does an excellent job of placing Kuhn within the longer timeline of the Harvard complex, especially his experience in President James Conant's General Education Program of teaching science to non-science majors through the case method. Conant's wife was L. J. Henderson's niece, and Conant, a chemist, also adopted operationalism; Kuhn turned to these philosophies of science rather than social context to explain revolutionary science. In this way, Kuhn serves as the culmination of the Harvard complex.

MARK C. SMITH

University of Texas at Austin

SARA M. GREGG. *Managing the Mountains: Land Use Planning, the New Deal, and the Creation of a Federal Landscape in Appalachia*. (Yale Agrarian Studies.) New

Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 285. \$40.00.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the American landscape and land-use planning underwent dramatic changes, from the formation of large national parks in the West to the development of smaller and more localized state and national parks in the more populous East. Sara M. Gregg's book provides a comparative analysis of the state and federal land-use planning policies of the 1920s and 1930s in the eastern states of Vermont and Virginia, where the Appalachian Mountains presented a challenging set of circumstances for land management. Gregg explores the earlier context of land use, management, and planning prior to the lauded New Deal programs and discusses the impact of those programs and the reaction they received at the state levels.

Gregg divides her book into two sections, "Origins" and "Projects." The first section deals with the existing conditions of land use in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and the Green Mountains in Vermont, with a third chapter detailing the development of land-use planning at the federal level at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first two chapters in particular are highly engaging, painting a detailed portrait of the landscape of the Blue Ridge and the Green Mountains, and the influence of individual landowners, both large and small. Land holdings in the first decades of the twentieth century in both the Virginia and Vermont Appalachians belonged primarily to small-acreage private landowners, who created their own rural communities but continually farmed lands that had been overfarmed for decades, losing productivity and creating an increasingly depressed local economy. Reformers and planners sought to create a more productive use for the land while assisting the local landowners with an improved standard of living, and additionally protecting the rural landscape, managing natural resources, and providing recreational opportunities in the eastern United States through the creation of federal forests and national parks. While the initial land users in both Virginia and Vermont—small subsistence farms with slight impact from the growing tourist industry—appear somewhat similar, Gregg demonstrates that reactions to proposed revisions in land use at the state and local level varied greatly.

Section two, "Projects," looks at the growing federal planning influence in both states during the New Deal decade. Chapter four examines the land acquisition required for the development of Shenandoah National Park and Skyline Drive in Virginia, and boosters and opponents among the landowners within the boundaries of the proposed park. In particular, Gregg's recounting of the eviction of Melancthon Cliser from his property provides a glimpse into the individuals affected by removal; Cliser was one of some five hundred individual property owners who found himself dispossessed from land within the proposed park. Virginia proceeded quickly with land acquisition for the development of a

national park, which conserved threatened natural resources while increasing tourism in the state. In contrast, Vermont moved more cautiously, using federal aid to develop the Green Mountain National Forest in an effort to alleviate the problems of farm abandonment and to augment the development of proper management of forest lands in the state. A final chapter, "Reforming Submarginal Lands," examines the differing experiences as each state dealt with the work of the Resettlement Administration, and the impact that the federal program had on the development of land-use planning. A brief epilogue brings the history of Shenandoah National Park and the Green Mountain National Forest into the present, highlighting continuing issues of conservation, recreation, tourism, and economic development throughout Appalachia.

Gregg's monograph received the Charles A. Weyerhaeuser book award from the Forest History Society for the best book published in forest history in 2010. It combines environmental, forest, and agricultural history with a study of the institutional impact of land-use planning and several New Deal programs. A critical review might request additional information regarding the impact of resettlement on individual families and additional visual materials, although the book includes a few photographs and maps. A bibliography in addition to the wealth of material presented in the notes would have been helpful for this reviewer, but overall, *Managing the Mountains* is an extremely valuable addition to the literature on the history of land-use planning and the New Deal. The book will be a beneficial resource for state and local historians in Virginia and Vermont, as well as a wider audience of scholars interested in environmental and forest history, the history of Appalachia, the New Deal, and the National Park Service.

TARA MITCHELL MIELNIK

Metropolitan Nashville Historical Commission

KATHY PEISS. *Zoot Suit: The Enigmatic Career of an Extreme Style*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. 238. \$24.95.

In the wake of the race riots that swept the nation in 1943, Ralph Ellison suggested in a *Negro Quarterly* editorial that "perhaps the zoot-suit conceals profound political meaning." But rather than speculate on what that meaning was, he lamented: "if only leaders could solve this riddle" (p. 301). Scholars have since struggled to offer solutions to the riddle. Why was the fashion popular among certain youth? Why did it seem to engender violent reactions toward the wearer?

The earliest scholarship devoted to this outlandish fashion read the zoot suit as evidence of Mexican American cultural resistance. That focus on the zoot suit as a particularly Mexican American phenomenon—which long persisted in the historiography—was perhaps understandable given that Mexican American youth were the principal victims of the 1943 Zoot Suit Riots in Los Angeles. And the first generation of published studies of the zoot suit came from Chicano schol-

ars who wished to discover their politics in their own histories, viewing the zootsuiter as a proto-Chicano nationalist.

Kathy Peiss, an outstanding scholar of popular culture, joins a growing list of scholars who seek first to ground the zoot suit within its *African American* context and then to explore how this fashion was transformed as different youth groups across the nation and across the color line embraced it. But her approach sets her apart from the dominant direction that the scholarship has taken since Rodolfo Acuña's *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle toward Liberation* (1972). How can scholars reasonably assert that the zoot suit was an act of resistance, she well asks, when little documentation exists about what its wearers actually thought about the fashion?

What can be studied is the range of responses to the zoot suit, and Peiss offers the most complete survey to date of lay and scholarly analyses. Her book is not so much a history per se of this street fashion, but a history of the meanings attached to it over time and according to circumstance, as well as the processes that generated such meanings. Her aim is to challenge the ways in which the aesthetic is often read as "politics by other means." Peiss does not disagree with the notion that style and power are related. Rather, her intent is to "put the political in its place—not outside culture but occupying less of the cultural domain than contemporary scholarship bestows" (p. 4). It is a historiographic corrective that is refreshing and much needed.

Peiss also provides a more global history of the fashion than has appeared thus far, and here is where her work is strongest. Her book progresses chronologically, tracing the fashion's murky origins, its early popularity among urban African Americans, its spread to other youth around the nation and the globe, its resurgence in the 1980s, and the host of scholarly studies devoted to it. Along the way, she offers subtle critiques of some of the scholarly interpretations of the fashion and the motivations behind its wearing, and shows that the multiple interpretations of the style reveal more about those who ascribed meaning to it, and their times, than about the style itself.

Peiss's work is always enjoyable to read, and *Zoot Suit* is no exception. That being said, this particular study seems curiously incomplete. As a subtle critique of how scholars have thus far used theory, the work is superb. Peiss is right to charge that many scholars of the zoot suit phenomenon have somewhat carelessly employed terms such as "resistance," "subculture," and "identity." But other than critiquing such imprecise analysis, the author advances no surer insight into how these concepts could be better applied. If the invention of an alternative language, mannerism, musical style, dance style, and fashion aesthetic that existed in contradistinction to the normative values of America at mid-century does not constitute a subculture, what does? Indeed, if culture is less of a political instrument than scholars assert, then what is a better way of understanding its relationship to politics? Peiss does not clearly

say. Rather, her thesis is that the zoot suit as a global phenomenon defies fixed meanings, and that the answers to the “riddle of the zoot” lay “in the very specificity of its history and in the constant proliferation of meanings generated by an extreme suit of clothes” (p. 191). This argument is well taken, but other scholars have made this point.

Perhaps most curious is that Peiss does not seem to take seriously the significance of jazz music. This is like studying the emo wristband or the goth cape without grounding that study within their music. The zoot suit was as much a part of swing jazz as was jive language and the Lindy Hop, and in the United States, jazz operated within the context of deeply entrenched segregation laws and social norms about how to adorn and move the body that differed vastly based on race. Jazz artists and enthusiasts defied racial mandates in mingling promiscuously on the stage and on the dance floor in an era when the breach of white supremacy threatened deadly consequences. Yet there is no mention of segregation in this work, and *Zoot Suit* contains only five references to jazz.

Notwithstanding these observations, Peiss is a creative and brilliant scholar and her book is a much-welcomed addition to the body of scholarship dedicated to unlocking the riddle of the zoot.

EDUARDO OBREGÓN PAGÁN
Arizona State University

HENDRIK HARTOG. *Someday All This Will Be Yours: A History of Inheritance and Old Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 353. \$29.95.

In this book, Hendrik Hartog examines family negotiations over the care of the elderly through the lens of court cases largely from the state of New Jersey. Focusing on the period between 1850 and 1950, he argues that aging individuals often used the promise of inheritance to insure that family members would remain with them, providing needed assistance and companionship. In a world without Social Security, pensions, or Medicare, relatives were the elderly's only safety net. But when an individual died and did not leave the caregiver the inheritance seemingly promised, or when expected wages were never paid, the courts became the stage for the most personal of family dramas. Through their testimony, those who felt they had been wronged described the extensive care they had provided and the sacrifices they had made in order to care for the elderly.

By exploring scores of court cases, Hartog is able to relay intimate details of the lives of individuals as they dealt with the harsh realities of growing old, or supporting others who aged. The suits, whether for overturning a will or demanding compensation for years of assistance, vividly reflect an old age that could be both difficult for individuals and demanding on their caretakers. Hartog's is not a story of age venerated or support given selflessly. Rather, it is a tale of economic calculations enmeshed in emotional commitments and lifelong expectations.

Hartog's history is best when he examines how the courts attempted to disentangle these competing factors. Judges were faced with determining when familial care reached beyond normal assistance and caused the supporting kin radically to alter their existence. As the author demonstrates, gendered expectations had a direct impact on such judicial decisions. While the courts were willing to agree that a son who stayed at home to support his elderly relative had experienced a “transformation” in his life that should be repaid through the assumed inheritance or compensated with wages, such expectations did not always apply to women. The notion that women did not work outside the home meant that they had given up little; as dutiful daughters, nieces, and granddaughters their care for the elderly was supposedly based on expected love and respect rather than economic considerations. Because society defined work as an undertaking that took place outside the home, women's labors within the household were often assumed to be their normal—and unremunerated—responsibilities. Even housekeepers had to prove that their attention to the needs of the old went beyond the norms that could be assumed by their position. As society shifted from viewing nursing as a feminine duty to seeing it as a profession, however, such labors became increasingly categorized as activities worthy of compensation.

While the concentration on legal cases largely in New Jersey allows for an intimate look into family conflicts, it also has its limitations. Generally, we only learn of the negotiations and sacrifices of those who took their cases to court. We hear little of the history of decisions, economic exchanges, and negotiations that took place outside the legal system. Nor does the author attempt to differentiate among his cases or provide an overview of the changing frequency of the suits or their differing resolutions. He argues instead that the court cases reveal the similarity of the group members over the hundred year period, regardless of their location, ethnicity, or background. Yet, by looking at the care of the old through the words of those who turned to the courts, he may be narrowing his focus to individuals who, as he states, had “learned quickly to use the vocabulary of rights and exclusivity of Anglo-American law” (p. 15).

Moreover, while the author asserts that he has utilized other sources on old age care such as diaries, oral histories, and statistical and demographic studies, his discussion would have had a far broader reach had he incorporated these materials more thoroughly into his study. As recent histories of old age have shown, the lives of the old and their families often changed significantly during the hundred-year span: elderly individuals sold their farms and moved into towns; household structure changed according to the location of the old and their assets; the family economy—and the elderly's role in it—varied considerably depending on class, gender, region, and ethnicity. In turn, questions of inheritance, care, and assistance came to reflect the social, demographic, and economic status of aging individuals.

Nonetheless, by delving deeply into court decisions and testimony, Hartog gives voice to those who are often silent in the historical record; their tales vividly speak to the difficulties faced by the aged and by those who provided for their needs. As we hear of careers destroyed, marriages denied, and childbearing postponed, the support and impact of present-day programs such as Medicare, Social Security, and assisted living—both for the elderly and for their families—become strikingly apparent.

CAROLE HABER
Tulane University

MICHAEL E. STAUB. *Madness Is Civilization: When the Diagnosis Was Social, 1948–1980*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. 252. \$40.00.

Madness Is Civilization is an account of an important episode in the American interrogation of the meaning of the self: the idea that the self is a social construct, developed among psychiatric reformers in the 1940s and 1950s and reaching its highpoint two decades later. According to Michael E. Staub, there were five stages in the formation of this idea. First, such figures as psychiatrists R. D. Laing, Nathan Ackerman, and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, anthropologist Gregory Bateson, and psychologist Kurt Lewin developed the idea that madness was the result of social influences. Causes included unhealthy familial dynamics, socioeconomic stress, and “double bind” forms of (mis)communication; cures included family therapy, group dynamics, and social reform. Second came the idea of “total” institutions, pioneered by the concern over “brainwashing” and “thought reform” during the Korean War, and worked into a major sociological theory by Erving Goffman in his studies of prisons and mental hospitals.

The third moment came with Thomas Szasz’s idea that psychiatry was a fraud, and that both the mental patient and the psychiatrist were playing self-interested roles. Szasz was a refugee from Hungarian communism and a classic liberal who believed in individual responsibility. Staub summarizes Szasz’s thought thus: “in the hysterical transaction, disability is used as a coercive maneuver to force others to provide for one’s needs” (pp. 104–105). Yet the same classically liberal moment also gave rise to the idea of the self as performative, later developed by Judith Butler *inter alia*.

In the fourth moment, the anti-Vietnam War movement generalized from the experience of mental patients to build a wide-ranging picture of an oppressive society and a corresponding culture of victimhood. According to the leftists who dominated this moment, “people’s difficulties have their source not within them but in their alienated relationships, in their exploitation, in polluted environments, in war, and in the profit motive” (p. 130). Ken Kesey’s *One Flew over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962) was emblematic of this moment. The fifth moment, according to Staub, was that of radical feminism, which accompanied and in many ways inspired a new therapeutic culture based on the repudi-

ation not just of classical psychiatry but also of Sigmund Freud. This, however, is the skimpiest part of the book.

Although the work is lucid and compelling, it suffers from an absence of contextualization. Staub never explains what the madness is social thesis was intended to refute, and that is Freudian psychoanalysis. During World War II and for a decade or so afterward, Freudians had come close to taking over American psychiatry. During the war, every doctor in the military was taught the basics of psychoanalysis, and afterward, Freudian ideas pervaded medicine as well as education, counseling and juvenile justice, religion, literature, and philosophical thought. At the same time, Cold War liberals took up Freudianism in the form of a neo-Calvinist, anti-utopian “maturity ethic” aimed at radical politics. Maturity, Philip Rieff explained, implied the acceptance of limits, suffering “no gratuitous failures in a futile search for ethical heights.” Freudianism, of course, stood for the idea that individuals had an intrapsychic life, which could not be explained in terms of their race, class, or gender. The social explanation of madness challenged this idea. The madness is social thesis was largely political, part of the history of the New Left.

Because Staub never contextualizes the madness is social thesis he is unable to evaluate its effects. The attack on the idea that intrapsychic life had an autonomy of its own was successful, but was it beneficial? The 1970s witnessed a neo-liberal, austerity-driven move toward psychopharmacology and so-called results-oriented research. The medical model, which relies on diagnoses based on observable behaviors, replaced the Freudian reliance on a phenomenological and interpretive psychology. Scientists like Eric Kandel believe today that brain research is an adequate basis for a theory of the mind, but there is no scientific or philosophical foundation for this claim. Would it not have been possible for psychoanalysis and brain research both to have been pursued?

In addition, Freudianism was closely linked to critical thought, so its demolition contributed to the triumph of rational choice in neo-classical economics, political science, and sociology. In many ways, that was a cold, rationalistic victory, which is now being questioned. As to feminism, no one doubts its overall contribution to human emancipation, but it is not so clear that its attack on Freud was either justified or wise. For example, Staub never takes up the charge made by Juliet Mitchell, in *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* (1974), that the feminist critics of Freud had gotten “rid of mental life.” “It all actually happens . . . there is no other sort of reality than social reality.”

Nonetheless, this is an important book that should be read by all students of recent U.S. history. The relationship between social conditions, including culture, and individual psychology is central to modern political thought, bearing on such issues as the efficacy of the welfare state, the balance between entitlement and responsibility, and the meaning of freedom itself. Staub

has described an important moment in that relationship.

ELI ZARETSKY
The New School

JOANNA L. GROSSMAN and LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN. *Inside the Castle: Law and the Family in Twentieth Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 443. \$35.00.

This book is a highly readable and informative overview of the changes in family law between 1900 and the first decade of the twenty-first century. It does not present an overarching normative theory of family law or provide a road map for the future. The authors' basic assumption is that "[Family law] does not evolve according to some mysterious inner program, it grows and decays and shifts and fidgets in line with what is happening in the larger society" (p. 2). The book ends with a short conclusion titled, "Into the Void," which emphasizes the impossibility of predicting the future. Joanna L. Grossman and Lawrence M. Friedman make clear that their objective is to describe recent changes in family law and to seek explanations not in theory but in history and social context. If you are looking for path-breaking archival research or bold reform proposals, you will be disappointed. But if you are looking for a book that is aimed at a wide readership, tells a complex story in breezy and accessible language, is packed with human interest and historical and cultural detail, and provides generous but discrete endnotes that can be mined for additional information, *Inside the Castle* is a perfect choice.

The book is divided into four parts that roughly track the sequence of middle-class families' involvement with the law: "Tying the Knot: Marriages and Promises to Marry"; "Anything Goes: Love and Romance in a Permissive Age"; "When the Music Stops: Dissolving a Marriage and the Aftermath"; and "The Old and the New Generation." Topics covered include common law and ceremonial marriage, breach of promise, cohabitation and the sexual revolution, same-sex relationships, the process and economics of divorce including its effects on children, elder law, intergenerational rights and duties, inheritance, and adoption. In this book, history and social context are equal partners with law. The authors often begin a chapter with a case or social fact that serves to highlight the breathtaking scope of changes in social and cultural mores. For example, the chapter on "The Rise of Sexual Freedom" begins by describing a flurry of recent cases that ask whether the U.S. Constitution protects an individual's right to purchase, promote, or use sex toys. Remarkably, some courts have answered yes. Such a question, not to mention such an answer, would have been inconceivable to the strict sexual moralists of the Progressive era where the story begins.

Grossman and Friedman identify recurring themes and influences, including the decline of the traditional family based on blood and marriage, technological

changes in contraception and reproduction, the mobility of the nuclear family and decline of the extended family, the growing role of government in supporting and regulating family life, the rise of the middle class, and the movement for gender equality in work and family. None of these alone can explain changes in the law, but all play a role.

Writing about family law in the United States is a tricky project because the laws vary widely from state to state and from region to region. The authors describe actual cases from different states to convey this complexity and diversity. The tactic, borrowed from the tradition of law school case books, helps convey the reality of state-to-state variation while giving concrete examples of how the law operates in real people's lives. The authors portray the law accurately and make complex legal issues simple without oversimplifying them. Occasionally, this reviewer found a familiar case so condensed that pivotal facts were missing, but overall the attempt to pack a century of law into 300 pages of text was successful.

Inside the Castle also does a skillful job of showing how Supreme Court opinions on constitutional law, due to their nationwide effects and the fact that they cannot be overruled through the democratic process, can crystallize or complicate a moment of social change. The most famous example is *Roe v. Wade* (1973), but the chapters discussing parentage, gender equality, interracial marriage, and same-sex relationships provide other vivid examples of how the Supreme Court as an institution influences as well as follows the social and cultural trends reflected in family law.

The book under review, while not pathbreaking either as law or as history, does what it sets out to do. It provides a comprehensive, engaging, accurate, and intriguing account of a century of almost unimaginable change. It will be of interest to a wide variety of readers, from students to people who love a good read about an important topic. As the authors point out, we are all members of a family and all touched by family law.

BARBARA BENNETT WOODHOUSE
Emory University Law School

JULIE BEREBITSKY. *Sex and the Office: A History of Gender, Power, and Desire*. (Society and the Sexes in the Modern World.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 359. \$38.00.

Sex and the Office adds depth and texture to scholarship on gender and white-collar work. The question for Julie Berebitsky is not whether sex existed at the office (it did), but what sex at the office meant to the men and women who worked there. Berebitsky answers this question by drawing on a rich array of advice columns, advertisements, cartoons, surveys, newspapers, magazines, movies, and court records. She argues that the gender-integrated office has been "a place where sexual norms, ideals, and meanings were created, altered, and solidified" (p. 8). These developments gained significance as middle-class employment became increasingly

located in the white-collar office. Between 1870 and 1970, office work grew to become the leading occupation for employed women. By the end of the twentieth century, five million women shared office workplaces with seventeen million men (a quarter of all working men).

The story that unfolds is one of both change and continuity. Victorian understandings of sexuality informed relations in the first gender-integrated offices in the late nineteenth century. Men were considered incapable of controlling their sex drives, rendering them blameless for making sexual advances; women were charged with sexual purity, expected to reject men's sexual attentions automatically. Thus, incidents of sex at the office (welcome or unwelcome, rumored or real) could be construed in only one of three ways for women. Confronted with untoward behaviors the good woman must resign her position, thereby demonstrating not only her morality but also her ability to protect herself and thereby advance women's tenuous claims to white-collar employment. Those who did not quit, or who delayed doing so, were viewed either as vulnerable victims unsuited for the office or as unfeeling vamps intent on tempting otherwise good men.

The twentieth-century demise of Victorian gender ideals recast white-collar men's and women's understandings of office relations. The early twentieth century "new women" asserted their ability to police both their own personal behavior and that of men. The Victorian era's morally suspect office gave way to a white-collar world in which women could work in close proximity to men without arousing suspicion. However, women's legitimacy in the office "came at the price of carefully monitoring—even denying—their sexuality" (p. 48).

Then came Freudian psychology. The psychological turn replaced the asexual new woman with a sexualized modern woman who found herself, in Berebitsky's words, "betwixt and between" (p. 95). Women enjoyed a new freedom to act on their sexual desires without endangering women's place in the office. Yet, as sex at the office became normalized, women lost all claims to manly protection, becoming solely responsible for their own fates. Instead, men's access to women at the office emerged as a new measure of white-collar masculinity, offsetting managerial capitalism's erosion of opportunities for manly autonomy. This modern office added new tropes to popular culture: the womanizing man; the morally upright, hard-working woman who earns a Cinderella marriage to the boss; the evil gold-digger who uses her sexuality to obtain money or position; the slovenly wife who loses her husband's affection to his more attentive and attractive secretary.

The sexual and feminist revolutions, coming on the heels of the post-World War II explosion in white-collar employment, brought further transformations to the meanings of sex at the office. In three engaging chapters Berebitsky takes up Helen Gurley Brown's *Sex and the Single Girl* (1962) and the discovery of sexual harassment. The analysis of Brown's bestseller is a welcome

reminder that Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* (1963) was not the only revolutionary message directed at women in the 1960s. Brown encouraged women to use sex in pursuit of career advancement, recasting the manipulative gold-digger into an ambitious career woman—albeit without offering any means for protecting herself from the century-old problem of unwanted sexual demands.

Women's workplace vulnerability began to change only in the 1970s. Overlapping but uncoordinated activism by women office workers' organizations (challenging dress codes and duties as office wives) and second-wave feminists (challenging workplace segmentation and the glass ceiling) brought new perspectives to sex at the office. Berebitsky traces the popular and juridical reinterpretation from sex as an act of desire to sex as an act of power. Despite this modern understanding of sexual harassment, responses to high-profile scandals in the 1980s and 1990s demonstrate the persistence of a traditional understanding that holds women individually responsible and men blameless for all encounters.

There are some surprising gaps in this otherwise well-crafted monograph. Despite its centrality to the story, the physical space of the white-collar office is largely unexamined; it is not clear how changing and diverse geographies of the workplace may have shaped this 150-year history. Similarly, the types of behavior that constituted sex at the office and how these may have changed over time are never examined directly; the many illustrative examples are suggestive, but not definitive.

NIKKI MANDELL

University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

RALPH LAROSSA. *Of War and Men: World War II in the Lives of Fathers and Their Families*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 307. \$32.00.

With this engaging new book Ralph LaRossa, whose earlier work on fatherhood during the first half of the twentieth century broke new ground in the field, extends his analysis into the World War II and postwar period. What he finds is a trajectory that diverges, sometimes in unexpected ways, from that established in the interwar period.

In *The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History* (1997), LaRossa found that American men took an increasing interest in the day to day care, domestic arrangements, and emotional well-being of their children, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. In his new book he argues that with the mobilization for World War II the interests, identities, and experiences of fathers fundamentally changed. The war ushered in an image and ideal of men as protectors and providers—a perspective that remained, he says, and became more firmly entrenched over the course of the postwar period. His arguments about the importance of the war are made in the first and last chapters of the book; the

intervening chapters provide a narrative, often moving, of men's varied experiences between 1941 and 1960.

The book considers a wide range of established historical events: the stress of "relocation" for Japanese fathers, the familial separation and return of soldiers, the meaning of being a father within the context of the civil rights movement (on both sides of the racial divide), and the lives of men in the burgeoning postwar suburbs. The book moves easily through many different sources as well: longitudinal studies (especially the large "Sears Study"), letters, magazine articles, advertisements, autobiographies, television shows, and advice manuals. *Of War and Men* is at its best when it gives the reader a glimpse of the seemingly mundane details of men's lives: a squad in Europe debating whether a father should let his daughter cut off her pigtails; how a father taught a son to not "throw like a girl"; an anxious letter written in 1960 by a father to his college-age daughter while she was in jail for participating in a sit-in at a drugstore in Tallahassee. Even more gritty are the detailed discussions of how men filled in for mothers when they were ill, men's willingness to get up in the middle of the night for newborns, and their tolerance (or lack of it) for feedings and diaper changing.

The last chapters are devoted to the image of strength, forbearance, and discipline that informed the idealized father, the increasing differentiation between motherhood and fatherhood, and what LaRossa describes as the conservative outlook on men's parenting responsibilities in the late 1950s. Here LaRossa examines the differences between the 1946 and 1957 editions of Dr. Benjamin Spock's *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*, parsing changes in drawings (which may or may not have reflected Spock's wishes) and shifts in pronouns. However, the most striking words in these chapters come not from a major cultural figure but from a man who wrote to an advice columnist about a problem he was having with his newborn son. He "adored the mite" and was willing to "work his fingers to the bone for him," but felt "silly" when required to push a baby stroller and got "red to the ears" when he ran into his boss while thus unmanned (p. 193).

LaRossa argues that an ongoing discomfort with the idea of masculine nurture was a product of the martial demands of World War II, rather than economic pressures of postwar consumerism, the rise of the Cold War, McCarthyism, or other political or economic changes. Causality, however, is not his central concern. The real value of this book is in its attention to the details of fathers' lives—when those lives both conformed to and contradicted the ideological separation of fathers from nurture. One could argue that the issue of fatherhood was somewhat peripheral to the major events described here. However, LaRossa's encompassing lens reminds us that for men, as for women, fatherhood was a deeply felt component of both lived experience and public identity—one that has all too often been ignored in favor of a totalizing view of men's status as soldiers, citizens, or workers. As such the book provides a useful

addition to a course on the 1950s, or a course on gender and the family.

RACHEL DEVLIN
Rutgers University

MATTHEW M. BRIONES. *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 285. \$39.50.

Jim and Jap Crow uses the life of Charles Kikuchi to explore interracial relations during the 1940s. Kikuchi was abandoned by his family and sent to live in an orphanage at the age of eight. He lived a multi-ethnic, multiracial life after that, from his young adult years working as an agricultural laborer through his involvement with the multi-ethnic Yamato Garage Gang and his time at both San Francisco State University and the University of California at Berkeley. In San Francisco, Kikuchi was put off by what he perceived to be the self-segregating Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans) on campus and experienced an intense identity crisis, deciding at this point in his life that he would be better off if he were not identified as a Japanese American. At Berkeley, he chose the activist career of social worker—instead of the more prestigious occupation of sociologist—because he wanted to be actively involved with solving social problems instead of writing about them after the fact.

As Matthew M. Briones notes, Kikuchi was both typical and extraordinary in the way his life played out. He struggled with racism, discrimination, and identity crises that seemed to typify life for many Japanese Americans growing up before World War II. He also enjoyed extraordinary opportunities, working with and befriending some of the most well-known social scientists of his time, and witnessing the wartime experience for Japanese Americans and African Americans in racially mixed neighborhoods in Chicago and in the military. Briones follows Kikuchi throughout his life to show how this one individual developed his own understanding of the complexities of race relations in America and the limits of American democracy. By the time Kikuchi had retired from his position with the Veterans Administration in 1973—having spent decades helping veterans who were scarred not only from war but also from the trauma of growing up in racially marginalized communities and sometimes broken families—he had developed a truly global perspective on interracial issues of social justice.

Charles Kikuchi is best known to historians because of John Modell's *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp* (1992) and Kikuchi's wartime work for Dorothy Swaine Thomas on the Japanese Evacuation and Relocation Study (JERS), but Briones provides a more complete context for understanding Kikuchi's life in its entirety, not just in terms of the Japanese American wartime experience. Briones succeeds in his efforts to move beyond simple analyses of white/non-white relations toward a more complex picture of interethnic relations. His book contributes to

the literature on Japanese American history by examining the prewar and wartime intellectual interethnic cross-fertilization of liberal ideas about civil rights and social justice. The wartime and postwar prominence of the Japanese American Citizens League obscured other concurrent political and social threads of Japanese American history. Briones opens up doors for further research into multiracial cooperation and activism from the 1930s through the postwar years.

Despite the scholarly contributions that this book makes, it contains some errors. The author relies too heavily on Kikuchi's papers. Additional archival research and a more thorough examination of the secondary literature might have clarified some misconceptions. In the book's introduction Briones acknowledges that he was unaware of debates over the use of wartime euphemisms to characterize Japanese American exclusion from the West Coast and incarceration in War Relocation Authority concentration camps until it was too late to make use of the information. Unfortunately, these debates over terminology are not new. In 1982 Raymond Y. Okamura published "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up through Euphemistic Terminology" in the *Journal of Ethnic Studies*. Okamura's article established preferred terminology, and his argument has circulated in academic and non-academic settings for several decades. More important are factual errors regarding Nisei in the military. The draft was not reinstated for Nisei until 1944 (the author states that it was restored in 1943), and it is incorrect to say that all Nisei who served in the 442nd were volunteers. The majority of Nisei inducted into the 442nd from inside concentration camps on the mainland from 1944 through 1945 were draftees, not volunteers. This error leads Briones to faulty comparisons between Japanese American volunteers during World War II and African American military service. (p. 208). The apt comparison is the involuntary nature of the draft in the absence of full citizenship for both Japanese Americans during World War II and for African Americans during the First and Second World Wars.

CHERSTIN M. LYON
California State University,
San Bernardino

DANIEL MARTINEZ HO SANG. *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California*. (American Crossroads.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2010. Pp. x, 372. \$24.95.

Between the end of World War II and 2003, more than 175 initiatives appeared on the ballot in California. Voters approved only forty percent of these propositions. However, as Daniel Martinez HoSang observes, California voters approved a number of "racial propositions" between 1964 and 2000. Nearly two-thirds of voters approved a measure that repealed the state's fair housing ordinance in 1964. More than sixty percent of voters cast their ballots for an initiative to ban school desegregation in 1972. Seventy-three percent of voters

approved a proposition that declared English the official state language in 1986. A solid majority of voters supported measures denying state services to "illegal aliens" in 1994 and eliminating state affirmative action programs in 1996. More than sixty percent of voters approved a proposition to end bilingual education in 1998. As HoSang notes, Californians' passage of these measures seems to conflict with the prevailing image of the state as liberal or progressive.

Proposition 187, the 1994 initiative denying state services to undocumented workers, has attracted the attention of a number of social scientists. Historian Mark Brilliant, in *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941–1978* (2010), carefully examined the campaigns surrounding a 1946 fair employment practices initiative and Proposition 14, the 1964 measure that repealed the Rumford Fair Housing Act. The other racial propositions have largely escaped the scrutiny of historians. HoSang's interpretation complements and complicates Brilliant's analysis by exploring the connections among the campaigns in 1946 and 1964 and those in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Drawing upon a careful reading of campaign literature, analysis of newspaper articles and editorials, and interviews with veterans of some of these campaigns, HoSang successfully challenges the "backlash theory," which suggests that racial liberals failed in their efforts to remake U.S. society because many Americans, particularly members of the white working class, rejected liberalism.

HoSang's careful examination of historical source material reveals that we should not attribute the success of Proposition 14 to a populist backlash against fair housing laws. He notes that there was no serious grassroots opposition to the Rumford Act when it passed in 1963. In its successful effort to place an initiative on the ballot and its campaign in support of Proposition 14, the California Real Estate Association demonstrated the efficacy of a political subjectivity that HoSang describes as "political whiteness," which operates through "claims to protect 'our rights,' 'our jobs,' 'our homes,' 'our kids,' 'our streets,' and even 'our state' that never mention race but are addressed to racialized subjects" (pp. 20–21). Real estate agents carefully avoided defenses of racial discrimination and argued that they were working to restore a property right of individuals that had been usurped by the state government. Although the official campaign against Proposition 14 suggested that the initiative would "legalize hate," such statements did not seem to describe accurately the proponents of the measure, whose rhetoric suggested that they hated power-hungry bureaucrats, not members of racial minority groups. Moreover, the leaders never mounted an affirmative defense of fair housing legislation, and they did not build an inclusive campaign against the measure.

HoSang shows that the patterns that first emerged in the 1964 campaign resurfaced throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The sponsor of the 1972 measure designed to end busing to achieve school desegregation,

for example, argued that his initiative would “restore freedom of choice,” a “freedom” that was available only to white parents. Like the opponents of Proposition 14, the liberal opponents of Proposition 187, the 1994 initiative that denied services to undocumented immigrants, did not mount an affirmative defense of immigrants. Instead, they agreed with the measure’s sponsors that immigration was a problem but argued that the initiative went “too far.” Mainstream opponents of Proposition 209, the 1996 measure that eliminated affirmative action, accused the initiative’s supporters of racism. This charge, however, was blunted by University of California Regent Ward Connerly’s insistence that Proposition 209 simply reflected a commitment to fairness.

California voters seem to have rejected appeals to political whiteness in 2003, when they refused to approve a “racial privacy” initiative that would have prevented the state from collecting any racial data. However, HoSang argues that voters probably rejected the initiative because of all the attention focused on the recall of Governor Gray Davis.

The broad chronological scope of HoSang’s book means that he only partially explores a number of questions. For example, HoSang does not effectively explain why California Democrats such as Senator Dianne Feinstein launched attacks on undocumented immigrants in the 1990s. Moreover, HoSang generally provides more information about the proponents of these racial propositions than he does about their opponents. Although some readers may wish for more information, HoSang’s important book demolishes the backlash theory and effectively challenges narratives that depict white supremacy as static and doomed to eradication by progress.

KEVIN ALLEN LEONARD
Western Washington University

SARAH S. ELKIND. *How Local Politics Shape Federal Policy: Business, Power, and the Environment in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*. (The Luther H. Hodges Jr. and Luther H. Hodges Sr. Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 267. \$45.00.

Over the last two decades historians have written enough books about Los Angeles to fill a small, poorly funded municipal library. These scholars have emphasized LA’s role in birthing the dominant conservative political ideologies of the late twentieth century, with many also integrating the city’s peculiar environment and geography into their stories. Sarah S. Elkind’s new book adds significantly to ongoing discussions about politics and place but also emphasizes business and policy history. Readers will find no fine-grained portraits of disgruntled conservatives here. Instead, Elkind’s carefully researched and convincingly argued study explains how local business groups relentlessly positioned themselves as representatives of the public good in a series of environmental debates during the first half of

the twentieth century. Ultimately these local groups would profoundly shape federal policies to their own liking while helping to embed anti-statist rhetoric into U.S. political culture.

Elkind uses iconic and long-standing disputes over land and resources to show how Los Angeles business groups made themselves de facto representatives of the public interest. Chapter one begins, appropriately, at the beach. Between 1920 and 1950 *Angelenos* struggled over whether the shoreline should be defined as public amenity or private resource. As people flooded into the Golden State, the privately developed and oil-company-dominated beaches provided a stage on which local business groups first developed their political legitimacy during the challenge to shoreline industry. Although the cause was popular among *Angelenos* and seemingly in the public interest, Elkind argues that the struggle led to increased exclusion of African Americans and the beginning of an “eclipse of Progressive Era faith in government” that only accelerated during the Cold War (p. 20). In time business groups like the Shoreline Planning Association (SPA) became the most dependable sources of plans, studies, and organized opinion when government officials needed them. Its ability to respond with data, Elkin argues, “permitted the SPA to write its influence into state legislation” (p. 50).

Chapters two and three elaborate on the growing influence of non-governmental planning groups, analyzing their role in debates over the problems of air pollution after World War II and the issue of flood control. With these chapters Elkind provides more evidence of the basic pattern of influence, but begins to show how the role that business groups honed in local environmental disputes began to interface with and ultimately shape federal policy. In particular, Elkind draws from the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce and Army Corps of Engineers Collections to explain how business groups worked with federal agencies on crafting plans for the Whittier Narrows Dam. Elkind’s point is not necessarily to show bad environmental outcomes or ill-planned projects, but rather to demonstrate the ways in which local businesses and federal agencies circumscribed political participation. “As in air pollution,” she writes, “in flood control the key decision makers chose which groups they would include in policy debates and marginalized their opposition” (p. 87).

In chapter four Elkind shows how the pattern of power and influence achieved on the local level took on a broader reach, although in new forms, in the debate over public versus private power during the 1920s. In an intricate discussion of the decades-long debate over the Boulder Dam Project (Hoover Dam), Elkind explains how Southern California Edison fought the dam project tooth and nail in the name of state’s rights and private power, only to swoop in at the end to gain lucrative contracts. The ultimate legislation that emerged “was trumpeted as the acme of public private cooperation, rather than a stinging defeat of the public power movement” (p. 120). She argues that historians of this epi-

sode have tended to downplay Edison's direct influence in the debate, making their involvement seem more "incidental than it was" (p. 145). In a final chapter entitled "The Triumph of Localism," Elkind closes her story in the 1950s with a discussion of the ill-fated President's Water Resources Policy Commission (PWRPC). The PWRPC proposed nationwide water planning after World War II, a response to the rapid, haphazard development that had taken place during the war. According to Elkind the failure of the PWRPC rested on the essential postwar paradox: "Americans continued to see federal programs as essential to their own communities even as they feared federal spending in general as a threat to free enterprise and democracy" (p. 150). Ultimately she argues that the water policy debate revealed a postwar definition of "democracy grounded not in an equal consideration of all public values" but rather "a weak central government that served the needs and desires of local powerbrokers" (p. 177).

The insight at the core of this book—that business interests, especially in the West, shaped public policy—may seem familiar. But Elkind lays out in precise detail how that influence built over time. Los Angeles powerbrokers learned early to shape public opinion, to control the flow of federal money, and to maintain persistent (and somewhat disingenuous) anti-big government rhetoric. Elkind also explains how the region's particular environmental context drove many of these developments. Her clear-eyed and methodical explanation is necessary reading for scholars of the U.S. West and the environment, and for anyone who hopes to understand how well-organized business groups have shaped American political culture and the American landscape.

JEFFREY C. SANDERS
Washington State University

TOMIKO BROWN-NAGIN. *Courage to Dissent: Atlanta and the Long History of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 578. \$34.95.

Race and class have been at the center of the Atlanta black elite's pursuit of power and accommodation since the late nineteenth century. This was especially true in the wake of the Atlanta riot of 1906. Austin T. Walden, an outspoken student activist and a pioneering black attorney from rural Georgia, merged the lessons of caution, negotiation, and avoidance of rural white violence with the black elite's ongoing hope of sharing public policy decision making with their white counterparts. By the mid-twentieth century Walden's pathbreaking legal career had made him an instrumental participant in that process.

By negotiating change pragmatically while preserving the established institutions of segregation, Walden came to reflect the aims of the black elite, real estate, and education establishments with regard to their white counterparts. Walden and Atlanta's black elite embraced the civil rights movement in part because it provided access to the power sharing denied them during

segregation. They capitalized on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) post-World War II successful legal challenges to white supremacy and segregation as long as they did not disturb the local status quo. The NAACP's legal victories and the black elite's pragmatic civil rights policy based on negotiation while avoiding litigation transformed black and white elite power relations in Atlanta.

Tomiko Brown-Nagin's book is a focused case study aimed at the legal profession. Brown-Nagin asks lawyers, especially social activists, to listen to their clients, think outside the box, and never assume that legal advocates have cornered the market on knowledge of how to promote social change. She argues that lawyers were both a help and hindrance in defining civil rights in Atlanta and nationally. Their ability to understand the importance of local conditions as well as agendas external to local circumstances requires attorneys to be flexible and ready to strategize beyond the boundaries of traditional legal thinking.

The book is also a history of change over time regarding race and class, segregation versus desegregation, conflicting and changing agendas, generational shifts, competing visions about voting and power, frustration with the pace of change, trust and distrust of judicial power, limitations of the Supreme Court's national impact, and the persistence of local black and white priorities that ran counter to national African American institutional goals as well as to black working-class objectives. These factors, Brown-Nagin argues, were more crucial in defining civil rights in Atlanta from the 1940s to the end of the 1970s than the litigation aims of the NAACP.

Courage to Dissent also outlines the evolution of Atlanta's black social activists and shows how civil rights goals changed over time due to the shifting priorities of each generation. Walden was an early twentieth-century pioneer, an almost solitary figure in a wilderness of racism and violence. For him, negotiation not litigation was the preferred strategy for achieving change. Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activists in the 1960s embraced direct action protest. Walden's strategy, the students concluded after several disappointments, represented the limitations of the law, which failed to produce real transformation. Direct action did bring segregation down in some areas of black life, yet, the student agenda in the long run failed to embrace fully black working-class calls for inclusion in the rewards of American material life. Student activists sometimes had a love-hate relationship with lawyers, but specific attorneys did assist young people in developing effective strategies. Lawyers also defended student activists who ran afoul of a legal system that protected entrenched segregation.

Class and local elite objectives to avoid litigation persisted despite student activism and lawyer activism in the 1960s. In the 1970s another generational shift occurred. Former student activist Lonnie King led Atlanta's NAACP branch, which under his leadership op-

posed busing to equalize education. The black working-class vision espoused by Ethel Mae Mathews embraced integrated education even if it meant utilizing busing to equalize public education and suing the Atlanta Board of Education. School desegregation in Atlanta became a three-front battle, pitting working-class African Americans against former student activist King and the national legal agenda of the NAACP. In the end, local elites of both races within the Atlanta Board of Education led by civil rights advocate Benjamin Mays, local federal judges including Griffin Bell, and elite white lawyers united in a coalition against the school desegregation suit initiated by the NAACP and Atlanta-based black working-class groups represented by elite white activist-lawyer Margie Hames. Determined that litigation would not triumph in Atlanta, local elites used the power of their class to prevent court-ordered desegregation.

Brown-Nagin's study reveals the fissures, contradictions, and problems confronting social activist lawyers during the triumph of the post-World War II civil rights revolution. This is not a pretty story of triumph and valor. It is a story of tainted heroes, new actors in need of recognition, and hardworking and dedicated people with a vision negotiating the currents of local social and political customs. It is also a story about the failure of the entire American judicial system to produce social, economic, and political change that could have made the promises of democracy a reality for working-class Americans.

GREGORY MIXON

University of North Carolina at Charlotte

CHARLES L. ROBERTSON. *When Roosevelt Planned to Govern France*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 235. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

It is well known that during the early course of American participation in World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt planned on an American military occupation of France following its liberation by U.S. and British troops. The occupation never happened. Moreover, as Charles L. Robertson shows in this short and eminently readable book, there was never much real preparation for it either, and when the Normandy landings took place, France quickly came under the control of the Provisional Government established by Charles de Gaulle in Algiers. General Dwight D. Eisenhower was complicit with this Gaullist assumption of power behind the lines as Allied troops advanced, which makes all the more curious the persistent belief in France even today that a military occupation was ready and waiting and that de Gaulle somehow prevented it. Robertson's aim is to explain both the absence of an American occupation administration and the persistence of the myth that it existed.

FDR took an immediate dislike to de Gaulle early in the war and did what he could to prevent de Gaulle from coming to power. But within six months of the general's call for French resistance on the BBC, de

Gaulle had a territorial base in parts of the French Empire and a nascent military force which he governed from headquarters provided for him by Winston Churchill in London. As an internal Resistance movement developed in France it rallied behind de Gaulle, and popular support for his rule as the alternative to the increasingly hated Vichy regime made him an almost mythical figure by the war's end. Yet Roosevelt did everything he could to prevent de Gaulle from coming to power, regarding him as an incipient dictator and a collaborator with the Communist Party, the support of which General de Gaulle freely accepted.

Roosevelt's antipathy to de Gaulle extended as far as keeping him in the dark about the North African invasion in November 1942. After the landings in Morocco and Algiers, there followed the famous Darlan deal, which allowed a version of the Vichy regime to continue in power in North Africa under the French collaborationist Admiral Francois Darlan, in return for which Darlan allowed the Allies to land their troops without resistance. This arrangement could not last, however, and when Darlan was assassinated in December 1942, an alternative authority in North Africa had to be hastily constructed. FDR forced his own candidate, General Henri Giraud, upon the Free French and de Gaulle, and the same repressive antisemitic regime in North Africa was allowed to continue in place under the Americans until de Gaulle was able to outmaneuver Giraud later in 1943. This precedent led to the belief that the Americans were ready to work with Vichy again in 1944. Marshal Philippe Pétain and Pierre Laval both were ready to collaborate with Washington after the Normandy landings in 1944, as they had done with the Nazis after the fall of France in 1940. But by June 1944 FDR understood the folly of this policy, and American forces were instructed not to work with any Vichy officials once on the ground in France. This left de Gaulle, the Provisional Government, and the Resistance as the only alternative. The Americans were unable to construct an alternative French administration from scratch, and the Free French had one in place at the time of the landings. FDR was left with the vain hope that an acceptable opposition to de Gaulle would emerge of itself when France was liberated, which of course did not happen. Stubborn to the end, FDR delayed recognition of de Gaulle's government until October 1944, insuring that the memory of de Gaulle's treatment by Washington would help to undermine French-American relations when the latter became head of state in the postwar years until 1946, and then again after 1958.

Robertson's book is framed as a kind of detective story, and it is entertaining sleuthing that explains why, in the absence of any real basis in fact, the myth of American occupation was born and has had a long life in France. But juries often resist convictions entirely based on circumstantial evidence. What requires detailed historical analysis is how the Free French and the internal Resistance merged and together captured the social forces of the country, making any alternative to

their postwar rule really unthinkable by the time of the Normandy invasion. Historians of France have done this, of course, and Robertson does not entirely neglect them; but he could have improved his book with more attention to the broad lines of the story they have already told.

IRWIN M. WALL,
Emeritus
University of California,
Riverside

FRANK COSTIGLIOLA. *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics Helped Start the Cold War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 533. \$35.00.

The title of Frank Costigliola's latest monograph tempts us to read the volume as yet another iteration of the familiar premise that the transition from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Harry Truman marked a decisive and ultimately tragic turning point for the wartime alliance of the "Big Three." In substance, however, the book is only marginally, or we might say by rhetorical necessity, an argument about the origins of the Cold War. Although the narrative is punctuated by counterfactual claims about what might have happened had Roosevelt lived, Costigliola wisely hedges and qualifies such claims. His real interest, and the strength of this work, lies elsewhere. Using interpretive modes associated with the "cultural" and "theoretical" turns that have belatedly and provisionally taken root in the field of diplomatic history, the book sets out to reinvigorate the analysis of high-level diplomacy in this period.

For Costigliola, this entails showing the pervasive role that emotions played in the wartime alliance among the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. The account is as much about the creation and maintenance of the Big Three relationship as its dissolution (FDR does not die until page 256). Within the rather baggy framework of emotions, Costigliola employs a range of related but somewhat distinct terms including feelings, personal politics, prejudices, ideology, and culture. Intermingling these, he makes connections between the "predispositions" of individuals and larger collectives of officials at the national and transnational levels.

The book focuses especially on emotions concerning gender and sexuality, drawing particular attention to the role of gender-reinforcing as well as gender-bending bonding among the Big Three, their advisors, and other key players in the diplomatic establishment. Race also figures into the analysis, albeit in a less theoretically rigorous way, largely involving reigning geocultural assumptions about the Soviet Union as an Orientalized other. Class, the other category in the identity politics triad, receives minimal attention.

Over the course of the book, Costigliola illustrates how the different valences of emotion played out in the Big Three alliance. At the highest level, we see how the ostensibly more vulnerable relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union benefitted from a

personal affinity and pragmatic understanding between FDR and Joseph Stalin, which served to temper tensions that could otherwise have given way to hostile cultural and ideological attitudes. By contrast, Winston Churchill lacked the personal charms of his counterparts. This, combined with his cultural prejudices, served to keep the Soviet Union at arm's length. The presumably more friendly Anglo-American alliance depended heavily on claims to cultural affinity that were compromised by FDR's contempt for British colonialism.

The emotions of these leaders' closest advisors also figure prominently into this account. FDR's circle, especially Harry Hopkins and Roosevelt's personal secretary Missy LeHand, receives the most attention. Costigliola argues that their marginalization took a personal toll on FDR in 1944 and 1945 and paved the way for the rise of anti-Soviet individuals after his death—most notably Averell Harriman, George Kennan, and Charles Bohlen. Their views were shaped by the stark shift from seductive soirees with ballerinas and booze to social isolation at the Moscow embassy. On the British side, the book follows, among others, Pamela Churchill, the prime minister's attractive daughter-in-law who had affairs with Harriman, Hopkins, and Edward R. Murrow. Causal claims aside, the book's rigorously researched behind-the-scenes analysis affords a rare glimpse into the centrality of socio-sexual bonding of all sorts in the Big Three's wartime and postwar diplomacy. In addition to being historically significant, this material makes for some titillating reading. The Soviet material is comparatively thinner but contains valuable insights into the justifiable desire of Soviet officials to be treated as equals in the alliance.

Contrary to the volume's subtitle, both those who worked to cement and those who sought to undermine the alliance engaged in personal politics. Against erstwhile critics who would argue that FDR let his emotions get the better of him while the Cold Warriors had the clearer vision, Costigliola ultimately relies not on claims about emotions but instead on a rational defense of Roosevelt's strategic vision. FDR and the pro-Soviet camp, he suggests, engaged their emotions in service of a sound postwar vision of global peace and security overseen by the Big Three. This de-emphasized personal, cultural, and ideological differences that might otherwise have gotten in the way. In contrast, by exacerbating their hostile and oppositional emotions, the anti-Soviet camp lost sight of this vision, heralding an era dominated by nuclear brinksmanship and global proxy wars. We will never know what might have happened had Roosevelt lived. Among its many contributions, Costigliola's impressive book reminds us that the emotional truths of the earlier Cold Warriors' positions will be forever undermined by the costs and scars of the conflict they helped to set in motion.

HANNAH GURMAN
New York University

ANDREW J. FALK. *Upstaging the Cold War: American Dissent and Cultural Diplomacy, 1940–1960*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2010. Pp. xv, 258. \$34.95.

This is a dynamic book with a misleading title. Andrew J. Falk wishes to address the controversial genesis of cultural messages packaged and exported during the early Cold War. At the heart of this tale is the assumption that cultural diplomacy is a process conducted by a variety of state and non-state protagonists, and he wishes to focus on the latter, notably the film and television industry: “By moving away from the state, one can see that cultural diplomacy is a messy and mutable process of collaboration and adaptation involving a variety of media. The story I present is a history of the foundations of diplomacy, of ideas and organizations” (p. 8).

The first half of the book (chapters one through four) highlights the motion picture industry’s encounter with political challenges arising in the context of foreign relations, notably the debate around multilateralism and the surge of anticommunism. Many “progressives” spoke out against the hardening contours of Cold War politics and, what is more, pointed to their own country as a nation experiencing harsh poverty, social exclusion, racism, bigotry, and proto-fascist tendencies. Falk retraces the rise of the “Hollywood Left,” showing how actors, directors, and screenplay writers felt increasingly called upon to make political statements and found themselves under public and governmental pressure to realign their political profile with the official line on containment. This contest also played itself out in a multitude of films (such as, for example, *Gentleman’s Agreement* [1947]) that infuriated anticommunists whose ideas on national identity called for a “sanitized” representation of the United States. By the end of the 1940s Washington had shackled Hollywood, incarcerating the most prominent leftists (the “Hollywood Ten”) and alienating others while opening foreign markets to those willing to align themselves with anticommunism.

As Falk explains in the next two chapters, those estranged from the movie business found a new source of income and an outlet for their ideas in the blossoming television industry. Because the link between audiences and producers was stronger, and because liberal censorship originally strove to preserve networks as promoters of the “public good,” TV shows moved temporarily to the forefront of liberal criticism in the American media. Of central importance, Falk shows, were anthologies, regular programs featuring a different story each week (such as *Marty* [1953]). These articulated the kind of sociopolitical criticism that had brought down the Hollywood Ten. It did not take long before Washington censors tried to clamp down on unruly television protagonists, but their grasp, Falk argues, was never as firm as it had been in Hollywood.

Anticommunism drove many individuals associated with film and TV into exile, a condition that must have

“struck many of the blacklisted talent as familiar” (p. 182), notably those who had fled from Adolf Hitler just a few years earlier. Directors, writers, and actors such as Lillian Hellman and Bernard Vorhaus either moved abroad or began working for foreign audiences in Europe and Latin America, where they sometimes gained widespread reception, positive reviews, and prestigious awards precisely because their criticism resonated with viewers’ ambivalent take on America.

This is a fabulous tale of cultural dissent, elegantly written, sharply analyzed, and forcefully told, that meshes well with the recent literature on media politics and will become required reading for students of sociopolitical conflict in the Cold War. Falk manages to show very convincingly how deep the cultural rift ran over issues regarding the United States’ place in a new world of new nations, new weapons, and new challenges.

Nonetheless, *Upstaging the Cold War* only addresses cultural diplomacy proper peripherally (pp. 178–211) and in this respect, Falk’s argument is lacking. In the final analysis as well as in the introduction, the author attempts to posit his dissenters as “cultural diplomats” who snatched “power” in the public sphere to reveal an alternative and more nuanced image of the nation to the world. Yet in six of seven chapters, the world hardly appears nor does the working definition of cultural diplomacy. Much of this tale takes place in urban spaces in the United States where people struggled over foreign policy visions but did not attempt to communicate with foreign audiences. When they finally did their principal motivation was not conviction, desire, or strategy but necessity. What is more, apart from individual biographies, private correspondences, and English-language reviews, the nature of their quest and impact never fully emerges. Falk may be right in assuming an elective affinity between repressed show biz individuals and European critics, but to make this point the book would need to lend more space to international voices and theaters. Because it does not, Falk’s history falls into the trap marring so many analyses of U.S. diplomacy. He mistakes American opinions for what actually goes on in international affairs.

JESSICA C. E. GIENOW-HECHT
University of Cologne

MICHAEL BOWEN. *The Roots of Modern Conservatism: Dewey, Taft, and the Battle for the Soul of the Republican Party*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 254. \$45.00.

In recent years, scholars have devoted a great deal of attention to the post–World War II conservative movement in the United States, especially the grassroots aspects of this mobilization. Less has been written on the fierce struggles between conservatives and moderates within the postwar Republican Party, an absence that may seem surprising given the power of the Right within the contemporary GOP. Michael Bowen seeks to fill the gap by exploring the polarization of the Repub-

lican Party in the immediate postwar years between conservative and moderate forces. Barry Goldwater's 1964 campaign, he argues, did not reflect "the rise of a new political movement," but rather the "passing of the torch between generations" (p. 205).

Bowen focuses on the conflict between Ohio Senator Robert Taft, who led the "Old Guard" within the party, and New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate whose victory was famously projected by the press prior to his defeat by Harry Truman in 1948, and who continued to exert power in Republican circles even afterward. Dewey and Taft came to stand for two opposing visions and strategies for the party in the postwar years. Dewey defined himself as a "New Deal Republican," arguing that the GOP had to shed its image as a throwback to pre-Depression politics. Taft insisted that the problem with the postwar Republican Party was precisely that it did not offer a sufficiently clear alternative to the New Deal Democrats, and that only a return to traditional laissez-faire conservative principles could attract the disillusioned electorate. Over the postwar years, the two factions came to view each other as the enemy. This party infighting—which culminated in fights over delegates at the 1952 convention that nominated Dwight D. Eisenhower for president—ultimately helped to spur the rise of a grassroots conservatism within the GOP. The intensity of these conflicts, Bowen argues, suggests the extent to which the image of "consensus" at mid-century was carefully constructed by party elites.

Most of the book centers on the period from 1944 to 1952 when Taft was a legitimate contender, with a concluding chapter on the Eisenhower administration's efforts to "moderate" Republicanism by purging conservatives from the party. In contrast to scholars who focus on grassroots activists, Bowen offers revealing portraits of little-known Republican insiders. Among them is Arthur Summerfield, a Michigan Chevrolet dealer and one of the major links between the auto industry and the GOP. Summerfield was an ardent conservative activist who admired the work of Henry Hazlitt and Friedrich Hayek, supported Joseph McCarthy, and wanted to encourage the Republican Party to "divest itself of 'me-tooism' and go to the people with a program clearly and unmistakably in opposition to that now offered by our opponents" (p. 88). Despite his own beliefs, however, Summerfield backed Eisenhower in 1952. Another memorable character is Perry Howard, an African American Republican who was a Mississippi National Committeeman and a loyal Taftite. In 1948, Howard sought \$100,000 from the national party to publicize restrictions on black voting rights in the South, arguing that the Republican National Committee should advocate a reduction in southern legislative representation in response to the exclusion of blacks from the polls. The moderates tabled this measure, and later, the Eisenhower administration excluded Howard from power in the Mississippi Republican Party, offering its support to a faction of "Lily-White" Republicans instead.

Bowen might have done more to look at the vitality and uniqueness of the moderate tradition within the Republican Party; his suggestion that Taft and Dewey were more similar in policy terms than their rhetoric suggested seems overstated. (Geoffrey Kabaservice's *Rule and Ruin: The Downfall of Moderation and the Destruction of the Republican Party* [2012] also focuses on the moderates in the GOP, but gives a fuller sense of their distinctive politics.) But the fiery nature of that rhetoric comes through clearly, and the book is most powerful as an analysis of the political impact of defeat. For Republican politicians and party insiders in the 1940s, the events of the Roosevelt presidency were nothing but cataclysmic. The party's long exclusion from the White House led to desperation, as Republican insiders turned on one another, each side certain that it alone had the right answers. This anxiety about repeated electoral losses played a key role in fomenting the bitterness of the conflict within the party, as well as in building conservative politics more broadly. In the wake of the 2012 election, the story that Bowen tells about the impact of political defeat on the conservative movement, and the split it provokes between a rhetoric of ideological purity and one of compromise and moderation, may seem especially relevant.

This well-researched and compelling book will remind scholars that even as conservatives organized think tanks, grassroots groups, magazines, radio stations, and other movement institutions, they also remained focused on the need to build their strength within the Republican Party. The story of how they did so must be an important part of any complete understanding of the development of conservatism in postwar America.

KIM PHILLIPS-FEIN
New York University

ROBERT MASON. *The Republican Party and American Politics from Hoover to Reagan*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 310. \$80.00.

Robert Mason's new book is an important contribution to a burgeoning literature on the modern history of the Republican Party. Like Michael Bowen, Vincent Cannato, Donald Critchlow, Geoffrey Kabaservice, and Timothy Thurber, Mason is especially interested in the tension between strongly conservative Republicans and more moderately conservative ones, and how that rift complicated the GOP's efforts to recover after the economic and electoral disasters of the Hoover presidency.

There are, of course, different ways of going about analyzing those issues. Bowen focused on the competition between the Dewey and Taft forces from the late 1930s through the early 1950s, Cannato on travails of liberal Republicanism as exemplified by John V. Lindsay, Critchlow and Kabaservice on the rise of the New Right, and Thurber on splits within the GOP over the civil rights issue. Mason breaks new ground by covering a longer time period (from the late 1920s through the late 1980s) and by focusing on the GOP as a national

political organization. Mason's analysis is strengthened by his sophisticated understanding that the national GOP was in fact a very decentralized organization, more a collection of state parties and other party-related entities than a truly unified institution.

Mason's research into the papers of GOP officials and close reading of the secondary literature provide the evidentiary basis for figuring out an important historical puzzle, which was how and why a group of generally well-educated, intelligent people, with strong ties to the information networks of the prosperous and powerful, failed to figure out what had gone wrong for the Republican Party in the 1930s and 1940s. The book reminds the reader vividly just how sudden, complete, and disorienting the GOP's decline into minority status was. Mason rightly argues that changing conditions on both the domestic and foreign policy fronts contributed significantly to that shift, which made figuring out a constructive Republican response even more difficult.

Among Mason's most important findings are how, as GOP officeholders' ranks thinned, in Congress especially, the survivors tended to be from the most strongly conservative GOP bastions of the North and West. That result magnified the voices of those GOP officials least able to grasp what had gone wrong. The rump group in Congress during this period contributed to a public image of the national GOP as overly hostile to popular New Deal programs and too resistant to intervention in armed conflicts in Europe and East Asia that in the long run threatened peace and security in the Western Hemisphere.

For strongly conservative GOP survivors in Congress, the message of their continued presence in politics was that an intelligent defense of 1920s conservatism could and would ultimately prevail. As Mason shows convincingly, this led many GOP officials to misinterpret election results year after year. Rather than accepting that those results reflected the popularity of some New Deal-Fair Deal policies, both domestic and foreign, strongly conservative Republicans instead saw those results as the product of political corruption, poor organization, and inept campaigning by insufficiently conservative GOP presidential candidates in particular.

In the second half of Mason's book, he explores the uncertain course of GOP revival from the 1950s through the 1980s. He is balanced in his assessment of what Eisenhower-era Republicanism did to and for the GOP, noting both the Eisenhower administration's popularity, which did much to rehabilitate Republicans in the eyes of swing voters, and Dwight D. Eisenhower's serious limitations as a party builder. Mason reminds the reader that only when the New Deal system ran into serious trouble in the mid-1960s did a lasting GOP revival take hold. Seemingly a rather obvious point, it is nonetheless a crucial one because it makes clear that the leaders of the Republican Party never found a wholly successful answer to their minority status problem during the heyday of the New Deal.

If there is one significant weakness to this study, it is the book's lack of sustained attention to the work and

perspective of the large and popular group of GOP governors during the 1940s and 1950s. They were the most successful Republican politicians of the party's "minority era," and more attention to them would have clarified what the party might have done instead, and why that did not happen. Despite this drawback, Mason's book is a fine one, which all students of the GOP since the 1920s will want to read carefully.

DAVID L. STEBENNE
Ohio State University

AXEL R. SCHÄFER. *Countercultural Conservatives: American Evangelicalism from the Postwar Revival to the New Christian Right*. (Studies in American Thought and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 225. \$29.95.

Building on the scholarship of the past two decades, Axel R. Schäfer seeks to provide a historical explanation for the rise of the New Christian Right (NCR). He advances three arguments: first, conservative Protestantism should be understood not as a monolithic movement with a narrow set of political, social, and theological positions but as a diverse movement that had to reconcile conflicting impulses, tensions, and contradictions on its way to becoming an important force in American politics and society. Second, the "notion that religious orthodoxy feeds naturally into socioeconomic and political conservatism" (p. 3) should be rejected. By examining evangelicalism's internal conflicts and political and cultural wrangling, Schäfer concludes that, through much negotiation, conservative Protestants were able to reconcile various theological and ideological positions within the movement. Finally, Schäfer refutes the "backlash" theory, which asserts that the emergence of the NCR was based on "resentment against the cultural changes of the 1960s" (p. 6). Instead, he contends that the NCR's strength lay in its ability to integrate the anti-establishmentarianism of the 1960s into mainstream society.

Schäfer provides an overview of the major interpretations of the rise of the NCR, critiques the "culture war" and "backlash" theories, and suggests a new interpretive framework that focuses less on institutions, theology, and sociocultural identity and more on how evangelicals interacted with the social, economic, and political changes of the postwar era. He contends that theological orthodoxy did not unite the NCR into the cohesive political and social movement that emerged in the 1970s. Instead, its rise to power can best be explained by the way members negotiated tensions and contradictions within evangelicalism to marginalize their opponents, and by how they built political coalitions with non-evangelicals. Furthermore, he maintains that social class, race, and gender are more important than theological orthodoxy when gauging political attitudes, voting behavior, and partisan realignment. Evangelicals, he asserts, hold a broad range of opinions about social issues and often do not coalesce around those issues.

The strength of Schäfer's argument lies in his ability to articulate the broader issues while explaining the delicate nuances of conservative Protestantism in the post-war era. The rise of the NCR is a complex story that belies a simple explanation. His two biggest contributions to the discussion of modern evangelicalism come in the third and fourth chapters. In chapter three he argues that the evangelical resurgence was not a reaction against 1960s insurgency or a "great reversal" from the social gospel toward "personal piety and evangelism" (p. 69). Instead, he paints a more complicated picture of a movement that contained a broad range of positions on political, social, and economic issues; identified with elements of the 1960s counterculture; and was hampered by internal division and a lack of vision and leadership. Evangelicals, he asserts, combined the theological orthodoxy of conservative Protestantism with the social action of 1960s liberals to appeal to a broader cross section of Americans. In chapter four Schäfer argues that not only was the NCR's rise to power not an angry reaction to the hedonistic 1960s, it was also not an organized effort to move toward a political goal. Rather, it was a process by which the NCR eventually provided leadership and direction to a Protestant movement that lacked both. The evangelical Center and Left were originally so divided that they failed to inspire the social action, political involvement, and "unified theological voice" that evangelicals sought (p. 112). Schäfer contends that this allowed "right wingers to occupy the arena" and lead the evangelical movement toward a more conservative position. One of the most understudied aspects of the evangelical movement, and probably Schäfer's most important contribution, is the ties that liberal evangelicals made with the counterculture in the 1960s. He maintains that the NCR cultivated these ties, embraced the insurgent impulses of the 1960s, and adopted the organizational tactics of the counterculture while drawing some of these former hippies into their orb.

Schäfer succeeds in providing a nuanced understanding of modern evangelicalism, and he "complicates the conventional Left/Right categorization that underlies many studies of social movements in the United States" (p. 155). His suggestion that the rise of the New Christian Right was not inevitable—that religious orthodoxy and social and political conservatism are not two sides of the same coin—is valid. A handful of books, such as R. Stephen Warner's *New Wine in Old Wineskins: Evangelicals and Liberals in a Small-Town Church* (1988) and Preston Shires's *Hippies of the Religious Right* (2007), have explored the relationship between evangelicals and the 1960s counterculture, but more work needs to be done. Schäfer's book is well-researched, clearly written, and cogently argued, and it represents an important contribution to the growing literature on the rise of the religious Right.

SCOTT BILLINGSLEY

University of North Carolina at Pembroke

HEATHER MARIE STUR. *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 263. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$27.99.

In contrast to much of the U.S. scholarship on the Vietnam War, which centers on policymaking, combat, and antiwar protests, *Beyond Combat* draws attention to U.S. women and gender ideologies in wartime Vietnam.

As many as 66,000 U.S. women served in Vietnam in military and civilian capacities. Focusing on the American women who went to Vietnam under the auspices of the Red Cross Supplemental Recreational Activities Overseas (SRAO) program and on nurses and Women's Army Corps (WAC) personnel, Heather Marie Stur finds that U.S. women in Vietnam were often valued by the military as much for their femininity as for their professional competence. Indeed, the military welcomed SRAO women, commonly known as "donut dollies" because of their girl-next-door appeal.

Nurses formed the largest group of U.S. military women who served in Vietnam, followed by WAC members. In addition to helping train South Vietnam's Women's Armed Forces Corps, WAC personnel worked as stenographers, typists, clerks, air traffic controllers, and as other combat support providers. Because the ratio of support to combat troops ranged from 5:1 to 10:1 during the war, their work experiences resembled, to some extent, those of many male servicemen. But gendered expectations of proper femininity—which led, among other things, to mandatory pantyhose wearing, despite the tropical heat—and the pervasiveness of sexual harassment contributed to some distinctive labor conditions.

Stur draws attention to the contradictions in these women's roles, seen perhaps most strikingly among the "donut dollies." Charged with embodying the domestic ideal, they either postponed or escaped the constraints of domesticity. Expected to represent a chaste femininity as they passed out soft drinks and board games, they fostered illicit heterosexual desires and sexual frustration among some of the men they served. Intended to represent the home front that U.S. servicemen were protecting, they went into battle zones to reach combat troops.

Along with providing a social history based on extensive archival research and interviews, *Beyond Combat* analyzes the gendered context that helped bring many of these women to Vietnam and that shaped their experiences upon arrival. More specifically, Stur analyzes four gendered archetypes that served U.S. policy. The first was the figure of the girl next door who ostensibly represented what the United States was fighting for and who the largely white, college-educated "donut dollies" were expected to embody. The second was the figure of the Vietnamese dragon lady, both alluring and dangerous, represented most specifically by politically powerful Madame Nhu during the Diem regime and later by the sex workers who provided many ser-

vicemen with their closest contact with Vietnamese people.

The last two archetypes pertained to U.S. servicemen: the John Wayne defender of civilization, and the gentle warrior who provided humanitarian assistance to the Vietnamese. Again, Stur is alert to contradictions: of John Wayne becoming as savage as the men he was fighting against; of the humanitarian struggling to compensate for the suffering let loose by the war he was fighting. Adding to earlier feminist scholarship on this topic, Stur finds that the U.S. military's endorsement of heterosexual conquest fueled not only a booming sex industry in Vietnam but also sexual assault. The final chapter considers the GI antiwar activists—and in some cases, their family members—who protested the military's constructions of gender along with its racial politics.

By ambitiously mixing a social history of U.S. women in Vietnam with a cultural analysis of gender politics during the war, *Beyond Combat* commendably shows a number of ways in which women and gender figured in the Vietnam War and, conversely, how the war had implications for gender ideologies and roles. Yet wide though its coverage is, the book invites further consideration of women and gender in the war.

Although it pays some attention to Vietnamese perspectives, most notably in its treatment of the different meanings attached to the modest *ao dai* garment (with trousers and a tunic) and the more revealing miniskirt, the book's U.S. emphasis raises the question: what might additional research in Vietnamese sources bring to light? By alluding to the wide variety of U.S. women in Vietnam, *Beyond Combat* also prompts questions about the experiences of women flight attendants, entertainers, journalists, and civilian employees of the armed services. By taking note of heterosexual assumptions and practices, it opens the door for more queering of military life and practice. And by exploring some of the gendered archetypes that helped Americans make sense of the war, *Beyond Combat* may spark further investigation into images less suited to advancing U.S. policy—among them the unwilling draftee, the tenacious Viet Cong fighter, the perpetrator of atrocities, the brutalized civilian, the inept South Vietnamese leader, and the varieties of U.S. men who held non-combat positions in Vietnam.

KRISTIN HOGANSON
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

ALONDRA NELSON. *Body and Soul: The Black Panther Party and the Fight against Medical Discrimination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 289. \$24.95.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) has attracted renewed interest manifested in media, art, and various kinds of literature. No radical group of the 1960s has received more scholarly and popular attention over the past twenty years. The BPP was easily the most prominent

organization of the black power movement, capturing the imagination of millions living in the United States as well as in Canada, Australia, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa. Some later organizations modeled themselves after the BPP's paramilitary organization. Radical activists in Native people's communities as well as those in Caucasian, Latino, and Asian American communities in the United States saw the BPP as the vanguard of the people's revolution and followed its model of radical confrontation and service. While the BPP boasted a number of programs designed to uplift poor communities across the country, what tends to garner the lion's share of attention is its members' willingness to confront the police with guns in hand. Indeed, until recently, much of what has been written about the BPP has featured stories of gunplay, more specifically tales of standoffs and shootouts with police officers across the country. The past fifteen years have produced a growing body of literature that attempts to paint a more complete portrait of the BPP. Alondra Nelson devotes an entire book to the medical and health related services offered by the party in cities across the country. This is an issue of tremendous import.

Nelson is the latest among a cadre of scholars who have attempted to highlight the BPP's community survival programs, some more thoroughly than others. Andrew Witt's *The Black Panthers in the Midwest: The Community Programs and Services of the Black Panther Party in Milwaukee, 1966–1977* (2007) was the first book to examine in great detail the community services offered by the BPP. His painstaking research laid the groundwork for Nelson's finely crafted study. Other scholarly books that have focused on the group's community survival programs are my own edited works, *On the Ground: The Black Panther Party in Communities across America* (2010) and *Comrades: A Local History of the Black Panther Party* (2007), as well as Paul Alkebulan's *Survival Pending Revolution: The History of the Black Panther Party* (2007).

Nelson situates the BPP's health initiatives in the larger context of black health activism that has a long, protracted, and storied history. She gives due mention to the Medical Committee for Human Rights as well as the Poor People's Campaign with which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was so closely associated. Nelson also astutely points out that the BPP's ten-point platform included a revised point 6, which demanded "‘COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE’" (p. 4), a fact often unacknowledged by scholars and other writers of BPP history. Nelson is spot on when she says that "Health was a powerful and elastic political lexicon that could signify many ideals simultaneously. In settings where racial oppression was more commonly advanced through social abandon (e.g., nonexistent or insufficient social welfare programs) and social control (e.g., police harassment, medical mistreatment) than through staunch Jim Crow practices, health was a site where the stakes of injustice could be exposed and a prism through which struggles for equality could be re-

fracted. Health could also connote inalienable human attributes and freedoms" (p. 5).

Body and Soul is an original and robust contribution to the growing body of scholarship on the BPP. The only flaws in this text that I am able to identify are the occasional factual error, such as that on page 4, where Nelson incorrectly identifies Elaine Brown as the BPP's chairwoman as early as 1972. Brown became chair of the party in 1974, the year Huey Newton fled the country. Moreover, the volume is littered with examples of pretentious diction, where the author elects to use a more sophisticated word when a simple one would do. Finally, readers would have benefited from a more powerful conclusion that reflects the book's overall content.

Body and Soul is a much-needed and major work that will set the standard for scholars who continue to excavate and highlight the critical importance of the community survival programs that were the BPP's bread and butter, and that accounted for so much of the group's success as the country's most effective black revolutionary organization of the twentieth century.

JUDSON L. JEFFRIES
Ohio State University

MELANIE BENSON TAYLOR. *Reconstructing the Native South: American Indian Literature and the Lost Cause*. (The New Southern Studies.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2011. Pp. x, 253. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Melanie Benson Taylor explores a significant "family resemblance" between Native American writing and non-Indian culture in the modern U.S. South. Indian literature, she observes, displays a fixation on a Native American "Lost Cause" every bit as powerful as some white southerners' obsession with the Civil War and Reconstruction. For instance, Native writers dwell upon tribal histories of violent conquest and colonization much in the way that neo-Confederates endlessly revisit their ancestors' defeat at the hands of Yankee invaders. Native American literature also often invokes an idyllic tribal past comparable to the mythic image of genteel plantation culture. Both versions of the Lost Cause, moreover, sometimes express opposition to capitalism and a concern for issues of sovereignty and self-determination. Southern white and southern Indian cultures, Taylor suggests, overlap and inform one another to a degree contemporary observers seldom recognize.

In pursuing the implications of this insight, Taylor examines the work of a large and quite diverse collection of Native American writers, from established figures like Louis Owens and LeAnne Howe to lesser-known authors such as Dawn Karima Pettigrew. She also draws extensively on the writings of contemporary Native American literary critics like Robert Warrior and Craig Womack. While much of this work attempts to express a distinctly Native outlook, Taylor places it within southern literature, demonstrating the extent to which Native American fiction and poetry perpetuate

themes commonly associated with southern writing. She notes a powerful strain of nostalgia, for instance, along with a growing emphasis on retaliatory violence. She describes a southern Indian literature that is as haunted by history as any Faulkner novel. Taylor suggests that these common tendencies reflect a "southern mode of storying" (p. 65) tied to a shared experience of historical trauma and deprivation. She argues, moreover, that Native American writers did not simply appropriate these practices from an existing southern literature. Rather, the commonalities reflect a process of cross-pollination among defeated southern peoples.

Some of Taylor's most effective analyses concern southern literature's treatment of relations between Indians and African Americans. African American authors, she observes, frequently note a kinship between black and Native American characters when writing about the South, and she asks whether this practice amounts to the appropriation of Indian images and cultural attributes. Echoing Womack, she suggests that the depictions of Indians by respected black authors like Toni Morrison often reflect mass-culture stereotypes, a habit roundly criticized when detected in the work of white writers. Native American authors, by contrast, tend to ignore or disavow the history shared between southern Indians and African Americans in the interest of asserting a more straightforward Native identity. That practice, Taylor notes, represents a legacy of the Jim Crow era, when a biracial southern caste system encouraged Native communities to deny any affiliation with African Americans. In both cases, she suggests, southern literature perpetuates a culture of competition between black and Indian southerners.

Taylor believes that the careful recognition of shared experiences, genealogies, and cultural traits can help southerners overcome the region's murderous history of race and dispossession. The Lost Cause mythology of the South seems to me an unlikely source of empathy. As cultivated by white southerners in the late nineteenth century, it was part of a fundamentally racist vision of the region. Justifying secession and denying slavery as the Civil War's central issue, it helped southern elites re-establish white supremacy after Reconstruction and maintain it into the twentieth century. Later, defenders of segregation invoked memories of the war in resisting the black civil rights movement. Taylor, however, suggests that both Indian and southern lost causes can be divorced from exclusionary or repressive politics. In particular, she argues that a common understanding of loss can encourage southerners from many different backgrounds to unite in opposition to global capitalism. While that prospect seems remote, Taylor has at least demonstrated that locating Native American writing in contemporary southern culture can complicate and deepen our understanding of both.

ANDREW DENSON
Western Carolina University

W. SCOTT POOLE. *Monsters in America: Our Historical Obsession with the Hideous and the Haunting*. Waco,

Tex.: Baylor University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 277. \$29.95.

The monster remains a doubly undead figure in U.S. culture—both one who is constantly revived in contemporary popular culture and one who is frequently distinguished, as in the case of the zombie and the vampire, by its (usually his) refusal to stay dead. Many scholars have taken on American monsters, customarily within a framework delimited by genre, like the gothic novel or the horror film; by chronology, like the twentieth-century focus of David J. Skal's *The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror* (1993); or by theme, as in Susan Tyler Hitchcock's *Frankenstein: A Cultural History* (2007). This study by W. Scott Poole, by contrast, explores the cultural history of monstrosity in the United States across a wide range of historical eras and cultural forms. The author of *Satan in America: The Devil We Know* (2009), as well as works on Confederate memory and southern history, Poole aims to situate monsters as a central feature of American history rather than a subgenre of popular culture—that is, “to examine American history through its monsters” (p. xiv). This examination is possible because “American monsters are born out of American history,” consistently inextricable from “the central anxieties and obsessions” of the United States (p. 4). *Monsters in America* addresses this project through thematically organized chapters that move roughly forward in time, beginning with early modern European images of America as a monstrous land of cannibals and ending in the present with two contemporary vampire phenomena, *True Blood* (2008–) and *Twilight* (2005–2012). The tone is that of a knowledgeably engaged fan, and the address to the reader direct: “You are the main character in this terror-filled little tale” (p. xviii).

Monsters in America is lively and entertaining throughout. The book's unusual range is one of its contributions; its freshness of juxtaposition is another. Poole brings together very different cultural registers from the start: the epigraphs to the introduction are from *Moby-Dick* (1851) and the horror film *Hellraiser III: Hell on Earth* (1992). A characteristically wide-ranging section on the nineteenth-century interest in sea serpents encompasses journalistic accounts of popular sightings, scientific debates, carnival exhibits, sheet music, and Herman Melville. Discussions of horror and science fiction films, a major focus of the book, refresh familiar scholarly connections with new material. A chapter on “Alien Invasions,” for example, links *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956) with the Cold War, communism, and McCarthyism, but Poole also brings in Love Canal, the Kinsey reports, Bigfoot, the alleged UFO sighting of the “Hopkinsville Goblins,” and the television host Vampira. He uses these connections to develop provocative political analyses of monsters as expressions of anxiety about the volatility of individual bodies and the body politic. A chapter on “Deviant Bodies,” for example, links the late twentieth-century fascination with serial killers to Reaganism and a more

general post 1960s “struggle to define the cultural direction of America in the wake of revolutionary social change” (p. 152).

A study this wide ranging will inevitably have limitations, as Poole anticipates. He predicts that “Some historians will be less than happy with this book” for its selective narrative bypassing some major historical events (p. xv), and indeed this relatively brief study works better as a reinterpretation of selected discourses of monstrosity than as a comprehensive account of U.S. history. Poole's narrative is strongest on the twentieth century, the focus of five of its seven chapters. His model of why monsters arise—“every historical period decides what its monster(s) will be and creates the monster it needs” (p. 226)—could be more developed; conversely, his dismissals of psychoanalytic interpretive tools seem too sweeping. Small errors distract from the book's overall effectiveness, such as a reference to “Albert Hitchcock's 1960 *Psycho*” (p. 139).

Monsters in America is nonetheless very welcome for its range, freshness, and verve, and it should prompt further discussion about monstrosity, both within and outside of the United States. European history, for example, has its own monster obsessions, as Bryan D. Palmer analyzes in *Cultures of Darkness: Night Travels in the Histories of Transgression* (2000), and there is more work to be done on the relationships—affinities, contrasts, reciprocal influences—among monsters in different national and transnational contexts. It would also be fruitful to explore more comprehensively the diverse sources and uses of American monster stories. For example, while monster texts such as Hollywood films often express mainstream cultural anxieties, monstrosity has long been a flexible discourse available for remaking and reversal by other groups of producers and consumers, including many women and African Americans. More scrutiny awaits to flesh out, as it were, the “our” of Poole's lively subtitle.

ELIZABETH YOUNG
Mount Holyoke College

MARTIN V. MELOSI. *Precious Commodity: Providing Water for America's Cities*. (History of the Urban Environment.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 288. \$27.95.

Martin V. Melosi turns his attention to water in his most recent book, a compendium of writings on the front end of a subject that he has more often viewed from the outlet of the pipe. This is not to say that Melosi is out of his element with this look at water infrastructure, as he has long been a leader in the International Water History Association (IWHA). Still, he is most well known for his studies on refuse, sanitation, pollution, and energy policy.

Many of Melosi's works, including this one, have been published as part of the “History of the Urban Environment” series by the University of Pittsburgh Press. Melosi is joined by Joel Tarr as co-editor of the series, which examines environmental history in urban

contexts. These two authors are leaders in the infrastructure school of environmental history, which sets them apart from other environmental writers by their focus on technology and its implications for city dwellers. In contrast, more conventional writers on water such as Donald J. Pisani have focused primarily on the natural environment where water and the land are resources for conservation. The natural resources school of water history tends to look back on water projects with nostalgia and agrarian idealism. These writers have more in common with environmental historians in general, particularly those such as Donald E. Worster who embrace an apocalyptic or pessimistic view of water development. Instead, urban infrastructure writers such as Melosi bring the environment in from the countryside to examine the necessary technology that enabled large numbers of residents to populate America's urban centers.

This book is an anthology of Melosi's own writings on water: bits and pieces destined for other works but instead left on the cutting room floor, and essays excerpted from the gray literature of cultural resources management consulting brought forward here to a wider audience. The result is eight chapters on various aspects of water history, from rivers to municipal water utilities to private ownership. If there is a thread to unite the writings it is the theme of public versus private responsibility for something that is, ultimately, a public resource. Melosi generally is content to raise the larger questions rather than seek definitive answers for them. As such, this book is best viewed as a series of case studies and vignettes that serve to exemplify issues.

Two chapters are excerpted from the same work, a government document on the history of large federal dams. In these chapters Melosi provides an examination of how rivers were originally harnessed for public and private good and how, in later years, construction of dams such as Hoover, Shasta, and Bonneville came to represent the strength and power of the federal government. In two chapters on Houston, Melosi draws vital lessons from his own backyard about the importance of public infrastructure to private development. A chapter on San Jose, California, builds on the private-public dichotomy as Melosi documents a rare private utility survivor that is still serving a major metropolitan area. A chapter on the growth of waterworks in the United States gives a quick history from 1880 to 2000 and is an excellent summary of developments. Another chapter documents the link between proper sanitation and protecting the water supply. Only one chapter is newly written for this book, a brief but timely examination of water as a multinational corporate commodity.

As might be expected with a work of this type the result is uneven, with some chapters being comparatively long and complex and other subjects receiving short shrift. One of the best components of the book is the section on further reading. The recommended reading list is informed by Melosi's experience as a leader of the IWhA since its inception in 2001 and thus is rep-

resentative of recent scholarship. There are a few kernels of new ideas that might have been better explored in the book, such as the concept of path dependence that has straight-jacketed water infrastructure into existing corridors and facilities that frustrate innovation and change. As water planners cope with additional population growth prior decisions regarding infrastructure capacity may no longer be valid. An analysis of how utilities are addressing the problem of replacing outdated systems or modifying old approaches given new realities would have been welcome. Despite these drawbacks *Precious Commodity* is a worthy addition to the canon of water history. While many of the chapters can be easily located elsewhere, there is some benefit to having them collected here.

DOUGLAS E. KUPEL
Phoenix College

AMY ERDMAN FARRELL. *Fat Shame: Stigma and the Fat Body in American Culture*. New York: New York University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 209. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$21.00.

Amy Erdman Farrell offers a wide-ranging and significant contribution to the relatively new but now substantial literature on the history of the body. Although her prodigious research and compelling lines of interpretation are impressive and engaging, perhaps her most striking move is to clearly articulate and then align herself with the modern "fat acceptance" movement. As she states, "I consider myself both a fat activist and a food activist" (p. 22). Given the almost monolithic cultural and medical condemnation of fat bodies today, particularly for those categorized as obese, Farrell provides a welcome skepticism. By conducting oral histories with fat men and women, she allows them—in their own words—to offer a provocative counter-narrative to the prevailing assumption that fat equals ill health. Perhaps, Farrell suggests, it is the social costs endured by fat people that undermine health and not the fat itself. Relying heavily on Erving Goffman's *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963), Farrell casts both a creative and a critical eye on all prescriptive matter related to body size, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present.

In her first three chapters, all wonderfully illustrated and well argued, particularly in regard to the interlocking tropes used to categorize fat bodies as inferior, Farrell retells a familiar story. Where once large bodies were accepted and even prized as signifying wealth and sophistication, by the late nineteenth century a new paradigm emerged. Farrell aligns herself with historians who locate this shift in the late nineteenth century rather than the 1920s and also makes a much sharper argument than others regarding the "belief that modernity and civilization were inextricably linked to thinness, and that the primitive and uncivilized bodies were linked to fatness" (p. 80). According to Farrell, body size determined one's level of access to cultural and economic resources as well as political rights. Images of

fat bodies—whether on postcards, political cartoons, or in medical tracts—designated certain groups as primitive and thus dangerous to the American enterprise. Depending on the historical moment and context, that might include gays, lesbians, ethnic and racial minorities, the lower classes, or even fallen “celebrities” and emasculated white men.

Fat Shame really takes off in Farrell’s fourth chapter, “Feminism, Citizenship, and Fat Stigma,” where she fully explicates her most powerful argument that feminists (first- and second-wave) helped define the links among slenderness, civilization, and whiteness in the way they waged their campaigns for women’s rights. Farrell illustrates this best in her trenchant analysis of the suffrage movement. Using a wealth of primary sources (as she does throughout the book), she details the ways in which both suffragists and anti-suffragists interwove depictions of fat bodies with racial and ethnic stereotypes to make their respective cases. For suffragists, this meant that they too “chose beauty”—portraying a thin, white image of the deserving female voter that could exclude ethnic, working class, and African American women. They also castigated anti-suffragist men as ignorant buffoons or greedy “fat cats” (p. 97). This adds another dimension to a feminist movement already riddled with questions of racial and socio-economic bias. As Farrell points out, “[r]ather than challenging the ideology of fat denigration, first wave feminists for the most part battled for their rights within that ideology, painting themselves as slim and fit for citizenship and drawing on fat stigma to humiliate the opposition” (p. 113).

Second-wave feminists fare a bit better. In Farrell’s view, they took a more ambivalent position, both fighting the beauty culture and succumbing to it. Inspired by other 1960s social movements, feminists and fat activists organized to protest not just the personal losses associated with being labeled fat but also the legal and economic ramifications. Delineating competing ideologies, personalities, and the often highly humorous political actions of various groups such as the National Association to Aid Fat Americans (NAAFA) and the Fat Underground (“FU”), Farrell gives voice to those who “refuse[d] to apologize” for their size and who countered the especially potent medical arguments, most recently articulated in fears about the “obesity epidemic.”

Yet, feminists also colluded with the cultural ethos. In her last two chapters, “Narrating Fat Shame” and “Refusing to Apologize,” Farrell offers both a critical and a compassionate analysis. While feminists have been complicit, she argues that the exclusionary power of “fat shame” is not to be discounted. Farrell points out that “to the extent that feminism means claiming a place of equality and resisting the position of ‘other’ it is no wonder that feminists have had a peculiar relationship to weight—both recognizing the ways ideas about weight get wielded against women but also wanting to resist the stigma of ‘weak willed’ that fatness connotes” (p. 115). Thus, though feminists have railed

against the objectification of women’s bodies, they have also been just as likely as other women to diet or participate in the beauty industry so as not to risk discrimination.

This book will provoke new questions and contrasting interpretations as such a serious work should, but its primary weakness is that Farrell makes a glaring leap from the 1920s to the 1960s, completely omitting the intervening decades. Farrell’s argument that “since the turn of the last century, fatness has served as a sign that one is inherently incapable of withstanding the pressures and pleasures of modern life, including the responsibilities and rights of citizenship” (p. 175) would be more persuasive if she included an analysis of those years. We need to know if the relationship between fatness and inferiority continued uninterrupted from the 1920s forward or if instead it receded at certain moments and then re-emerged in similar or different forms. What might have been the impact of food scarcity during the Great Depression, for example, or on “swing shift women” during World War II and 1950s consumerism? Do the roots of “fat activism” reach further back than the 1960s, as historians have recently shown for other social movements? Perhaps future researchers will fill this gap and offer an even richer treatment of the ways in which thinness, whiteness, and American citizenship became inextricably entwined.

MARGARET A. LOWE

Bridgewater State University

ROBERT N. PROCTOR. *Golden Holocaust: Origins of the Cigarette Catastrophe and the Case for Abolition*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2011. Pp. x, 737. \$49.95.

Tobacco litigation in the United States relies heavily on historical interpretation. Verdicts turn on the key historical question “Who knew what when?” Consequently, attorneys for both sides have frequently utilized the testimony of professional historians. More than fifty have served as expert witnesses over the past several decades: most for the defense, but a few, including Robert N. Proctor, on behalf of smokers and their families. The participation of historians in such cases has precipitated much debate in the field. Given the adversarial nature of the legal system, does representing one side or the other mean that witnesses are objective scholars or partial advocates?

In *Golden Holocaust*, Proctor does not shy away from advocacy, indeed he fully embraces it. He believes that the human suffering caused by the cigarette—a product he terms “the deadliest invention in the history of modern manufacturing” (p. 34)—is of such magnitude that its history warrants forceful rhetoric and engaged analysis. This thick book is above all an impassioned indictment of the U.S. tobacco industry and those Proctor regards as its accomplices, including the many historians who have served as defense witnesses in smoking-related lawsuits. His methodological point of departure is the set of questions at the core of tobacco cases:

When did those in the cigarette industry know with certainty that cigarettes were lethal? When did they begin to obfuscate tobacco's harms? And, when, if ever, did the dangers of smoking become so well known that smokers can be seen to have willingly assumed risk when lighting up? The answers Proctor provides to these questions in 561 pages of detailed analysis are far more complex and nuanced than those that can generally be entered into legal evidence. This is a historian's testimony on his own terms rather than those prescribed by a court of law.

Proctor argues that scientific understanding of tobacco's dangers emerged in fits and starts rather than along a smooth trajectory. Along the way much of what was already proven was overlooked, simply forgotten, or deliberately suppressed. He notes that some nineteenth-century physicians were aware that tobacco caused mouth cancers, but the first hypothesis that smoking contributed to lung cancer, a rare disease at the time, appeared only in 1898. The triumph of the manufactured cigarette in the first half of the twentieth century brought the lethality of smoking more sharply into focus. Filled with flue-cured tobacco that could be drawn deeply into the lungs, inexpensive mass-marketed cigarettes gained in popularity after 1900. By the 1920s, some physicians began to notice a dramatic rise in lung cancer and some began to suspect a causal relationship between inhaled cigarette smoke and malignant tumors. In the 1930s, animal experiments conducted by the Argentinean scientist Ángel H. Roffo demonstrating that tobacco is highly carcinogenic were ignored. German researchers serving the Third Reich similarly concluded that cigarettes cause lung cancer, but because they were associated with Nazism, their findings were set aside. It took the publication of U.S. and British studies in the early 1950s to bring about an international scientific consensus that cigarette smoking is indeed a cause of cancer and other serious diseases. The 1964 American Surgeon General's Report was a belated official recognition of this fact.

Tobacco company executives were aware that smoking causes cancer well before 1964. The critical turning point came in late 1953 when scientists at the Ecusta Paper Company definitively determined that tobacco was the culprit, not the cigarette rolling paper their firm produced. In December of that year, industry representatives planned a coordinated response to the growing body of evidence about tobacco's hazards. They sponsored "red herring" research to cast doubt on the links between smoking and cancer and they utilized willing collaborators—epidemiologists, doctors, scientists, lawyers, and lobbyists—to do so. The author devotes an entire chapter to the fifty-plus historians who have worked for the tobacco industry, identifying them by name and charging them with contributing indirectly to tobacco deaths. He suggests that historians are deluding themselves when they think they can be "objective" on the witness stand. In his view, such testimony is "not just a question of moral or social responsibility; it's also a question of life or death" (p. 480).

Having demonstrated that knowledge of tobacco's risks existed within the industry in the early 1950s, Proctor moves on to assess when these harms became common knowledge. He contends that the dangers of smoking were not well understood by the public at large until the 1970s or 1980s. Even now, he argues, many people do not realize that tobacco causes many diseases besides lung cancer and a surprising number believe that there is no harm in smoking a moderate number of cigarettes. Proctor blames such misperceptions on deliberate disinformation campaigns designed by the industry to create doubt about the hazards of smoking. Poignant letters from smokers archived in the Legacy Tobacco Documents Library, the online searchable database of internal tobacco industry documents that serves as Proctor's primary source base, reveal deep suspicion of government health warnings but an abiding faith in industry claims. Proctor argues that this trust is deeply misplaced especially in the case of filtered, "low-tar," and "light" cigarettes: all are products, which offer only the illusion of safety, not any real reduction of risk.

This book, with its strongly worded denunciation of the tobacco industry, explicitly sides with those who value the historian's role as public advocate. The author is forthright and upfront about his policy agenda, arguing in the final chapter for the elimination of manufactured cigarettes altogether. Among his twenty "imperatives" for tobacco prevention activists is the admonition to "Be creative in the language we use" (p. 555). Proctor follows his own advice, using colorful turns of phrase throughout the volume. For example, he says the tobacco companies operated a "gigantic—and deadly oncologic Ponzi scheme" (p. 16) and that they are now engaged in "cardiopulmonary colonialism" in overseas markets like China (p. 540). His rhetoric, while entertaining and hard-hitting, may not always have the persuasive effect that the author intends for those who prefer history written in more neutral tones. For others, the sheer amount of evidence Proctor marshals from the industry's own archives will uphold the uncompromising verdict he renders.

CAROL BENEDICT
Georgetown University

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

SHERRY JOHNSON. *Climate and Catastrophe in Cuba and the Atlantic World in the Age of Revolution*. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 306. \$39.95.

As anyone who has lived in the Caribbean will attest, hurricanes have calamitous effects on the region. An approaching hurricane instills fear. Once the winds subside, residents survey the damage—entire neighborhoods may be destroyed, crops devastated—and call for their governments to act. How authorities and others have responded has shaped and reshaped the region. But as Stuart Schwartz observed, because any and every event in the region's past was preceded by one or more

hurricanes, assessing the relative importance of the environment to Caribbean history is a difficult task. Sherry Johnson takes up this task with regard to the Age of Revolution in *Climate and Catastrophe*, and she does so skillfully.

Using an impressive array of archival material, the study gains leverage over the tricky question of the environment's consequences by noting that the latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed a regional warming anomaly that led to exceptionally active hurricane seasons and associated droughts in the Caribbean. The direct results of these repeated environmental disasters were failed crops, disrupted maritime trade, and, in turn, widespread food shortages within the Spanish colonies and particularly in Cuba. The struggle to cope with decades of persistent scarcity reverberated across the Atlantic world.

Johnson devotes successive, chronologically organized chapters to these repercussions of changing climate. Some consequences were fairly proximate, such as the dramatic fall of Havana to British troops in 1762. The Spanish troops charged with defending Cuba, Johnson reveals, were simply starving: a series of severe storms and interminable torrential rains had destroyed the island's crops, and the stockpiled supplies were far too limited to feed the men. Already weak from hunger, many succumbed to fevers that flourished in wet conditions. The British invaders faced the same adversities, but the timely arrival of reinforcements and provisions from North American colonies enabled them to prevail. Other ramifications of the anomalous warming were quite remote. Johnson shows that the alternating droughts and hurricanes that struck Cuba in the early 1770s led to shortages that prompted Spanish officials to pursue a gradual but substantial opening to flour imports from Philadelphia. In turn, she asserts, it was the promise of lucrative Cuban markets that emboldened the would-be revolutionaries of the North American colonies to challenge British rule and seek independence.

The book's richest material, however, recounts the effects of regional warming on the development of Spanish policy toward trade. Many works that highlight non-human forces in history become stories of environmental determinism. Unlike historians who pay mere lip service to human agency, Johnson stresses contingency and the ways in which different reactions to catastrophe are crucial to understanding the turn of events. Her account of the reduction of trade barriers through the 1770s and 1780s and their resumption in the 1790s is particularly noteworthy. Spanish royal authorities—and Cuban colonists—she found, did not uniformly accept that scarcity and disruption within colonial trading networks necessitated allowing more free trade. Instead, in times of war or recovery or peace, some supported and others rejected opening the port of Havana to outsiders. The most clear and consistent differences were between emergency responses during the rule of Charles III and those during that of Charles IV. When faced with catastrophe, most of Charles III's rep-

resentatives in Cuba were quick to tolerate smuggling and temporarily remove barriers to trade and were then perceived positively by many colonists. Charles IV's officials, in contrast, refused to take such steps to ameliorate food shortages even in the face of widespread suffering and discontent. Hurricanes and droughts demanded the attention of the authorities, but Johnson shows that their reactions depended not simply on environmental circumstances but also on their own interests, ideologies, and idiosyncrasies.

This means, of course, that the introduction's promise that "the signal events of the Age of Revolution are seen as consequences of environmental crisis" (p. 8) is an overstatement: at most, the book reveals that these events were linked to the environment by long chains of contingency. Had provisions from North America arrived any later, Havana likely would not have fallen to the British. Furthermore, the Spanish may still have permitted the restive British colonies to trade with Cuba so as to weaken their longtime rival even absent climate-induced shortages. Revolutionaries may have been impelled by their grievances regardless of their access to the Cuban market. Nevertheless, historians of Cuba and the Spanish Empire will value this book's nuanced analysis of how climate influenced the later eighteenth century, and scholars of environmental history will find an exemplar of how to carefully balance environmental circumstance with human action in their explanations.

MARIOLA ESPINOSA
Yale University

JASON M. COLBY. *The Business of Empire: United Fruit, Race, and U.S. Expansion in Central America*. (The United States in the World.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 274. \$45.00.

This well-written study of the United Fruit Company (UFC) in Central America focuses on the American banana corporation's development of a system of labor control based on segmentation between British West Indian migrants and Hispanic workers. The author explores the impact of this labor practice on worker protest and on Central American nationalism. A U.S. historian of international relations, Jason M. Colby maintains that the U.S. imperial presence in Central America was mainly expressed through private corporations—i.e., the UFC—until the 1940s, when the banana company began to relinquish direct control of land and labor and the U.S. government became the main foreign creditor and employer in the Caribbean by constructing military bases.

The author writes both a comparative and a transnational history. He presents a deeply researched, richly textured comparative study of the UFC in Costa Rica and Guatemala. In both countries, the U.S. builder of railroads drew on British colonial connections in the Caribbean to import labor from the British islands. When the railroad pioneer helped found the UFC and initiated banana production around 1900, the

company relied on black, English-speaking migrants until strikes in 1909–1910 led the company to hire native Spanish-speaking workers who were placed under West Indian supervision. In implementing differential authority, tasks, and wages, the UFC from 1910 to 1930 structured its labor system along racial and national lines. Intended to undermine worker solidarity, this divided system drew on the precedents of factories in the northern United States and from U.S. labor practices in building the Panama Canal. The author argues that the racialization of labor relations was both a corporate strategy and the cultural projection of values about race, order, and hierarchy that originated in tensions over race relations and immigration in the United States. The company's elevation of British Caribbeans over native Hispanics generated nationalistic resentment in Costa Rica and in Guatemala. After the 1920 strike, Spanish-speaking workers articulated a rising sense of injustice at ethnic discrimination and expressed their anti-imperialism and anti-Americanism through animosity toward "foreign" West Indian banana workers. Thus the company's labor policies "drew out virulent strands of racial nationalism, which in turn shaped the demands that host states made on both United Fruit and the US government" (p. 177). In Costa Rica and Guatemala, nationalist governments, political parties, and unions expressed antagonism against West Indians and when, in the 1930s the UFC tried to move its operations from the Caribbean to the Pacific coast of Central America, the governments of both countries insisted that no West Indian workers be allowed in the new banana zones; nationalization of labor was a major issue to which the UFC had to consent. The transition to a completely Hispanic labor force in the 1930s ended the practice of labor segmentation and influenced the nature of labor protest on the banana plantations thereafter.

Beyond its deeply researched comparison of Costa Rica and Guatemala, this book is also a transnational history that explores the logic of what occurred in the two banana regions in relation to relevant tendencies in the US, the Panama Canal Zone, Cuba (the sugar plantations and Guantanamo), and elsewhere. The book's broad sweep and strong narrative thread should appeal to advanced undergraduates and graduate students not previously acquainted with the Central American region or with U.S. involvement there. As a U.S. historian, the author is to be lauded for drawing on a wide range of both Spanish- and English-language sources, some of them novel to UFC studies: the papers of Victor M. Cutter (UFC manager responsible for creating the banana zones of Costa Rica and Guatemala), UFC documents in the Costa Rican National Archives, and British records on West Indian workers in Central America.

In sum, this book makes a worthwhile contribution to the social and cultural history of the UFC, the history of British Caribbean migrants in Central America, Central American labor history, and the inception of particular racialized forms of nationalism in Central Amer-

ica that, the author convincingly argues, were logical reactions to U.S. "corporate colonialism." I would have liked the author to be more explicit about the contribution his study makes to the historiography of U.S. imperialism and of foreign enclaves in Latin America. He does, however, advance the stimulating point that the UFC articulated its own corporate Good Neighbor policy in interactions with Central American governments during the 1930s. One final quibble: the author drops the West Indians from his account once they become the target of Central American nationalists and no longer important to the UFC as labor. Certainly vibrant West Indian communities remain along the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica, but what happened to West Indians in Guatemala is less known. The reader is left to wonder about the size of the population of West Indian descent in Guatemala and Costa Rica after the 1940s and how and when they received citizenship rights.

CATHERINE C. LEGRAND
McGill University

HÉCTOR LINDO-FUENTES and ERIK CHING. *Modernizing Minds in El Salvador: Education Reform and the Cold War, 1960–1980*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 341. \$29.95.

Héctor Lindo-Fuentes and Erik Ching have written a refreshingly unusual book that makes an important contribution to scholarship. Perhaps the first monograph to link educational policy to larger state politics in Central America, it reviews problematic attempts by the ministry of education to impose television-based instruction in El Salvador's schools, expand the educational system, and control efforts by the teachers' union to become involved in these changes.

The book includes an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion. It also contains six tables and many very useful illustrations. The introduction reviews the Salvadoran context of the Cold War, the Alliance for Progress, and the origins of the civil war and revolutionary crises that began in 1979. Chapter one ("A Fight within the Right") shows how, during the late 1950s and early 1960s, modernizing military and civilian elites broke with the extreme Right's more conservative vision over questions of the state's growth and intervention in the process of economic development. The next chapter ("Modernizing Reform and Anti-communist Repression") examines the administration of President Julio Rivera Carballo (1962–1967). Despite the anticommunist context and narrow spaces for labor organizing, the government maintained a strong commitment to reformist modernization. Increased government spending created a large group of young teachers and a renewed commitment to improving the standard of living and educational levels of the rural population. Chapter three ("A Monitor instead of a Teacher"), about the origins of the 1968 education reform and how television became its centerpiece, is the core of the book. Lindo-Fuentes and Ching describe the development of in-

classroom television, showing the importance of the entrepreneurial minister of education's commitment to the policy. Originating in Japan and implemented by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), educational television became a showcase for U.S. efforts to gain support for the region's development. In chapter four, "A Feverish Laboratory—The Education Reform of 1968" the authors discuss the complex policy and politics behind the educational television system and explore how it was received by various constituencies, especially teachers.

Chapter five links the modernizing drive of the Salvadoran state to two new projects of the 1970s: the Cerón Grande dam and an attempted land reform. Like the educational reforms, both of these projects resulted in intense debates and clashes, some of them involving the teachers' union and other groups that slowly radicalized as a result of the state's persistently authoritarian style and failure to extend democratic rights. The final substantive chapter provides an assessment of the long-term results of the use of television technology and its demise. A brief conclusion reviews the connection between authoritarian modernization, failed reform, and the eventual descent of El Salvador into revolutionary civil war in the 1980s.

This thoroughly researched book introduces new material to the study of Salvadoran history, including interviews with many teachers and political leaders, memoirs and official reports (from U.S., United Nations, and Salvadoran officials), and dozens of archival and newspaper sources.

I particularly appreciated the authors' attempt to present the 1950s and 1960s as a contested period in which diverse forces (and not simply a Left and a Right) clashed and fought for power and expression. This book should open the door to debates about the combination of authoritarianism, popular participation, and modernization that characterized the period. Lindo-Fuentes and Ching emphasize the role of distinct middle sectors (teachers, technocrats, junior officers) during this period. Their attempt to integrate a discussion of various sorts of modernization and reform projects in a single framework is valuable, even if the result seems at times uneven.

With a book as ambitious and extensive as this one, any reviewer is likely to have empirical and conceptual points of disagreement. There is a tendency to oversimplify arguments and debates. For example, the authors characterize the dominant view of Salvadoran state as a tight alliance between "soldiers and an oligarchy of retrograde landowners" (p. 260). This generalization, while present in much of what has been written on El Salvador since the late 1970s, has also been challenged by scholars such as James Dunkerley (*Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* [1989]). Elsewhere, despite the inclusion of excellent material on President Lyndon B. Johnson's relations with reformers in El Salvador, the discussion of the U.S. Alliance for Progress and modernization efforts seems flat and abstract.

But these are minor problems. This book makes a new kind of contribution to the study of the revolutionary decade of the 1980s, one that foregrounds reform as much as repression. Historians of Latin America should be interested in the possibilities of linking state policies to class politics and development, while historians interested in education should read this book for its well-contextualized analysis of educational reform.

ALDO A. LAURIA SANTIAGO
Rutgers University

BARBARA P. JOSIAH. *Migration, Mining, and the African Diaspora: Guyana in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. xviii, 274. \$85.00.

The best chapter in Barbara P. Josiah's book is "The Perils of Labor in Mining." It tells how, beginning in about 1890, the descendants of slaves began to migrate into British Guiana's rugged interior and back to escape the oppression and low wages of coastal sugar cane plantations by seeking higher wages in gold and diamond mines. Their travel routes—dangerous forest trails and swift rivers—were perilous, and once migrants found mining jobs, they were subject to malnutrition, disease, injury, snake bites, and other accidents that altogether claimed hundreds of lives. Despite these obstacles, Afro-Guyanese mineworkers extended and refined their migration strategies over the years, thereby creating a cultural tradition. They routinely sent postal money orders home to families in the coastal plantation settlements. Josiah documents these events using colonial medical and postal records and evidence from oral history. Further, she traces these heroic migratory exploits through the twentieth century and to the present day.

Josiah's book is a history of the development of the Guyana (British Guiana until 1966) gold, diamond, and later bauxite mining industry that began late in the nineteenth century. She emphasizes the socioeconomic dimensions of the mining industry and tells the story from the perspective of the Afro-Guyanese workforce. The study's ten chapters are arranged chronologically, beginning with the origins of the country's mining and of the allied government agencies that controlled and monitored the mines. Then, she analyzes the bauxite era of the twentieth century, covering working conditions, the evolution of labor unions, and eventual nationalization of bauxite mines. Josiah's book concludes with a useful index and also contains an impressive list of the libraries and archives in Guyana, the United States, and London where the author gathered her material. Appendix C lists the names and whereabouts of the thirty-three subjects she interviewed.

Readers unfamiliar with Guyana may find Josiah's narrative difficult to follow. She provides only a fleeting introduction to the nature of the country, and the only map in her book is derived from a small-scale map copy of British Guiana from the West India Royal Commission of 1897. This shortcoming, combined with a dense

writing style early in the book, likely will discourage all but the most determined readers. Later chapters, such as chapter eight, "Internal Migration and Village Dynamics," are less forbidding, although this particular chapter would have been better had the author consulted Raymond T. Smith's *The Negro Family in British Guiana: Family Structure and Social Status in the Villages* (1956), which is considered an anthropological classic.

Chapters six and seven cover the origins of bauxite mining and the subsequent formation of mineworkers' unions. The bauxite mines were nearer Guyana's heavily populated coastal plain than were the gold and diamond works. The author provides enlightening descriptions of life and amenities in the bauxite mining towns and notes that conditions were comparatively better than those in the gold and diamond mines. Yet post-World War II bauxite unionism and increasing worker militancy were part of colony-wide social upheavals. Indeed, explosive labor unrest and disturbances reverberated throughout the Caribbean and beyond, as both the United States and Britain feared that the local Guyanese political leader, Cheddi Jagan, a descendant of indentured laborers from India, had communist leanings. During the 1950s, the British army removed Jagan from elected office. It is puzzling that neither these momentous events nor Jagan are mentioned in Josiah's book.

Josiah's final full chapter points out that Africans have been in the Americas nearly as long as Europeans and, intriguingly, that earliest "European" mining ventures in the Western Hemisphere may have involved Africans with mining experience from their native continent. She also drives home the useful point that, far from being history's silent witnesses, skilled African-descended mine workers from Guyana and elsewhere have provided productive output that has in turn led to meaningful jobs and fostered wealth creation.

BONHAM C. RICHARDSON

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

FRANK SALOMON and MERCEDES NIÑO-MURCIA. *The Lettered Mountain: A Peruvian Village's Way with Writing*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2011. Pp. xix, 368. Cloth \$94.95, paper \$25.95.

In 1994 anthropologist Frank Salomon was invited to examine the *equipos* (teams) of a small community in the Peruvian province of Huarochirí. Expecting to see the local soccer teams, Salomon was instead presented with a cache of *quipus* (or *kipus*), the knotted strings used to record information in the ancient Andes. Scholars had thought *quipu* use ended sometime in the seventeenth century, but here apparently was a community that had maintained *quipus* as part of its patrimony. This nearly unique discovery (one other community in the region also has kept *quipus*) was the focus of Salomon's *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (2004). The present book is a com-

panion volume, co-authored with sociolinguist Mercedes Niño-Murcia.

The *quipus* remain in the possession of the ten *ayllus* (Andean kinship group) of the community of San Andrés de Tupicocha and are a source of great pride. Membership in an *ayllu* is determined by birth, and, as the authors point out, the names of contemporary *ayllus* correspond to those mentioned in the famous 1608 account of indigenous beliefs recorded in Quechua from the Huarochirí region (translated by Salomon and George Urioste as *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Religion* [1991]). While *The Cord Keepers* aimed to explicate a historical relationship between the myths and rituals described in the Huarochirí manuscript and use of the *quipus* as social register, the volume under review departs from the fact that Tupicochans were unfamiliar with the early colonial accounts of Huarochirí. Contemporary *ayllu* members, moreover, do not speak Quechua, generally refer to their *ayllu* using the Spanish *parcialidad* (part), and do not consider themselves or their ancestors to be indigenous. No one among the contemporary *ayllu* members knows how to read the *quipus*, but many believe that their grandparents were able to decipher them.

In spite of this lack of continuity, *The Lettered Mountain* (a play on Angel Rama's famous work on urban literacy, *The Lettered City* [1996]) aims to depict the uptake of the *quipu* and the *ayllu* into an archival culture centered on written Spanish. The authors argue that literacy exists "whenever people use a signary (more or less widely standardized set of visible signs) to encode information" (p. 28). For Salomon and Niño-Murcia, this definition includes *quipus* and leads them to ask: what is the historical relationship of *quipus* to alphabetic writing? With the Spanish invasion in 1532, alphabetic writing in Castilian was introduced to the former Inca Empire, but the retention of *quipus* was encouraged by Spanish priests as an aid to conversion, by crown bureaucrats for accounting, and by the new legal regime as a means to give testimony in court. Although scholars disagree over how much qualitative versus quantitative information *quipus* could encode, clearly early colonial people continued to use them. At some point in the seventeenth century, the church and crown turned against *quipu* use, insisting on written Castilian instead. But Salomon and Niño-Murcia believe that local-level *ayllus* relied primarily on *quipus* to record information until sometime after the War of the Pacific (1879–1883) against Chile, when the *quipus* began to be supplemented by written records. The authors argue that written documents replaced *quipu* use only in the early twentieth century. The major evidence for this is the fact that the copious books in which *ayllu* members record information about their ritual and work duties are only extant from roughly the time of the war with Chile. Prior to that time, Salomon and Niño-Murcia conclude, *quipus* were the medium of record. The authors emphasize the degree of literacy obtained within Tupicocha prior to the state's support of public schools in the 1960s as evidence that alphabetic literacy

was important enough for *ayllus* to find ways to self-educate.

So what marks *ayllu* records as Andean today? While not exactly earth-shattering, the authors point to archaic terms, particularly taken from law, and argue that Andeans frequently consulted early guides for notaries in order to learn how to create documents. They also note that the interchange of vowels (i for e, or u for o) and repetitive phrasing, both commonly associated with Quechua speakers, also continue to mark the Andean Spanish of Tupicocha.

Although *The Lettered Mountain* presents a relatively weak case for long-term continuities, as the first ethnography of local writing and archiving practices, it does a marvelous job of describing the centrality of literacy to Andean societies of past and present. For many years, anthropologists have placed rural contemporary Andeans outside “the lettered city.” With Salomon and Niño-Murcia’s important ethnography, ignoring Andean writing is no longer possible.

S. ELIZABETH PENRY
Fordham University

MARIZA DE CARVALHO SOARES. *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Translated by JERRY D. METZ. (Latin America in Translation/En Traducción/Em Tradução.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 321. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

The field of African diaspora studies has often struggled with questions of cultural and identity formation in New World societies. The once popular approach of tracing New World practices and identities back to a distinct African ethnic or cultural origin has increasingly lost its appeal for scholars. Instead, recent studies have favored a more dynamic understanding of culture and identity, one that emphasizes the role that encounters and exchanges played in shaping African experiences in the diaspora. *People of Faith* (the translated edition of Mariza de Carvalho Soares’s well-known *Devotos da Cor*, published in Portuguese in 2000) fits this trend. In this treatment of black Catholic associations (brotherhoods, devotions, fraternities) and their place in African religious culture and construction of identity, Soares proposes moving away from a discussion of origins and advocates for a microhistory of the African diaspora. Without losing sight of the African past of diasporic peoples, this book grounds its analysis in the specific local, social, and historical contexts in which a group of Africans in colonial Rio de Janeiro made collective choices about what cultural ideas and practices they were going to adhere to, adapt, or adopt.

To develop her analysis of the construction of identity through religious culture in Rio de Janeiro, Soares introduces the idea of “provenience group” as an alternative to ethnic or geographical origin. Focusing initially on the rise of Mina as a distinct provenience group, part one of the book describes the term’s emergence in the late fifteenth century as a toponym for the

West African coast neighboring the kingdom of Benin, where the Portuguese were strengthening their commercial presence. Slaves taken from ports within this coastal region to Brazil were increasingly identified, and began identifying themselves, in colonial notarial and parish records as being of the Mina nation. But if the term initially implied place of birth or embarkation, it came to denote the shared past experiences and present realities of a particular group of slaves, gaining new meaning as a criteria for membership in certain social networks. Part one argues, therefore, that provenience, a main component of individual and collective identity among Africans in the diaspora, was defined “in the specific locality and social context in which the group organized, and not by some sort of ironclad tradition from Africa” (pp. 88–89).

How groups of Africans organized, and the influence collective organization had on defining individual and group identities, is the subject of part two of the book. Here Soares examines the history of the predominantly Mina brotherhood of Saint Elesbão and Saint Efigênia and, in particular, the emergence of another provenience group, the Mahi, as a distinct congregation within the brotherhood. She shows that Africans, though brought to Rio from a variety of interior and coastal locations in Africa, found themselves equally immersed in a social and cultural environment that encouraged participation in lay religious associations as a means to secure one’s spiritual well-being as well as social distinction. Through rites and festivities, whether funerals or processions, brotherhoods helped to establish their members’ place and importance in the social hierarchy and cultural life of colonial Rio. Over time, slave and free Africans formed their own brotherhoods to pursue a level of distinction and a cultural space of their own, defining in the process the parameters of membership in these associations. As a result, Africans took part in the practices of exclusion and inclusion that shaped the social hierarchy, the cultural environment, and social identities in Rio de Janeiro at large. The story of the Mahi congregation, moreover, illustrates how this process was also informed by collective understandings of a shared African past. Along with documents relative to the congregation’s organization of a devotion and a fraternity, Soares found a manuscript written by its leader that characterized the Kingdom of Mahi as morally and culturally superior to neighboring African peoples. In the process of coming together and organizing themselves in the tradition of lay Catholic associations to pursue their common interests and needs, congregation leaders and their followers ended up crafting their own narrative of what it meant to be Mahi.

People of Faith tells a complex story of the ways in which African peoples in the diaspora developed social bonds and organized collective associations that cultivated and promoted a common cultural and social identity. Readers may, however, get lost at times in details that fail to connect to discussions of context or to the main arguments of the book. But in the end the fasci-

nating story of the Mahi congregation brings it all together and offers a useful new framework through which students and scholars in the field of African diaspora can understand cultural development and identity formation.

MARIANA L. R. DANTAS
Ohio University

GEORGE REID ANDREWS. *Blackness in the White Nation: A History of Afro-Uruguay*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 241. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

Like its neighbor, Argentina, Uruguay carefully constructed a white identity as an American nation built by European immigrants. This identity, as George Reid Andrews points out, erases the presence and contribution of Afro-Uruguayans from their country's history. Not only was African slavery an important part of Uruguay's colonial economy, but Afro-Uruguayans also played a crucial role in the wars of independence and the civil wars of the nineteenth century. Even today, after large numbers of European immigrants dramatically changed Uruguay's demography, Afro-Uruguayans constitute six percent of the country's population. This book tells their history.

Andrews comes to this, his fourth book, after years of research on the history of African Latin America. Like his previous books, this is social and cultural history at its best. He structures *Blackness in the White Nation* around an apparent contradiction: the persistence of Afro-Uruguayan political organizations and political activism in the face of a national culture that negates the existence of racism. Racism is seen as impossible in a democracy that has achieved one of the larger indicators of social equality in Latin America. After the declaration of legal equality and the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century, white Uruguayans proclaimed the end of racial discrimination. Yet, as Andrews points out, informal forms of discrimination continued to affect the lives and aspirations of many Afro-Uruguayans who sought better jobs and education. Although the Uruguayan state and the mainstream press were quick to condemn the cases of discrimination that reached the attention of the general public, they were equally quick to dismiss them as odd and rare instances of discrimination that did not reflect Uruguay's commitment to social equality. Against this official silence, black political organizations and the black press provided the only spaces for preserving an alternative historical memory and for denouncing the persistence of racial discrimination. It would not be until the 2000s that the Uruguayan government officially acknowledged the importance of racial discrimination. The Uruguayan state finally accepted the need to go beyond policies aimed at general forms of social inequality and started taking special measures that focused exclusively on racial prejudice and racial inequality.

Uruguay provides Andrews with a case study to ad-

dress a question that has concerned scholars of race relations for some time. Do social policies aimed at general forms of poverty and social inequality help diminish racial inequality, even if they do not include any measures that specifically focus on racism? Uruguay has a long tradition of government policies aimed at combating poverty and guaranteeing health and education to its citizens, making it a country with one of the lowest levels of economic disparity in Latin America. Yet, as Andrews points out, Uruguay's racial differentials in poverty are similar to those of Brazil, one of the most unequal countries in Latin America. In 2006, fifty percent of Afro-Uruguayans fell below the poverty line, while only twenty-four percent of whites fell into that category. In Brazil the percentages were forty-three percent and twenty-two percent respectively. In Andrews's view, these figures indicate that to merely rely on "universalist" policies against economic disparity will not solve racial differentials; it is time to implement policies that focus specifically on racial inequality, including affirmative action. The government of Brazil agrees. It has recently implemented affirmative action policies, but they are too recent to allow for long-term measures of their effectiveness. Perhaps Andrews could have brought to this comparative question the example of the United States, which is the country in the Americas with the longest history of affirmative action. Its successes and failures at addressing racial differentials could provide illuminating comparisons.

The history of Afro-Uruguayan music is another important subject of this book—one whose importance might have warranted a place in its title. During one of his research trips to Montevideo, Andrews joined a *comparsa* and learned to play *candombe*. His personal experience and his love for *candombe* make the chapters dedicated to *candombe* a true pleasure to read. Andrews examines how the evolution of *comparsa* music reflected changes in the needs and composition of Uruguay's urban working class during the last century and a half. He studies the important role of *comparsas* for the black social and civic organizations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for the European immigrants of the early twentieth century, and for contemporary Uruguayans facing economic displacement. Andrews also highlights the influence of global musical trends in the *comparsas'* composition and music. Anybody familiar with twentieth-century Afro-Latin music will find parallels between the history Afro-Uruguayan music and the history of other countries where *comparsas* and carnival play an important cultural role.

Andrews also explores the complex and difficult relationship among race, popular music, and national identity. On the one hand, *comparsas* provide a space for Afro-Uruguayan culture in Uruguay's national identity. On the other hand, making music and dance the only spheres of Afro-Uruguayans' contribution to national culture reifies racist notions about black "natural musicality" and "sensuality." It also ignores the significant participation of Afro-Uruguayans in the history of Uruguay's politics, economy, and literature, among

other things. Relegating Afro-Latin contributions solely to the realms of music and dance is common to other Latin American countries, and only recently has this practice begun to be publicly questioned. Andrews' careful examination of the Uruguayan case will be extremely useful for scholars and activists participating in this debate.

This engaging and beautifully written book is now the standard book of Afro-Uruguayan history and a wonderful addition to the scholarship on Afro-Latin music. Paired with his previous book on Argentina, it forever dismantles the idea that Latin American nations can be divided between non-white nations and white nations with little African and indigenous presence.

MARIXA LASSO

Case Western Reserve University

EDEN MEDINA. *Cybernetic Revolutionaries: Technology and Politics in Allende's Chile*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 326. \$32.00.

Eden Medina's *Cybernetic Revolutionaries* explores the use of cybernetics to implement ideals of democratic socialism in Salvador Allende's Chile. The multifaceted interplay of technology and politics is the centerpiece of Medina's work. Her book is informed by seminal scholarship of technology and politics, including key studies by Langdon Winner, Gabrielle Hecht, and Paul Edwards, among others. If Medina never achieves quite the analytic innovation of these scholars, she has nevertheless produced a significant study of the interdependence of technology and politics in a late twentieth-century revolution. This is indispensable reading for historians of Latin America and historians of technology alike.

As Medina points out, historians of Chile ought to be paying attention to technology, because the historical actors themselves explicitly connected technology and politics. Furthermore, technological projects are key sites for understanding the ways that revolutionary ideals are embedded in daily life. Project Cybersyn, a collaboration between cyberneticist Stafford Beer and Fernando Flores, a Chilean engineer, employed cybernetics, the science of communication and control, to create a new relationship between industry and government and, in the process, a participatory and democratic socialism. Cybernetic science rejected simplistic top-down organizational structures, instead using feedback systems to distribute information and decision-making authority. Project Cybersyn was designed to allow the government to monitor real-time industrial production data, and to provide feedback pinpointing any problems that might hamper the Chilean economy. Project developers believed that everyone from workers to managers would participate in this utopian, people-driven socialism. The project responded to the conundrum that faced many developing countries in the postwar world: how to find a third way between the low wages and underemployment of capitalist economies and the authoritarian and inefficient operations of com-

mand-driven socialism. The ideal of an economy that was both sound and humane drove the emergence of Project Cybersyn.

Medina grounds the narrative in histories of the two major innovators in this story: Beer and Flores. She opens the book by closely examining Beer's cybernetics and Flores's politics, stressing the congruence of political aims and technological philosophy that created a deep sympathy between the two men. It is, however, in the implementation of Project Cybersyn that the intersections of technology and politics become most evident. Medina details the political difficulties of supplying both the expertise and technology for this project in the face of limited budgets and curtailed exports of equipment from the United States, a key supplier of computer technologies. Yet the biggest problems were not purely technical but sociotechnical, as Medina's exploration of the early efforts to use the system demonstrate. Although designers built a functioning system with much less sophisticated technology than Beer was used to, they never successfully implemented the social participation that was vital to Beer's design. Engineers and managers proved frustratingly resistant to the idea that workers on factory lines ought to be trained to use and contribute to the system, subverting both Beer's technical design and ideals of democratic socialism. Workers remained largely disenfranchised. Medina's compelling exploration of Project Cybersyn's successes (including its ability to help the government distribute vital goods during the October Strike of 1972) and failures shows brilliantly why a fully sociotechnical analysis of this revolution is so important. Project Cybersyn, meant to make real an idealized democratic socialism, captures in microcosm both the engines of revolution, and the friction between ideals and the social realities that made the revolution so difficult to accomplish.

Medina explores this history from all angles: the design, construction, use, and media representations (both domestic and international) of Project Cybersyn, recounting multiple ways that politics and technology were interwoven. She never, however, fully synthesizes these many observations. That technologies have many kinds of politics is a reasonable conclusion and might perhaps surprise those readers who have not explored the related literature in the history of technology (of which Medina provides an excellent historiographic discussion). It may prove somewhat frustrating to historians of technology. Medina's analysis is interesting but disjointed. A reader knowledgeable in the history of technology might have hoped for more analytic innovation from such a rich history.

This last point, frustrating though it may be in some respects, is in fact a minor criticism. This book does many things extremely well: it is deeply researched and well told; it is a notably important study of the technological politics of socialism; it adds meaningfully to the history of cybernetics and highlights the global flows of knowledge, expertise, and idealism that informed that history. Above all, Medina skillfully uses analysis of technology to explore the unforgiving interface be-

tween idealism and reality in which revolutions are made or broken.

SUZANNE MOON
University of Oklahoma

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MODERN

JASON HAWKE. *Writing Authority: Elite Competition and Written Law in Early Greece*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 285. \$45.00.

Once the neglected stepchild of classical Athenian law, archaic Greek law has been witnessing a veritable renaissance with three monographs entirely or largely devoted to the subject appearing since 2008. Recent scholarship on archaic Greek law focuses on the implications of the public display of written laws, the role of literacy, the adjudication of disputes, the diffusion of legislative authority, and the socially multifaceted nature of the reception of written law. Jason Hawke's central question is why the Greeks first began to write laws. The answer is to be found in elite competition and political control in the context of the archaic Greek *poleis*. Laws were written at the instigation of the elites who aimed at regulating the affairs of their communities on their own terms. In this reconstruction, elite interaction with other social groups played only a secondary role in the lawmaking process.

The first chapter of the book consists of a selective review of scholarship on archaic law from Sir Henry Sumner Maine to recently published work. Chapter two lays the groundwork for the main parts of the book with a discussion of a host of issues related to source criticism and the use of comparative material, especially legal anthropological literature, in the study of archaic law. Chapter three deals with the nature of Greek dispute resolution before written law. The main point here is that the Greek world portrayed by the Homeric epics and the poems of Hesiod possessed a functional legal culture. Several avenues of conflict resolution were open to the parties involved in a dispute. At this stage of Greek legal history, the role of the public was crucial. This was a legal system "that did not lend itself to abuse perpetrated by a corporate, aristocratic interest" (p. 100).

Chapter four looks at instances of procedural abuse by judges, arbitrators, and other figures of authority in early Greece. The same chapter addresses the issue of literacy in relation to written law and concludes that literacy levels in archaic Greece were too low to render the adjudication of disputes more equitable for the wider public. Moreover, the majority of the population's limited access to written statutes opened up opportunities for abuse by elites who could engage directly with written law.

Chapters five and six are the heart of Hawke's argument. The transitional period from proto-states to fully developed *poleis* created, according to Hawke, the conditions for intense intra-elite conflict and the need to mediate it. Such mediation was effected through

written law. In the author's words, "[t]he earliest written laws of Greece were written by elites, aimed at addressing their anxieties over sharing power and preeminence in a new social and political creation" (p. 189). The book ends with a concluding section, a bibliography, and a general index. In a book that draws extensively on numerous inscriptions and literary sources, an index locorum would have been extremely useful.

In the mind of this reviewer, there should be little doubt that social elites were influential in the process of drafting and implementing written laws in archaic Greek communities. It is also true that many written statutes seem to address issues that are of special significance to elites. Nonetheless, the evidence suggests a more nuanced and complex picture. For instance, enactment formulas of many archaic written laws suggest that several groups (e.g., *polis*, *demos*, *hetaireiai*, tribes) occasionally had the authority to enact statutes. If Hawke's reconstruction is accepted, then the obvious question is why did all these groups, whose membership must have extended beyond the elite, play the game of elites enmeshed in intragroup conflict? Another issue concerns the reception of written statutory law. Enacting a law that might advance the interests of a certain group is one thing. The way the same law is received and potentially undermined or manipulated—there is evidence for both in archaic Greece—by other groups is quite another. Even though social elites to some extent influenced lawmaking procedures in archaic Greek communities, their grip was neither absolute nor exclusive. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that individuals of diverse social backgrounds constantly renegotiated the meaning and application of written laws.

The most appealing aspect of Hawke's book is his sustained, detailed, and often insightful discussion of particular literary passages or written laws. Despite the disagreements that one might have with particular points or even with the book's central thesis, it should be acknowledged that *Writing Authority* is a welcome addition to the growing scholarly literature on archaic Greek law that will certainly help maintain and enhance an already vibrant debate.

ZINON PAPAKONSTANTINOY
University of Illinois at Chicago

GARRETT G. FAGAN. *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 362. Cloth \$99.00, paper \$35.99.

This excellent book fully lives up to what its title announces, as it thoughtfully and comprehensively discusses popular and persistent Roman spectacles of striking cruelty. In drawing upon the work of social psychologists, it is both stimulating for ancient historians and also an important encouragement for anyone who seeks to reflect upon the social and cultural significance of rituals of violence. Moreover, given the breadth of scholarship enriching Garrett G. Fagan's thinking, he provides an invaluable work of reference to the prac-

tices of a Roman arena as well as a guide to other manifestations of seeming enthrallment to the sights and sounds of suffering. The book's central and animating questions about the power of acquaintance with violence are of universal significance.

The book is well organized in its chapters, which describe the main contributions to be made by the field of social psychology, the wider historical context in which cruelties beyond the arena or amphitheater were so conspicuously and mundanely endemic in a slave society, the nature of the crowds and their demographic gradations of status and dignity, the dynamics consequently operating within the audience, and the prejudices of alterity likely to be held and perpetuated by a great imperial state's spectatorship. Its latter two chapters address gladiatorial combat and the attractions of other violent spectacles, given whatever information might be gleaned about spectators' affective dispositions. The concluding chapter is exemplary in its recapitulation and also in its sensible confidence that a reader will have been enabled to refine significant agendas of curiosity, particularly about the power of habitude through individuals' familiarity with order and discipline, and the effect of their immersion in a collective excitement aroused by idiosyncratically Roman rituals.

An initial quotation from Augustine gives immediate focus to Fagan's central argument that an analysis of the arena and its audiences profits from psychological approaches and insights (p. 1). Ancient historians have not been oblivious to these, even though sometimes it has seemed that psychologists have done little more than put new labels upon age-old manifestations of human nature. But the author is deeply steeped in the scholarship of behavioral science and does justify his confidence that social psychology, apparently a discipline as full of variety and debate as it is of discovery, indeed "offers the most promising tool" as "it stands at the intersection of consciousness and context, where situation meets behavior" (p. 3). There is success in tracing "some contours of the Roman arena crowd's psychological landscape, on the basis of universal mental processes" and in generating "a mental map . . . of what was going on in the stands" (p. 275). The ideological architecture of an underdeveloped state's authority is viewed in all its particularities. There is always a fundamental common sense: sport (always a broad category) is "fun to watch" (p. 209), with aesthetic dialogue between participants and spectators, who anticipate, place bets, sing and shout, and more besides (pp. 227–228). The phenomenon of Roman bloodshed can never be neatly dissected.

Violent Roman entertainments are described in comprehensive detail and with systematic discrimination among gladiatorial contests, wild-beast hunts, and the grisly murders of condemned criminals at lunchtime shows attended by more hard-core devotees of what many then felt to be really rather nasty. There is correspondingly a very alert reckoning throughout with the "variations in crowd demographics, or differences in the shape of shared values, social understandings, his-

torical experience, and cultural meaning across the expanse of time and space occupied by the Roman empire" (p. 278). While there are obvious difficulties in combining a sweeping, synchronic scrutiny with fine-grained recognition of variation and change, they do not loom large, simply because of the depth and scrupulousness of the scholarship. The footnotes and a remarkably comprehensive bibliography make this an invaluable work of reference. Many classical scholars will profit from perusal of the footnotes alone. Also valuable is the appendix, which provides a wide range of original documentation (both literary and epigraphical) in the original Greek or Latin and also in Fagan's careful and thoughtful translations. The limitations of evidence are honestly noted, but everything that demands or helps understanding has been absorbed. This helpfulness extends to pointing the way to investigation of topics falling outside the main concerns of the book; a splendid example is the work on tasks performed by slaves (p. 169, n. 40).

Perhaps the most striking virtue here is that the treatment of Roman institutionalized habits of bloody, "sheer murder" (p. 133) serves a wide and various audience. Trenchant *humanitas* and impressive scholarship admirably and awfully encourage all to think about violences and their contexts. What we see matters. Vital too are diagnoses of the powerful compulsions inherent in the spectatorship of suffering.

ANDREW J. E. BELL
University of Nevada,
Las Vegas

CAM GREY. *Constructing Communities in the Late Roman Countryside*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 269. \$99.00.

In the Roman Empire most of the population, probably eighty-five percent or more, were peasants working as farmers and pastoralists. Although most peasants lived in the countryside, even some residents of cities were engaged in working the land. Such a concentration of labor on the production and distribution of food was of course characteristic of other preindustrial economies, and peasants were the most valuable resource of pre-modern states. But despite their ubiquity and their importance, peasants were underrepresented in ancient texts and hence peasant societies remain understudied by modern historians.

In his excellent book about rural communities in the Roman Empire during the fourth and fifth centuries Cam Grey examines the strategies that Roman peasants used to manage their risks. One risk was subsistence failure, leading to poverty and starvation; another was social discord, creating conflict within communities. Peasant households mitigated these economic and social risks by making alliances with other households and nearby communities (chapter two), and they respected the judgments of community elders, appealed to local mediators, and participated in communal religious festivals (chapter three). They also negotiated with

wealthy landowners, military officers, bishops, and monks. One of the important conclusions of Grey's interpretation is to highlight how peasants could even manipulate the authority of powerful patrons (chapter four). They sometimes resisted the interventions of the powerful through violent confrontations (chapter five), and the collection of taxes in particular might upset rural communities (chapter six). Through a sequence of edicts emperors tried to draft patrons as tax collectors, compelling them to choose between assessing their tenants and clients or shielding them, and to make rural villages collectively responsible for the payment of taxes (chapter seven). "As a consequence, the fiscal machinery was able to reach a single rural cultivator in many ways in the late Roman period" (p. 216).

Peasants from past times are the archetypical people without history, and in the absence of first-person accounts much of the available data from the later Roman Empire consists of stray anecdotes. Even as Grey acknowledges the rather disjointed nature of the evidence about rural life, he often has no alternative but to deploy the same vignettes about Bishop Martin of Tours and his encounters with Gallic peasants and householders, or the cranky landowner in a dramatic comedy from Gaul, or the stylite Saint Simeon who grew up as a goat-herd in Syria. Another important source is the many edicts issued by emperors about the collection of taxes. Not only did emperors increase the level of taxation, but they also enlarged the number of magistrates involved in the assessment and collection of taxes. An obsession with taxation made peasants "significantly more visible to the state—and, incidentally, to contemporary scholars" (p. 228).

Relying on miscellaneous vignettes can leave a modern interpretation without a definite sense of place and time, and in Grey's account too the many decades sometimes collapse without differentiation. Another outcome is that it is often easier to discuss patrons rather than peasants. The authors of ancient texts were typically landowning aristocrats, who were promoting their own reputations, and churchmen, who were sometimes railing against the depredations of those aristocrats. In their edicts emperors too were often concerned to limit the authority of patrons to interfere with the collection of taxes. All of these authors might misrepresent rural communities in order to advance their own personal, moral, or fiscal interests. Grey suggests that it is nevertheless possible to read these texts against the grain and deduce "the realities of economic behavior in rural contexts" (p. 193). The development of new institutions for collecting taxes, for instance, provided peasants new opportunities for collusion or opposition. An even better response to the fallibilities of the evidence is the deployment of comparative perspectives from other premodern societies and from modern underdeveloped societies. Timelessness then becomes an advantage: "peasant communities exhibit certain behaviors that are broadly congruent and comparable across time and space" (p. 2). In the end, Grey's interpretive framework about how Roman peasants

coped with their risks is fundamentally convincing, even if the evidentiary basis remains rather slim.

One of the lasting contributions of Grey's analysis is his emphasis on the agency of peasants. In the Roman Empire peasants may have been burdened by both the state and local patrons, but they were not powerless. They could cooperate with each other by exchanging goods and services, they could evade imperial taxes, they could bargain with or defy powerful patrons, and they could play patrons against each other. Taxation was not necessarily their overriding concern: "the factors motivating peasant households to undertake a particular course of action did not begin and end with the fiscal imperatives envisaged by the drafters and promulgators of the [imperial] legislation" (p. 210). By assuming that Roman peasants prioritized their own concerns, Grey's book offers one path for recovering their voices.

RAYMOND VAN DAM
University of Michigan

CARLOS F. NOREÑA. *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xxii, 456. \$105.00.

The focus of imperial Roman historiography is often divided between attention to the individual figure of the emperor and attention to the structures—cultural, economic, social, and other—that enabled and perpetuated the huge and heterogeneous Roman Empire. At its peak that empire stretched from northern Britain to the upper Nile and from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Black Sea, with some sixty million inhabitants of distinctive cultures, languages, religions, and economic circumstances. Literary sources center on the emperor and his family, however, obscuring or entirely omitting information that might help explain the empire's complex workings. Carlos F. Noreña's study turns particularly to large databases of bronze and silver coins and of inscriptions to quantify his investigation of "how the figure of the emperor, as a symbol, could affect the distribution of social power in the Roman empire" (p. 24). Analyzing the nexus between representation, communications, and power in the large, preindustrial empire, Noreña contends that the back-and-forth circulation of ideals informed the behavior of emperors and ruled alike, and contributed fundamentally to the empire's longevity.

Methodological considerations restrict Noreña's study generally to the Roman West between 69 and 235 C.E., where Latin was the language of official and unofficial communications and Rome's bronze coinage circulated, and when coins' typology was most diverse and inscriptions employing specific honorific terms for the emperor were most numerous. But Noreña also includes information from outside these parameters, as when tracing the Hellenistic development of the "five core virtues"—*aequitas* (equity), *pietas* (piety), *virtus* (virtue), *liberalitas* (generosity), and *providentia* (foresight)—fundamental to the ethical profile of the good

Roman emperor, the model benefactor. The book's three major parts assess the topics of Noreña's subtitle, and are supported by fifteen appendices with such information as "totals and percentages of silver virtue types, by reign" and "master list of inscriptions in epigraphic corpus." Three maps, eleven tables, eighteen figures, and sixty-one illustrations (coins, reconstructed statue displays in provincial fora, municipal statue bases for emperors, and the like) graphically present and corroborate the arguments. Noreña maintains that the success of Rome's empire was tied to a monarchical ideal constantly reinforced and modified as the emperor acted on, and was acted on by, a twofold layer of power brokers: senators and equestrians participating in the central government, and the provincial aristocracy governing at the local level. Those below these echelons are not focused on.

Rigorous quantification advances Noreña's case and contextualizes the issue of individual agency. He turns first and foremost to over 180,000 authentic precious metal and base-metal coins that have been found in coin hordes in the Latin West dating between 69 and 235 C.E. His justification of this database is a lucid introduction to Roman numismatic issues. He points out that coins found in hordes are a much more representative sample of what was circulating than are coin collections now assembled in museums and private hands (accumulated for their rarity, beauty, and the like); he also briefly describes the organization of the imperial mint and the circulation of its bronze and silver coinage. Moving below the pinnacle of Roman power—the emperor and his family, and the senators, highly placed equestrians, and imperial freedmen who worked at the center—Noreña turns to another database, 575 Latin inscriptions from the West that include honorific terminology attached to or associated with the emperor (also dating between 69 and 235 C.E.). These comprise local honorific inscriptions erected for the emperor, ones raised for local aristocrats that include mention of the emperor, and milestones and other objects created by the central government. Statuary rightly figures in this section (although its chronological analysis would have been useful). Overall, quantification and close argumentation validate Noreña's argument for reciprocity and mutual influence between the central state power and local aristocracies.

The reception of Roman imperial virtues, and thus the acceptance of the emperor himself, ultimately depended on the tangible, visible, and concrete results that flowed from those virtues. Noreña's control of numismatic evidence makes him particularly persuasive on this point, as when he links *liberalitas* on coins to actual *congiaria* (cash distributions), or associates *aequitas* types to times of particularly high-quality issues of *denarii* (silver coins). But Noreña also, and rightly, cautions against presuming that the official advertisement of a virtue is linked to the personal experience of a Roman emperor, or that new portrait types represent individual events. In other words, Noreña avoids the pitfalls of positivistic scholarship without renouncing

the primacy of our ancient sources. This laudable balance informs alike his arguments for a coherent semantic and ideological system underpinning the Roman state, and his illumination of emperor and empire.

MARY T. BOATWRIGHT
Duke University

GLENN W. OLSEN. *Of Sodomites, Effeminate, Hermaphrodites, and Androgynes: Sodomy in the Age of Peter Damian*. (Studies and Texts, number 176.) Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2011. Pp. xiii, 523. \$85.00.

This book, which concerns forbidden desires, wrestles with its own temptation, named, with dry wit, as that of "illicit generalization" (p. 42). Glenn W. Olsen's view is that the history of sexuality is best advanced not by grand narratives of transformation but by close, humane, and learned readings of particular texts. The result is a sustained meditation on an eleventh-century tract on clerical sodomy, as remarkable for its breadth as its depth. Olsen's discussion spans fifth-century Greece and twenty-first-century Utah: his book certainly deserves the non-medievalist audience to which it aspires. Whether it defeats the demon of generalization is another question.

Great claims have been made for Peter Damian's *Book of Gomorrah* (now known more soberly as Letter 31). Writing in northern Italy ca. 1049, Damian sought to draw the pope's attention to a "raging cancer" among "priests of this region": sodomy (*sodomia*). By this term Damian understood an ascending scale of prohibited acts: masturbation, mutual masturbation, interfemoral intercourse, and anal intercourse. The papal response was downbeat, and no immediate campaign ensued against "sodomy" so defined. Nonetheless, modern scholars, above all Mark D. Jordan, have argued that Damian's text represents a key juncture in the history of sexuality. The premodern world, it has been assumed since Michel Foucault, had known only sexual acts, not sexual persons. Centuries before the trial of Oscar Wilde, however, Damian conjures into being "the sodomite." His intervention is seen to have directed Western discourse toward the current taxonomy of sexual identity.

In Olsen's view, this is an inaccurate, overdramatized, and ultimately reductive account. Certainly by the ninth century, and possibly much earlier, "sodomy" was in circulation as an abstract term. Damian, then, inherited a category to which he sought to lend a degree of precision. Olsen's point is that "before and after" accounts of sexual identity play false to the way that tradition actually and messily develops. He objects also to the political constraints of much work in this field. In focusing on power, repression, and persecution, many interpreters fail to capture the emotional and conceptual range of human relationships.

Olsen's book has astonishing, restless range. We are in no medieval ghetto here, as the analysis moves us back and forth between the *kinaidos* (effeminate flat-

terer) of the ancient world and the nineteenth-century European homosexual. A price is paid, however. At times, the reader would prefer to settle in for the close reading of the text promised at the start, rather than take another heady tour. Furthermore, as a study in the history of ideas, the account has its own limits. Sodomy is not primarily an idea: more often than not, it is an accusation. Whether the charge sticks bears no necessary relation to what “really happened”; it has to do with the relationship among accuser, accused, and audience.

So we have to ask: who is the target here? Damian is studiously vague, and Olsen does not press him, nor does he give us as full a view as he could of the vituperative culture of cursing in which Damian’s text was produced. In the movement for “reform,” eleventh-century clerics vied with each other in defining standards of purity. Damian, in fact, took a relatively dispassionate view of financially corrupt priests: one explanation for his full-throated condemnation of sodomy may have been a concern not to seem soft among his peers.

The upshot of church reform was the sharp demarcation of the priesthood as men without family. They were to live as celibate custodians of institutional property, disengaged from the cycle of bloodline reproduction. Their semen (and in medieval physiology, as Olsen reminds us, semen was understood to be blood turned white in the heat of desire) was not to circulate or be spilt. Olsen professes a degree of weariness that clerical celibacy perennially attracts the sodomy accusation. What this does not catch is the immediacy of the eleventh-century situation. The issue was not, as now, the sexual abuse of minors, but the definition and reproduction of the social order. In a pre-penicillin society, with a staggeringly high mortality rate, any discussion of sex was a discussion of property and its transmission. The celibate priesthood had to be seen to hold land and office for the common good. In raising the cry of sodomy, Damian may have sought to spike the charge that the men without family were in bed with each other, literally or otherwise.

Olsen’s panoramic vision is thus a blessing and a curse. While it opens vistas, it can lead him astray from the very historical specificity to which he is vowed. In particular, there is some incautious discussion of “Christianity,” and the messages about sodomy carried by “the religion itself” (pp. 130–131). If we were to read here “scriptural tradition,” one could agree: on the whole, the Bible is in favor of marital intercourse as the sexual norm—to the point indeed, where Jesus was remembered as a married rabbi. But among the many things that this book can teach us, one is that Christianity, as a category, has been no less in need of definition than has sodomy.

CONRAD LEYSER
University of Oxford

NIGEL SAUL. *Chivalry in Medieval England*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 416. \$35.00.

At the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, chivalrously charged alone into the Scottish ranks to preserve his honor. In contrast, Bartholomew Badlesmere, one of the earl’s followers, unchivalrously failed to copy his lord’s example. This incident demonstrates the difficulties involved in interpreting the knightly values of the medieval period, as chivalric deeds were counterbalanced by acts of violence and cowardice. It is the earl, not his follower, who features in this sympathetic study of chivalric culture. Nigel Saul ranges widely, with both learning and a lightness of touch, over the world of aristocratic society in medieval England. A chronological framework is provided in the initial chapters, which are followed by examination of specific themes.

Saul argues that although chivalry was introduced to England by the Normans in the eleventh century, it was from the early fourteenth century that chivalric ritual began to penetrate warfare extensively, with vows, glorious feats of arms, and brave deeds done to impress women. At the same time, there was a new brutality afoot, characterized by political executions and heavy casualties in some battles. This was very different from the position in the early twelfth century, when a mere three knights were killed at the battle of Brémule, or the early thirteenth, when the death of the handsome count of Perche at the battle of Lincoln was widely grieved.

Chivalry had a double-edged impact on warfare. On the one hand, violence was glorified in much of the literature of chivalric romance, while on the other, it was curtailed by the values of courtesy and liberality that limited aggression. Saul’s sympathies lie with the latter; the Black Prince’s sack of Limoges, which appalled the chronicler Jean Froissart, does not feature in his argument. It is difficult to know how far men were motivated by the chivalric virtues of honor, fame, and glory, and how far by the materialistic lure of ransoms and booty. Saul avoids this dichotomy, suggesting that the two were far from incompatible, and indeed that accumulating wealth would be seen as a mark of success in a chivalric world. While this may be true, some of the ways by which men such as Eustace d’Aubrichécourt gained wealth, through destruction of territory and collection of protection money, appear far from chivalric.

The religious facets of chivalry are skillfully brought out, with a discussion of grail legends, the cult of St. George, and the foundation of colleges. Curiously, Saul does not bring into his analysis the *Livre des Seynts Medicines*, written by Henry of Lancaster, one of the heroes of the Hundred Years’ War. Another work that might have been considered is the lengthy poem about the pious crusader William Longespée, who died at Mansourah in 1250, a man of legendary fame who was viewed as an exemplar of chivalry.

Although Saul argues that chivalry established new

attitudes toward amorous liaisons, discussion of the role of women is confined to one short chapter. The dominant chivalric values were above all masculine and were accepted by women. Saul shows, for example, that wives' concern with the heraldic representation of family connections was at least as great as that of their husbands. They were eager to encourage their menfolk to perform chivalric deeds through gifts of tokens. Only in their private religious practices, suggested for example by their collection of devotional manuscripts, does Saul see anything distinctive about women's cultural attitudes.

One of the strengths of this book is its emphasis on material culture. Castles were an important architectural expression of chivalry. Here Saul's argument takes recent revisionist views fully into account, though he does not extend his case to the wider fantasies that have been suggested, such as the hypothetical identification of Thomas of Lancaster's fortress at Dunstanburgh with Lancelot's castle of *Joyous Garde*. It remains unclear why the "swashbuckling" Edward Dalyngridge, a man very ready to resort to violence, should have chosen to build at Bodiam a castle apparently militarily weak, but magnificent in its chivalric symbolism, in an area where defenses against French marauding forces were desperately needed.

This is an important study of noble and knightly culture, extensive in range and sensitive in treatment. It makes use of many types of evidence, from literary romances to parish churches. The full extent of chivalric activity is vividly portrayed. The emphasis is strongly on the later medieval period; this is hardly surprising, given the scale of evidence that survives from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Saul is understanding toward the chivalric knights who fill his pages, and the contrasts between the ideals and realities of knighthood are skillfully resolved. I have one regret; this book deserves more than eight pages of illustrations, which is all that the publishers have provided.

MICHAEL PRESTWICH
Durham University

DYAN ELLIOTT. *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women, 200–1500*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. 466. \$59.95.

Consecrated virgins appear in many religious traditions. In Christianity, such women are often presented as "brides of Christ" (*sponsae Christi*). Dyan Elliott traces this metaphor through theology, hagiography, and other textual genres from the patristic period to the eve of the Reformation. Her story begins in the western Mediterranean (in Carthage, to be precise), although she includes a few eastern church fathers in her early chapters. After the fall of Rome, the story becomes exclusively western in its focus, but Elliott's scope is still dazzlingly broad, spanning many centuries and a stunning array of source materials. Her primary source bibliography almost outweighs her listing of secondary

sources, and her analysis is equally expansive and impressive.

Marriage serves as a powerful metaphor in the Christian tradition, encompassing a range of meanings, including the mystical union of Christ with his church. The application of the marriage metaphor to devout women, however, faced problems from the start. The apostle Paul, for example, focused on male rather than female chastity, so there is no patent scriptural basis for the idea of a virgin "bride of Christ." By the late second century, the Carthaginian theologian Tertullian was addressing female virgins in this way, but mainly, it would seem, to degrade rather than to elevate them. By overcoming their sexual desires, chaste women might be thought of as "becoming male," with all the freedoms that entailed. By marrying them to Christ Tertullian wanted to ensure their continued subjugation to male authority: that of God and the priesthood. In fact, while Tertullian clearly admired devout virgins, he despised earthly marriage, considering it merely a mechanism for controlling sinful carnality. Other church fathers soon turned the title "bride of Christ" into a high honor, however, and devout women clearly sought this status, although we lack the sources to know precisely how they characterized it for themselves.

Confusion continued in the early medieval period. Germanic customs allowed men to have multiple wives, and, more troublesome still, frequently allowed marriage to be consecrated even by forced carnal relations. Frankish nunneries abounded in cast-off queens and princesses who had known the touch of a man. Could such women become brides of Christ? Theologians, hagiographers, and monastic chroniclers puzzled over the answer. Then in the long twelfth century, that great age of spiritual "affect," thinkers again began to stress interior, conceptual aspects of virginity, and of marriage itself, rather than their purely physical components. Still more problems arose. Could a woman re-attain some kind of meaningful "virginity" through spiritual dedication? And what of religious women (or men) who might observe their vows physically but succumb to desire in their hearts? Such questions were pressing, because, thanks largely to Bernard of Clairvaux's enormously influential sermons on the Song of Songs, bridal imagery now became absolutely fundamental to Christian spirituality, for both sexes.

In the thirteenth century ardent female mystics appropriated erotic imagery derived from the Song of Songs to describe their relations with their beloved husband, Christ. Some of these women were in religious orders, but many were pious laywomen who increasingly sought to control the terms of their own religious devotion. Male authorities applauded them to some extent but were also deeply concerned. Then in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Elliott sees a "descent into hell." Aghast at the troubling erotic tones of much female mysticism, some clerical authorities became convinced that these women were in the grips of demonic seduction rather than divine rapture. Mystics were feared to be demoniacs, and the notion of the

witches' sabbath, with its horrifically demonized carnality, was just around the corner.

This book situates bridal imagery and female sexuality at the center of medieval spirituality. While the overall contours of the story are basically familiar, Elliott offers fresh perspectives and insights throughout, shedding new light on over a millennium of religious history. In one sense, however, the book could be described as old-fashioned. Elliott continually emphasizes the problems that female spirituality posed for medieval Christianity, and her overall trajectory curves in a depressingly downward arc. Much recent work on medieval religion has downplayed misogyny (always present, and thus, in a sense, easy to ignore) and emphasized the dynamic agency of medieval women. Studies of witchcraft, in particular, have emphasized that even demonologists held nuanced positions regarding female spiritual potential. Elliott acknowledges this. Still, her emphasis is generally on the negative, and this, too, is valuable. While of course we must recognize historical nuances, we should never forget that the lives of pious medieval women were deeply circumscribed and often perilous. Historians of women, religion, and the Middle Ages will all find this book provocative and rewarding. The power of its vision is undeniable and should spark many valuable discussions and debates.

MICHAEL D. BAILEY
Iowa State University

MIRIAM SHADIS. *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages*. (The New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. Pp. xiv, 251. \$90.00.

Viewing certain medieval queens as exceptional is nearly unavoidable. Blanche of Castile, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Isabella of Castile: all exercised a degree of political power that seems to stand in stark contrast with their sisters. Miriam Shadis's biography of Queen Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) is an analysis of one woman's political career that encourages us to avoid the "exceptional woman" framework when analyzing the lives and careers of medieval queens. Using a combination of charter and chronicle evidence, Shadis shows us how Iberian queens constructed their position: through hereditary rule, marriage, motherhood, and the Castilian custom of co-rule for queens. Shadis argues that we should not view Berenguela's rule as exceptional or her power as informal; rather, she, like other Castilian queens, was just as much a participant in her line's rule as any of her male relatives.

Chapter one highlights the relative normalcy of Berenguela's experience by presenting her mother as a model of Castilian queenship. The career of Leonor of England (1162–1214) shows us some of the gendered tropes we have come to expect from high medieval queens: married to the Castilian King Alfonso VIII, she secured her position by giving birth to multiple children and worked throughout her life to advance their interests, all the while maintaining her links to her natal fam-

ily. She was also typical in her active patronage of the church, including the founding of the Cistercian female monastery of Las Huelgas, which would become the traditional resting place for Castilian monarchs. Shadis, however, presents these familiar themes in a new light: rather than being activities of a political figure whose gender kept her on the margins of "real" power, they were ways of engaging with her new lineage. This active engagement was furthered in Leonor's case by the Castilian practice of co-rule, in which a king might choose to associate his queen with himself in official documents.

Having set the stage with Leonor's rule, Shadis uses the remaining chapters to show how Berenguela's career is a continuation of this same pattern of active Castilian queenship rather than the story of one exceptional woman. Chapter two addresses how the matrimonial politics surrounding Berenguela help us understand her as a lynchpin between one generation and the next, for both her husband's lineage and her own. Chapter three focuses on the period of her rule in León, during which time she acted as a patron to monasteries long associated with Leonese royal women, staking a claim to her place in the lineage and securing the loyalty of the Leonese clergy. Charters also show that she, like her mother, was associated with her husband as co-ruler. Chapter four treats the issue of her brief succession to the Castilian throne and her subsequent abdication in favor of her son Fernando III (r. 1217–1252). Perceived disabilities of gender meant that she could not have risked trying to secure the throne to which she was heir, but abdicating in favor of her son, combined with the Castilian practice of co-rule, allowed her to preserve rule for her lineage and to continue to participate actively in that rule.

Gendered disabilities raise particular questions when trying to assess a tradition of queenship in Iberia in particular; chapter five addresses how queens' exercise of power interacted with the masculinized reconquest kingship. Shadis argues that Berenguela was an essential patron of her son's crusade and helped to forge his identity as a crusader-king. Her gender-appropriate exercise in political influence is evident in Shadis's final chapter on lineage and commemoration: it was women's role to cultivate the relationship between the living and the dead; when the woman in question was a queen, that role took on political significance.

Throughout this book, Shadis makes skillful use of the limited primary sources available on Berenguela, taking into account their biases and discrepancies. These sources are grounded in a strong foundation of the secondary literature on gender and queenship—although the book, most especially chapter three, could have profited from greater engagement with the literature on monarchy and even lordship in Iberian context. Greater attention here could strengthen the compelling idea at the core of this book, which should encourage scholars of queens, kings, and lesser lords—male and female—to move away from a dichotomy of formal/bureaucratic/male power versus informal/rela-

tional/female power. Shadis presents a convincing argument that Berenguela's political power, while undoubtedly linked to that of the men in her line, was also founded on the same principles as male power at all levels: control of lands, cultivation of lineage, patronage of ecclesiastical institutions, and participation in the ongoing reconquest. This book is thus more than just the biography of one medieval queen; it is an invitation to scholars of medieval queenship to situate their own subjects within a new analytical framework: one that is actively engaged with what it meant to be a female lord in particular without ignoring other important factors that at times transcended gender.

MARIE A. KELLEHER
California State University,
Long Beach

L. J. SACKVILLE. *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*. (Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, number 1.) York: York Medieval Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 224. \$90.00.

In this first volume of York's welcome new series on heresy and inquisition, L. J. Sackville presents a well-researched analysis of the complex and sometimes contradictory ways that multiple layers of meaning adhered to "heresy" and "heretic" in various thirteenth-century textual genres. She argues primarily and explicitly against the existence of any single dominant portrayal of heresy in this period, and secondarily and implicitly against historiographic trends that focus so resolutely on textual constructions of heresy as to deny any meaningful links between texts and a reality behind them.

The book first presents four chapters organized around overlapping genres of text: polemic, edification, canon-legal, and inquisition. As Sackville methodically moves through her evidence, her picture of complex layering emerges. Sometimes this is a question of shifts over time, but often the point is that different textual imperatives led different genres to produce different pictures of heretics and heresy. For instance, heresy could be treated within anti-heretical polemics and schematic *summae auctoritatum* (lists of biblical references useful for refuting heresy) as an inherently learned, text-based phenomenon, where imagined heretics argue points of doctrine in scholastic fashion. Yet in *exempla* collections and early Dominican sources, where the false appearance of heretics teaches lessons and reinforces Dominican identity, the details of doctrine are not so important as the devious nature of contemporary heretics; and some later inquisitors' manuals actually perpetuated earlier stereotypes of heretics as simply unlearned and ignorant. Thus, on several levels, doctrinal detail could be either central or irrelevant to textual constructions of heresy. Similarly, as is well known, the Fourth Lateran Council offered a newly detailed definition of orthodoxy and then decreed that anything contradicting this definition was heresy. Thus dissent is here, as in the polemics, a matter of doctrine. Yet in succeeding decades key regional councils and

legal consultations moved away from a stress on ideas and instead emphasized behaviors, especially of those who helped, sheltered, believed in, or harbored heretics. In these texts it is relationships between people that matter. This move in turn built on a strand in canon law that focused on one specific kind of behavior, contumacy in the face of church judgment. In texts produced more directly by inquisitions, the nature of questioning and sentences tended to create an image of heretics as elusive, mobile, and hidden away; the nearly invisible object around which circled the real objects of inquisitors' questions: those who saw, or adored, or ate with "them."

As the author proposes broader conclusions in a fifth chapter, she turns to some well-known imagery, again insisting that earlier scholars have missed layers of complexity. Heretics were often envisioned as "little foxes that destroy the vine," following imagery popularized above all by Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Song of Songs. But by the thirteenth century this metaphor was combined in conciliar, inquisitorial, and Dominican texts with the image from the Book of Judges in which Samson fastens foxes together by the tail, suggesting a unified heretical threat. In polemical texts, however, heretics tended rather to be wolves of the variety donning sheep's clothing to hide their true designs on the flock, and across a range of sources heretics were snakes poisoning with their venom. Heresy could thus tend to be represented as all one beneath the surface, but this unity was seen mostly in terms of separation from and attacks on the church; heresy was on another level always plural, defined by its lack of internal unity, splintered into sects.

The book's organization is both a strength and a weakness. The clear descriptions of each text treated within each genre will be useful, as will the specific conclusions about each subset of the evidence. At the same time, those reading the book straight through will notice a certain level of repetition and overlap. Moreover many elements of the analysis feel familiar, since most of the texts considered here are well-studied and have been available in print for some time. Nevertheless, the author makes a real contribution by juxtaposing so many texts from different genres and crafting a nuanced, overarching argument about the meanings of their multiple images.

The basic thrust of a book focused on textual representations would seem to feed well into recent trends toward seeing heresy as at least in part an invention of elite churchmen and a product of their discursive practices. And yet, the author clearly does not want to align herself with this view. Instead, she suggests that the very complexity she highlights must mean that the texts about heresy really do reflect interaction with a messy reality of heresy and heretics. The logic of this claim does not seem entirely compelling, and in any case the author never fully addresses how this stance squares with her own findings about textual images being produced by imperatives of genre. Particularly given its publication just months before R. I. Moore's imposing

new study *The War on Heresy* (2012), Sackville's thorough treatment of "how and from what parts the picture of heresy is put together" (p. 9) may actually strike some readers as most useful in understanding more precisely how that "war" was conceptualized.

SEAN L. FIELD
University of Vermont

SHARON FAYE KOREN. *Forsaken: The Menstruant in Medieval Jewish Mysticism*. (HBI Series on Jewish Women; The Tauber Institute Series for the Study of European Jewry.) Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press. 2011. Pp. xvii, 286. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$35.00, e-book \$27.99.

After an introductory chapter on the development of Jewish purity laws relating to menstruation and, to a lesser extent, seminal emissions, Sharon Faye Koren launches into a detailed examination of the development and symbolic meanings assigned to menstruation in various forms of late antique and medieval Jewish mysticism, beginning with the Hekhalot (early medieval mystical literature), then passing on to the Hasidei Ashkenaz in northern Europe, and finally, an impressive array of thinkers within the tradition of theosophical Kabbalah in Provence, Iberia, and Italy. The final two chapters of the book, focusing on menstruation in Islam and Christianity, serve as informative, comparative appendices to the more extensive treatment of this theme in medieval Jewish texts. Koren's chapter on Islam is thought-provoking for her argument that menstruation was perceived as less problematic for approaching the divine in Sufism than in Kabbalistic texts because Muslims retained a physical ritual center, the Ka'ba, in contrast to Jews who, after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, imagined a heavenly temple and transposed the purity requirements for the earthly one onto its celestial counterpart.

In the main body of her book, Koren's examination of the *Baraita de Niddah*, a collection of uncertain date (created between the sixth and eighth centuries) that consists of laws and warnings about women's purity and impurity, is particularly valuable. Building and considerably expanding upon the work of scholars such as Michael D. Swartz and Evyatar Marienberg, she argues that the *Baraita de Niddah*, because of its preoccupation with the strict laws of purity relating to the temple, demonstrates a priestly concern. This theme, she argues, aligns it with Hekhalot texts, whose authors similarly struggled to conceptualize Judaism without a physical temple. Both the *Baraita de Niddah* and Hekhalot traditions typically advocated much stricter purity restrictions than those found in the Talmud. Koren maintains that the antipathy between menstruation and the divine present in Hekhalot texts finds its fullest expression in the *Baraita de Niddah*. She demonstrates that the *Baraita de Niddah*, far from being a marginal text, had a substantial impact on attitudes toward the menstruant in both northern and southern European Jewish mystical traditions, despite the suprallegal restrictions it ad-

vocated. In Ashkenazi texts generally, and especially those of the Hasidei Ashkenaz, anxieties about menstrual pollution and the willingness to praise menstruants who eschewed the synagogue, even while admitting that legally such women were allowed admittance, derived from the abiding influence of both Hekhalot literature and the *Baraita de Niddah*.

According to Koren, in theosophic Kabbalah the celestial temple and its concomitant purity requirements were applied directly to the structure and make up of God, namely the *sefirot*. Because some of the *sefirot* were conceptualized as female, they too menstruated, which forced a separation between the divine masculine and feminine, most especially between the *Shekhinah* (the feminine manifestation of the divine spirit) and her masculine counterpart. Koren shows that links between the demonic and menstruation, which were implicit in early texts, become explicit and richly elaborated upon in theosophic Kabbalah. In mystical, exegetical, and legal writings, kabbalists drew upon current medical theory to characterize both human and divine menstruants as a source of physical danger. At the same time, menstruation became a source of ontological, supernal evil through which the forces of judgment and demonic pollution were unleashed upon the human world. Male sinners were sometimes described as *niddah* (menstruant). While a number of scholars, most notably Elliot R. Wolfson, have pointed to the mutable gender of the *Shekhinah* (the *sefirah* conceived as the presence of God in the world) and the positive valance attributed to the *Shekhinah*'s masculine identity, Koren adds a new dimension to our understanding of the complexities of divine gender. She argues that the *Shekhinah* becomes masculine when not menstruating, so that to be completely pure was to be male. Building upon Wolfson's observations, the author points out that even very feminine bodily functions, such as lactation, when applied positively to the feminine aspects of God, are likened to masculine ones, such as ejaculation. Menstruation, by contrast, is purely female and negative. The antithesis between menstruation and the divine in all of these Jewish mystical traditions, and continuing into their modern expressions, derives from the expansion and application of purity concerns that originally applied to the temple.

This book constitutes a substantial contribution to our understanding of medieval Jewish concepts of purity and gender, and the impact of both of these categories on kabbalistic thought. Koren's command of kabbalistic texts is impressive—a number of the sources she examines are available only in manuscript. Despite her generally meticulous examination of kabbalistic sources, curiously, Koren does not deal with the rich use of menstrual symbolism in ecstatic Kabbalah, best known through the writings of the thirteenth-century mystic Abraham Abulafia. Nor does she acknowledge the lacuna or explain her decision to exclude this material. Her discussions of menstruation and its symbolism in medieval Islam and Christianity are briefer and more derivative, by her own admission. Nevertheless,

these chapters provide valuable overviews and, at times, original insights into the topic and ideas for future research.

ALEXANDRA CUFFEL
Macalester College

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE, DANIEL ROUSSEAU, and ANOUCHKA VASAK. *Les fluctuations du climat de l'an mil à nos jours*. Paris: Fayard. 2011. Pp. 321. €22.00.

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, one of the great French historians of our time, has long shown an interest in climate history. His first book on the subject, *Histoire du climat depuis l'an mil* (1967), is considered one of the founding works in the field. He returned to the subject with a magisterial three-volume work, *Histoire humaine et comparée du climat*, published between 2004 and 2009, and a shorter book, *Trente-trois questions sur l'histoire du climat*, in 2010.

The present work, co-authored with climatologist Daniel Rousseau and historian Anouchka Vasak, is essentially a summary of Ladurie's *Histoire humaine et comparée du climat*, brought up to date with recent findings. Its subject is the climate of France and (to a lesser extent) Britain, Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries. The book says little about Italy or Iberia and seldom mentions Russia, Eastern Europe, or other continents. The authors divide the long span of history since the year 1000 into twenty chronological chapters, thirteen of them named after important people in each period. Characteristically, of the thirteen individuals, eight are eminent Frenchmen (e.g., Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the Baron de Montesquieu, Antoine-Laurent de Lavoisier) and the other five are eminent Europeans (e.g., Galileo Galilei, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Queen Victoria).

The authors are careful to describe the sources of their information, namely the data accumulated by careful researchers (themselves included) on seasonal temperatures and rainfall; on the dates of the harvests of grapes and of wheat and other grains, their quantities and price fluctuations, and the quality of the wines; on the movements of Alpine glaciers; and on tree rings. They pay a great deal of attention to the social and economic consequences of the harvests: hunger, famines, hunger-related diseases (typhus, dysentery), death rates, food riots, and political upheavals. While avoiding the crude climate determinism that has often marred the field, they do emphasize the importance of climate changes at key moments in history, such as the outbreak of the French Revolution or the failure of Nazi Germany's military offensives in Russia in 1941 and 1942.

They say little or nothing, however, on the causes of climate changes, such as the North Atlantic Oscillation, the Intertropical Convergence Zone, the El Niño-Southern Oscillation, and other macro-climatological phenomena that climatologists study. They are skeptics

on the subject of the Maunder Minimum or lack of sun-spots between 1645 and 1715 that historians like Geoffrey Parker believe exacerbated the Little Ice Age and contributed to the crisis of the seventeenth century. They agree, however, with the ninety-seven percent of climate scientists who find that the current global warming is caused by humans burning fossil fuels; as they point out: "Never has France been so hot as during the first seven or eight years of the twenty-first century" (p. 273).

This is very fine-grained history, with few asides to the *longue durée* beloved of Fernand Braudel. Instead of sweeping generalizations about the climate, the authors describe the weather in particular locations (Burgundy, Île de France) season by season, even month by month. If a reader wishes to know whether the summer of 1634 in central France was cold and rainy or hot and dry and how this affected the price of wheat, or during what week the grapes were harvested in Burgundy and whether that vintage was good or bad, this book will be remarkably useful. For most readers, these minutiae make the narrative, in places, tedious and repetitious. Historians will find this book a valuable source of information on specific places and moments in the history of Europe rather than a book to read through from cover to cover.

Yet a careful reading does bring out some important generalizations. One is how vulnerable Western Europeans were, until recently, to even minor fluctuations in the climate. Another is how the harmful consequences of bad weather were gradually alleviated by enlightened government policies and better transportation. These are important aspects that need to be integrated into the more common social and political history of Europe.

DANIEL R. HEADRICK,
Emeritus
Roosevelt University

OTTAVIA NICCOLI. *Vedere con gli occhi del cuore: Alle origini del potere delle immagini*. (Storia e Società.) Rome: Editori Laterza. 2011. Pp. xii, 194. €20.00.

Ottavia Niccoli's book proposes a history of the intense reciprocal relationship between Italians and images from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, identifying a thread linking supernatural experiences of viewing pictures, pictured visions, and accounts of visions seen with the eyes or felt with the heart. Through documented examples of how the Christian faithful and their images engaged each other in daily life, Niccoli tells us about the connections between the various experiences of sustained looking at devotional images with the eyes of the body and sensory visions originating within the soul. Such sensorial experience, whether it involved a picture or not, was circulated in verbal form as a "vision," a slippery term at the time.

Niccoli's title, "Seeing with the eyes of the heart," references Theresa of Avila's distinction between the two kinds of vision. The subtitle, "The origins of the

power of images,” advances the claim that there is a history to our desire to imagine in visual terms, which flourished in Christian devotional practice in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, when material images routinely organized the relationships between believers and powerful divinities. Niccoli begins with late medieval appeals to the imagination of children and women through detailed descriptions of the lives of the Christ child and saints. Verbal exhortations to deepen devotional experience through the use of familiar paintings were recorded in devotional manuals and in the sermons of preachers like Bernardino of Siena, whose monogram of Christ traffics in both visual and verbal modes. Often anonymous but familiar crucifixes and paintings of the Madonna became animated through intense prayer, exchanging kisses and caresses with the supplicant as proof of their efficacy, and were officially venerated as miracle-working images. The reports of those who claimed that religious images seen with corporeal eyes became animate in response to their prayers make it clear that the church encouraged personalization and intense identification with images. Niccoli gives examples of direct connections between the pictorial imagination and pictures, pointing to privately commissioned paintings of visionary experiences, and then moving away from animated physical objects to visions appearing to shepherds and children, which either followed or were made to follow the same descriptive elements as works of art or of previous reports. By the late sixteenth century mystical visions tended to take place in convents and were reported by reliable confessors rather than by excited children who saw Madonnas appearing in trees. Counter-Reformation mystics who left accounts of their visionary experiences, especially Theresa of Avila, often reported their “visions,” such as mystical union with Christ, as perceived in the heart or soul rather than as seen with the eyes. In accord with most scholars, Niccoli points to the Tridentine crackdown on unmediated religious experience as an endpoint to the freewheeling and vivid emotional associations between faithful viewers and pictures, ending with a poignant discussion of instances of the desecration of man-made images through gouging out their eyes as an interruption, no longer repairable in Western culture, of the affective exchange between images and the people who gazed at them with longing and belief.

This overview, covering roughly three hundred tumultuous years of religious image-making for many purposes, can at times seem rather introductory in view of the rich interdisciplinary body of work and sustained discussion on the use of images by Michael Baxandall, Hans Belting, Lina Bolzoni, Mary Carruthers, David Freedberg, Megan Holmes, Rose Marie San Juan, and Jean-Claude Schmitt. For readers who did not suspect the close relationship between devotional pictures and the imagination in terms of education, personal piety, or the discipline of memory and the senses, this material may spark the desire to investigate further the social and aesthetic circumstances of works of art. Niccoli

only briefly treats visions of the erotic and demonic sort, as have been discussed by Moshe Sluhovsky and Armando Maggi, or the long history of cult images that were processed since antiquity so they could witness their own festivities. This also happened in times of war, as when Duccio di Buoninsegna’s *Maestà* was carried from its cathedral in the sixteenth century so the Virgin could see how desperately the Sieneese needed her intercession. Portraits, too, could be animated to substitute for their models; though they are neither devotional nor strictly supernatural, such inclusions would adjust readers’ perceptions of the scope of the imaginative world in which paintings played a part. The issue of the trustworthiness of vision itself was an optical problem that colored the reception of images through the corporeal eye, but which is not discussed here. Moreover, as Baxandall made clear, style itself has a history—and neither the narrative nor pictorial style of early modern vision projection is part of the author’s treatment.

Niccoli states at the outset that she will report on concrete instances of the imaginative experiences of men and women in the period she examines and not deal with theoretical problems that they raise (p. ix), which perhaps accounts for the feeling readers may have of encountering a string of juxtaposed events. The result is, still, a fascinating and useful survey of the subject that imparts a sense of how complex and contested the history was of the important affective roles images played in the lives of their makers and viewers.

EVELYN LINCOLN
Brown University

ANNE JACOBSON SCHUTTE. *By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 285. \$45.00.

Over the past two decades, scholarship on early modern nuns and convents has uncovered much about the complex world of female religious life. Such studies remind us that despite *clausura*, nuns continually interacted with the outside world, their families, local authorities, and even rulers. One question pertaining to familial relationships centers around the issue of volition: did early modern nuns willingly take vows, or did family priorities dictate that they enter the convent? Anne Jacobson Schutte provides a refreshing and provocative reconsideration of the *vocation forcée* or forced vow. Her groundbreaking research powerfully illustrates that forced monachization was not a “female problem” (p. 25). Rather, male monastics were greater victims of family coercion and terror.

Schutte builds her case around the records of the Holy Congregation of the Council (Sacra Congregazione del Concilio [SCC]). Created in 1588, the SCC was a part of the post-Tridentine effort to reform Catholic practices, including monachization. The council handled the vast majority of forced vow cases brought forth by individuals from all over Roman Catholic Europe,

with a few from Latin America. Between 1668 and 1793, the SCC adjudicated 978 cases of which 807, or 82.5 percent, involved men. Cases usually contained the following documentation: the appellant's petition, a transcript or summary of the diocesan investigation, depositions, and a letter by the diocesan bishop articulating his opinion. Nearly half (47.6 percent) of the dossiers were "fragmentary," containing no decision. Of the remainder, less than half contained a decision favoring the petitioner; women's appeals tended to succeed significantly more often than those made by men (p. 11). While these statistics are illuminating, the richness of Schutte's transnational study lies in her discussion of numerous individual trials. These case studies bring to life personal tragedies and complex family dynamics, uncovering a range of experiences.

Through this wealth of information, Schutte offers valuable conclusions about involuntary monachization. It is likely that the actual frequency of forced vows was higher than the number of cases brought before the SCC would indicate. This discrepancy may be attributed to various challenges petitioners encountered when they decided to take their cases to Rome. Appeals were only valid within five years after pronouncing vows, a stipulation unknown to many monastics whose communities worked to dissuade them from making their unhappiness public. Legal fees and other expenses involving the transcribing and distribution of documents were prohibitive; sometimes, the necessary documents were incomplete, the result of war or disaster. Petitioners often had to wait years before the SCC reached a decision. Moreover, local authorities created additional difficulties. For example, the Republic of Venice declared that nuns could not take their appeals to Rome. This legislation gave preference to secular authorities, and it supported "Venetian patricians' ability to use convents as depositories for surplus daughters" (p. 203).

Venice's laws exemplified how families were often the "agents employing force and fear" behind involuntary vows (p. 134). Schutte emphasizes this argument by astutely comparing early modern monastic practices to marriage contracts. In both instances, elders made the arrangements, taking advantage of the persistent practice of *patria potestas*, which gave male heads complete control over all members of their household. Thus, the need to protect primogeniture and male inheritance, both offshoots of *patria potestas*, drove elders to coerce young men and women into pronouncing vows. Illegitimacy or a parent's remarriage also led families to place an individual in the convent. Schutte claims that early modern adolescents acquiesced not only because they feared for their physical well-being, but out of "reverential fear" or "the respect and deference young people owed to their elders" (p. 145).

These findings reveal the complex emotional landscape that defined forced monachization. Schutte demonstrates that even by the late eighteenth century, patrimonial concerns still propelled families into placing unwilling relatives in monastic life. This virtual absence

of change, she argues, demonstrates that Philippe Ariès and Lawrence Stone were "dead wrong" in their assertions that the end of the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of the affective or "modern" family (p. 83). These observations fit into a decades-long debate among historians about childhood and family. Schutte notes that by the second half of the eighteenth century there was a gradual decline in forced vows, suggesting that parents had begun taking their offspring's personal wishes more seriously. She concludes that this subtle shift signaled "a long, slow development that would come to full fruition only in the nineteenth century" (p. 263). While *By Force and Fear* adds to the debates on the early modern family, its most valuable contribution lies in Schutte's exemplary archival research (a database of the cases may be consulted at <http://faculty.virginia.edu/monhell/>). Schutte has reoriented the study of monasticism, re-introducing male monastics into the discussion.

MITA CHOUDHURY
Vassar College

CRAIG KOSLOFSKY. *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 431. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$29.99.

There was a time when historians tended to describe the premodern night in terms not only of what it lacked but of what it could never have known—the benefits of modern artificial lighting. Premodern people experienced darkness as a privation retrospectively defined. The great Johan Huizinga was the main culprit. He included darkness and light among the "violent contrasts" felt more extremely by them than by us, with (he claimed) damaging consequences for their collective psychological stability and their social and cultural habits. Echoes of this just-so story are also found in the writings of Lucien Febvre, Robert Mandrou, and Jean Delumeau. It is therefore a sign of how far we have come that a book which in part actually traces the arrival in Europe of artificial lighting on any significant scale is utterly free of these old anachronisms. Craig Koslofsky is not alone in this respect: he readily acknowledges the recent contributions to the subject of Alain Cabantous, A. Roger Ekirch, Daniel Ménager, and others. But in Koslofsky's book we have both a round-up of what the night actually meant in a whole range of early modern contexts and some compelling arguments for thinking anew about the nocturnal as a historical topic.

The thread that runs through the entire argument is the way that, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in northern Europe, positive associations of night and darkness gradually came to counter and in important respects supplant the largely negative ones of tradition. The change takes place at many levels, from the practices of daily living to the burgeoning public sphere and the mental worlds of religion and politics. It embraces work and leisure, the spaces of the home,

the court, and the theater, and the writings of divines, social commentators, poets, and philosophers. An early chapter on demonology and witchcraft establishes without much difficulty or surprise the negative connotations of the night that the period both inherited and amplified. But we are soon into the more positive devotional values of "seeking the Lord in the night" explored by contemporary mystics and theologians, together with what is presented as a kind of baroque political parallel—the seeking and illumination of the sovereign and his courtiers through nocturnal spectacles, and the extension of court life into the night. Koslofsky next charts the rise of public street lighting and the reactions of those who resisted this "colonizing" of the urban night and its redrawing of the respectable and the prohibited, notably the young, patrons of taverns, prostitutes, and criminals. After a chapter on the failure of its rural equivalent, the book closes by asking whether, taken collectively, these various changes left their mark on the intellectual controversies of the early Enlightenment.

Koslofsky's label for them in their entirety is "nocturnalization," defined as "the ongoing expansion of the legitimate social and symbolic uses of the night" (p. 2), and he urges us to add this to the many other "revolutions" on the way to modernity with which early modern Europe has been endowed. Certainly his case is made with great thoroughness and enviable scholarly range: the book is full of fascinating insights and lively details that will be invaluable to others. The archives for the urban history of the Holy Roman Empire have been put to especially good effect. To range from the mechanics of street lights and the schedules for lighting them to the pages of Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle and Balthasar Bekker shows rare versatility. If there is a criticism, then, it arises from the architecture of some of the arguments rather than at the level of particulars. One sometimes gets the impression that the overall thesis is being promoted overenthusiastically and with too great a concern for neatness. Why must political nocturnalization exhibit three of the same features as its theological counterpart (the ascetic, the mystic, and the epistemological), and is there any evidence for them being "appropriated" (p. 92)? The chapter on the night at court suffers from a contradiction—acknowledged later in the book—between the idea of power dispelling darkness (as in "sun" kings) and the idea of power maintaining and manipulating it for essential expressive purposes. One therefore wonders how both can qualify as nocturnalization. Elsewhere, Koslofsky struggles to recruit the early Enlightenment debates about ghosts, witches, and Hell to his cause, since the reality of the first two was being both defended and attacked as the night was revalued, and there is little that is specifically nocturnal about the third. He also speaks of a "trajectory" of the new relationships with the night "from the sacred to the political and the practical" (p. 155), but it is sometimes hard to spot this progression and, more importantly, to grasp why it is needed. These are minor uncertainties, however, in the context of an ambitious,

thought-provoking, and readable study, brimming with implications for early modern historians.

STUART CLARK
Swansea University

C. F. GOODEY. *A History of Intelligence and "Intellectual Disability": The Shaping of Psychology in Early Modern Europe*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2011. Pp. 381. \$69.95.

C. F. Goodey's book is an ambitious attempt to trace the development of the idea of intelligence and its various counter-concepts in European society, with a focus on the roots of the idea of intellectual disability. It begins with brief discussions of the figurations of intelligence and ignorance in the works of Plato and Aristotle and continues with the task of constructing the social and intellectual frameworks within which early modern conceptions of intelligence were elaborated. The association between speed and intellectual ability in modern psychology is explained as a development of the Renaissance medical notion of "quick wit," and interrelated ideas of intelligence, virtue, and social status are then said to ground the exclusion of children, women, the lower social orders, fools, and "idiots." After the Reformation, Goodey argues, this conceptual terrain became increasingly infiltrated with the theology of grace; late seventeenth-century psychological theories of idiocy and mental defectiveness emerged, in part, from earlier theories of reprobation. From Renaissance medical and demonological teachings about mental incapacity and foolishness and seventeenth-century theories of changelings, the book moves on to the psychology of John Locke. It is with Locke's account of intellectual abstraction as the centerpiece of human intellection—which Goodey sees as containing residues of traditional social prejudice and Calvinist theology—that the modern category of intellectual disability fully emerges.

There is much here that is praiseworthy. The dual focus on intertwined conceptions of intelligence and intellectual disability is sustained effectively throughout, and the range of material surveyed, from popular literature to systematic philosophical treatises and commentaries, is extensive. There are many acute observations on the connections among medical, psychological, moral, and spiritual conceptions of intelligence and its various opposites. We are left in no doubt that modern notions of intelligence (and the lack thereof) do not come straightforwardly from the domains of medicine or psychology, but also from a conglomeration of social, religious, and political ideas and pressures.

This is a strongly polemical book, with its sights trained upon contemporary psychologists and policymakers operating with a transhistorical conception of intellectual disability. Unfortunately, however, Goodey's scholarship cannot always bear the weight of his critique, and ultimately the latter trumps the former. Historical discussions are framed and interrupted by

polemical digressions and asides, which are repetitive and curtail promising lines of argument. Some will find the use of sociological buzz-words jarring, particularly as they are accompanied by the misuse of basic historical terminology (for example, the label “humanist”), casual errors (for example, on page 147 Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* is referred to as a “famous rejoinder to John Lyly’s *Anatomy of Wit*”), and the erratic use and formatting of footnotes.

The most serious problem with this book, however, is the cavalier fashion in which it treats the relationship between ideas and their intellectual and social contexts, which is more reminiscent of historical sociology than modern intellectual history. Throughout the work, texts are related to their contexts in an overgeneral, speculative, and sometimes highly questionable manner: the contents of texts are characterized as expressions of “the honour society” or classified as “Calvinist,” but Goodey does not refine such generalizations with the more detailed kinds of contextualization that are now part of the basic toolkit of the historian. This leads to eye-watering claims. On page 209, for example, Goodey states suggestively, and without explanation or references, that the seventeenth-century shift toward treating the mind as an entity separate from the soul “co-incided politically with the loss of power of kings and ecclesiastical authority to dictate a uniform political and religious doctrine”; on page 221 this becomes the highly problematic claim that “[b]rain theory emerges with a new theory of public reason.” Little attention is given to the finer distinctions prevailing in early modern studies—among, for example, different varieties of Aristotelian commentary, of Protestant and Catholic theology, or of earlier and later humanism. Biographies of authors are deemed irrelevant, and we rarely obtain a clear sense of what they actually considered themselves to be doing. Geographical variations across Europe are radically understated, with the main focus being on English sources. Coverage of French, Spanish, German, and Italian sources is piecemeal at best, and we are left to wonder about Scandinavia and Eastern Europe.

Some of these shortcomings are perhaps inevitable in such a wide-ranging study, although many could have been avoided by more careful use of existing scholarship. This is a shame, because Goodey has unearthed interesting lines of inquiry about the early modern theorization of human nature and produced an original argument about the origins of an important psychological category. The overwhelming impression, unfortunately, is that of an author who has bitten off rather more than he can chew.

ANGUS GOWLAND
University College London

ANTERO HOLMILA. *Reporting the Holocaust in the British, Swedish and Finnish Press, 1945–1950*. (The Holocaust and Its Contexts.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. xiii, 276. \$80.00.

Antero Holmila’s book fits into one of the most prolific fields in contemporary historiography: the study of the memory of the Holocaust in the postwar world. By analyzing discourses about the Holocaust in newspapers in the aftermath of World War II, he seeks to “contribute to an understanding of the ways in which European people first attempted to come to terms with the event” (p. 2). At the core of the study is press coverage in Britain, Sweden, and Finland from 1945 to 1950, three countries that had very different experiences of the war. The three cases are well chosen, and comparing them turns out to be fruitful.

The book is clearly written and instructive. The methodological considerations, by contrast, are not as satisfactory. Holmila claims that he is influenced by critical discourse analysis, but in the analyses he works very much within an empirical tradition. Reflections on the character and general epistemic status of the main source material—major national newspapers of various political complexions—could have been more elaborate. Moreover, there are surprisingly few references to the broad, multifaceted discussions on collective memory, national narratives, and history cultures that have engaged many scholars during the last two decades.

Holmila is inspired by Tony Kushner’s *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (1994), but he also takes issue with some of its ideas. In his influential book, Kushner examined the responses of the democratic world to the destruction of European Jewry. According to him, the liberal ideology of the Anglo-American countries prevented a genuine understanding of the scale and horror of the Holocaust. Holmila does not aim at refuting Kushner, but in his eyes nationalism is a more useful concept than liberalism to explain reactions to Jewish suffering in the wake of the war. He concludes that “different forms of nationalism and national self-understanding—moulded by the war years—shaped the narration” of the Holocaust in the press (p. 22).

In the first part of the book, Holmila investigates the responses to the liberation of the concentration camps in 1945. He reveals significant national differences. British reactions were markedly nationalistic, and the newspapers focused on the perpetrators. The portrayal of Germans was stereotypical and simplistic, whereas the victims hardly appeared in the press coverage at all. In Sweden, Jews received considerably more attention and were treated more empathically. Finnish newspapers wrote very little about the liberation of the camps. Censorship did not constrain Finnish journalists, but Finnish co-belligerency with Nazi Germany was a sensitive issue and seems to have hampered the public discussion.

The following three chapters are devoted to press discourses in Britain, Sweden, and Finland surrounding the Nuremberg Trials. Once again there were striking national variations. The Holocaust featured more prominently in British papers this time, but the fate of the Jews was frequently overshadowed by the fear of a resurrection of National Socialism on German soil and

the problem of re-educating the German population. In both Sweden and Finland, however, the Nazi genocide was given extensive attention in the reports from Nuremberg. The Finnish case is particularly interesting. Holmila puts the fairly extensive coverage in a nationalistic framework by analyzing how the Nuremberg Trials acted as a screen memory for the Finnish War-Responsibility Trials of 1945–1946.

The heading of the third part is “From Suffering to Silence,” and the three chapters deal with the problem of displaced Jews, the founding of the state of Israel, and the Cold War. By picking examples from the press in the three countries in the late 1940s, the author argues that it is too simple, as some historians have done, to maintain that a Cold War metanarrative emerged that fully marginalized the memory of the Holocaust. The memory of the Nazi genocide, he concludes, could be framed in many ways in these postwar years and often coexisted with a Cold War discourse.

Thanks to his comparative approach, Holmila manages to highlight notable differences in national responses to the Holocaust. It is undoubtedly a difficult task to cover three countries within a limited space. Sources must be chosen with great care; historical contexts have to be reconstructed in their full complexity. But Holmila’s chapters are not more than fifteen pages each, and the analyses of the individual cases tend to be somewhat shallow. In the Swedish case, for example, he could easily have benefitted more from existing literature to deepen his understanding of Swedish peculiarities. Additionally, he chose one of his main sources for Sweden, *Göteborgs Handels-och Sjöfart-Tidning*, because he regards it as a left-wing paper; in fact, it was liberal through and through.

A more general problem is that Holmila sometimes has a tendency to judge attitudes in the past in a way that is questionable in a scholarly publication. For instance, he states that the “press in Sweden understood the significance of the Holocaust” (p. 106), whereas a Finnish article can be characterized as “a manifesto of a hopelessly naïve and outdated stance towards Germany” (p. 65).

Holmila’s book does not challenge orthodoxies or offer bold reinterpretations. But by problematizing dominating ideas and systematically comparing three national discourses, he brings nuance to our understanding of a crucial period in modern European history.

JOHAN ÖSTLING
Lund University

TARA ZAHRA. *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe’s Families after World War II*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 308. \$35.00.

After World War II, Europe’s displaced children posed a vast humanitarian challenge. At the same time, they provided a screen onto which various parties projected their visions of a better future. In this splendid book, Tara Zahra shows how children became the subject of

international and ideological competition—and how solutions to a highly specific set of problems were transformed into universalist notions of the rights of the child.

A model of transnational history, *The Lost Children* never loses sight of the many levels on which history is made, moving fluently from international institutions such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association down to the individual youth hostel. Between these global and local extremes are internationally-networked professionals who developed theories on children’s well-being, state actors concerned with a particular nation’s interest, however defined, and transnational networks ranging from the large and powerful (the Roman Catholic Church) to the effervescent (the dispersed extended family). Such a well-written book renders nearly invisible the labor behind it, but it is worth making the challenges of top-notch transnational history explicit: the footnotes point to research in at least six languages.

In her study Zahra observes a shift from concern for children’s physical well-being—the main focus of interwar child-savers—to a focus on their psychological needs. Studying children evacuated in wartime Britain, Anna Freud among others concluded that the psychological damage done by family separation outweighed whatever was gained by way of physical safety. Zahra notes that such a theory might have gained less traction in the lands that suffered the brunt of the war’s physical devastation: for Polish Jews as for urban Germans, the trade-off might have seemed a bit more worth it. But children’s psychological needs were anything but transparent, and the legacy of Nazism and war, together with nascent Cold War tensions, left plenty of ground for wrangling. Did a child most need a family or a nation? If a family, did this mean the family of origin, the family to which a child had grown attached while in hiding, or whichever one was “intact” and could provide greater material comfort? Was the nation defined by prewar citizenship, by postwar borders, or by ethnic membership? If ethnic membership, where did children of mixed unions belong, and how about those who were simply “nationally indifferent,” as Zahra has put it elsewhere?

One of the great strengths of *The Lost Children* is its exploration of how circumstantial the answers to these questions were. In the wake of racial war, both France and Czechoslovakia saw children as a critical source of national regeneration. In both postwar states, officials argued for breaking up families or mother-child bonds in the interests of a racially or ethnically defined nation. Yet the French, concerned as always with their population deficit vis-à-vis Germany, engaged in extensive (if largely fruitless) efforts to get German mothers of French-sired babies to ship their “French” children off to France. By contrast, Czechoslovakia, committed to purging itself of German influence, deported children of mixed unions and unclear ethnicity, even if their household language and proclaimed identity were Czech. International agencies’ commitment to family

reunification confounded early Cold Warriors, whose definition of a child's well-being included both the liberties and the wealth of the West: whether that meant West Germany or western Canada was perhaps beside the point, as long as the children did not end up behind the Iron Curtain. Polish and Polish-Jewish children who resisted repatriation seemed to back the Cold Warriors. Yet they were moved not only by fears of communism but also by their lack of connection with a "home" country they had not seen in years, and rather than choosing the West, many were tempted by Zionism, which provided an alternative collectivist nationalism to that of communist Poland.

Children more often appear as objects than agents in this book (reflecting their very real vulnerability to adult machinations), but there are striking stories of teenagers taking matters into their own hands by fleeing placements to which they objected. Likewise, individual child welfare workers come to life in these pages. The deeply humanist Christian Přemysl Pitter dominates the last pages of the book, as Freud dominates the first. Committed to reconciliation among Germans, Czechs, and Jews, and drawing on a continental tradition of youth collectives that Zahra contrasts to the individualistic ethos of the Anglo-Americans, Pitter's vision of a harmony fostered by collective experience found expression in several children's homes in early postwar Czechoslovakia.

This slender ray of light renders Pitter's eventual need to flee to the West all the more heartbreaking—but equally sobering is his subsequent rejection of any alternative to the nuclear family and his unforgiving censure of working mothers. Pitter's evolution was symptomatic of the inflation of pro-family ideologies in the West, with experts declaring divorce as devastating to children as wartime displacement. The brief moment of postwar fluidity came to a close, and hundreds of thousands of children were left to make their way wherever the winds of war—and postwar wrangling—had deposited them.

ELIZABETH HEINEMAN
University of Iowa

PHILIPP THER. *Die dunkle Seite der Nationalstaaten: "Ethnische Säuberungen" im modernen Europa*. (Synthesen: Probleme europäischer Geschichte, number 5.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 2011. Pp. 304. €39.95.

Philipp Ther provides a detailed and accurate guide to the history of twentieth-century European ethnic cleansing that both builds on and reveals the limits of existing research. In this well-organized book, Ther provides a nuanced introduction to the factors that provided conditions for ethnic cleansing. His synthesis is especially innovative in assessing the role of nationalism, pointing out the influence of writers, colonialism, and of the idea of the national state. The core of the book divides European ethnic cleansing into several periods: a first period from the Balkan Wars through

World War I and postwar conflicts and settlements; a second period between 1938 and 1944; a third period with the creation of a new postwar order between 1944 and 1948; and a fourth period with conflict in the former Yugoslavia and in the Caucasus between 1991 and 1999. Ther provides an authoritative overview of the emergence and outcome of multiple ethnic cleansing campaigns in each of these periods, clearly outlining the expansion and cumulative impact of ethnic cleansing throughout them.

Ther also provides valuable insights on many individual episodes. Alsace, as he points out, should be covered in the literature on European minority problems after World War I (p. 86). He provides an interesting interpretation of the effects of the Munich Agreement of 1938 in reinforcing the consensus that state and ethnic boundaries should match. Ther notes the distinction between ethnic cleansing that looked to the past and plans, such as those in the USSR, that looked to the future (p. 137). He demonstrates the breadth of violence that took place in many regions during World War II but stresses the limits of Joseph Stalin's responsibility for the ethnic cleansing that remade much of Europe at the end of the conflict (pp. 235–237). Despite its title, the book also places ethnic cleansing in a global context by integrating material, not only on Palestine, as others have done, but also on the partition of India. In this case Ther outlines "the transfer of European ideas" (p. 215), making a strong case for the influence of "European Modernity" (p. 224).

The very breadth of Ther's sampling, one of the book's strengths, also documents disagreements over definitions within the study of ethnic cleansing and the related field of genocide studies. Building on the definitions of the United Nations and of the International Court in the Hague, Ther provides a clear guide to four variants of ethnic cleansing, which, he states, can be distinguished from genocide by the focus on space and by the lower death toll (seldom above ten percent for ethnic cleansing) (pp. 7–8). Indeed, as other studies have indicated, ethnic cleansing does focus on space, but the range of Ther's case studies shows the problem of holding to strict definitions. Discussion of World War I barely mentions the Armenian genocide (p. 82). Rather than indicating a boundary between genocide and ethnic cleansing, the Armenian genocide could instead show how a campaign of ethnic cleansing can overlap with and merge with genocide. Such forms of mass violence, instead of being conceptualized as bounded, can be seen as forming a spectrum with areas of overlap as well as of difference.

With precise numbers of people driven from their homes, Ther indicates that ethnic cleansing in Europe created millions of victims, but his book places responsibility for this outcome at an increasingly distant and remote level. Where Norman M. Naimark stressed the role of the modern state (see *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* [2001]), Ther points to the acts and decisions of diplomats and foreign governments intent on creating a new European

order of nation states. He draws heavily on Matthew Frank's innovative *Expelling the Germans: British Opinion and Post-1945 Population Transfer in Context* (2007). But in Ther's survey local actors play diminished roles in beginning and driving European ethnic cleansing. More broadly, this signifies a stark contradiction between trends in the history of Germany and the Holocaust and research into European ethnic cleansing more broadly. In the case of Germany, numerous works have pointed to the role of broader circles of perpetrators in genocide and have also called into question German assertions of ignorance about the Holocaust. When it comes to European ethnic cleansing, however, analysis of perpetrators increasingly focuses on the state and the international system. This tension suggests the difficulty of identifying the exact relationship between the nation and state in Europe, but Ther still provides a highly informative synthesis that both summarizes existing research and contributes a thought-provoking interpretation.

BENJAMIN LIEBERMAN
Fitchburg State University

DAVID ROLLISON. *Commune, Country and Commonwealth: The People of Cirencester, 1117–1643*. (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History, number 10.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 283. \$99.00.

David Rollison chronicles in detail the struggle of Cirencester's inhabitants against the violent tyranny of the wealthy Augustinian abbey of St. Mary and its less violent post-Dissolution heirs through sixteen chapters, overlaying local events on the national canvas of plague, war, and economic change. The conflict originated in this market town's lack of a charter at the abbey's foundation in 1117. Despite its position as a crossroads in an important wool-producing region, Cirencester was not a borough and so was held by the abbey as a manor; even with its urban nature, it shared experiences with rural England as the tenants faced degradation and the rigors of villeinage, from tallage to a monopoly on milling. In the Middle Ages, the townsmen repeatedly claimed borough status and resisted the impositions of their aggressive lord, but they failed; the abbey had on its side violence, the law, and kings who were ever ready to confirm their rights for a price. After the Dissolution, Protestant Cirencester battled the "survivalist" Catholic bailiffs of the manor. It was not until late in the sixteenth century that the commune emerged as its own power under an urban oligarchy with Cirencester becoming a parliamentary borough in 1571, only to be humiliated by local gentlemen and the army of Prince Rupert in 1643. Here the story ends, with the capture of Cirencester by the royalists, although an afterword briskly takes the reader up to the nineteenth century.

There are two main theses in this work, which adds a good portion of the high Middle Ages to the more established pairing of late medieval and early modern

England. The first is that Cirencester's history is a microcosm of the political and constitutional transformations of England, in particular the nature and source of governance and authority. Yet Cirencester's manorial status shaped its history in unusual ways, with townsmen who might elsewhere have come into conflict with each other instead uniting against a common, external foe. The clashes between the town and its superiors make Cirencester a fascinating and unconventional case study of the struggle for liberty and liberties in medieval and early modern Europe. Although Rollison weaves in the evolving theories of commonwealth and addresses important structural changes in society (such as the replacement of longbowmen by men armed with guns), his framework of the "two visions of religious, political and constitutional sovereignty" (p. 2) that he sees at the heart of this struggle oversimplifies the complex situation presented in his contextualized analysis of specific events. Considering recent decades of research into resistance and revolt in Europe and elsewhere, it is likely that these centuries of conflict were more complex than this dichotomy allows.

The second argument of the book is that towns are a critical and missing link between local and national history. While some of the bolder claims, such as that Cirencester "made highly significant interventions in national constitutional development" (back cover), are not always borne out, Rollison takes full advantage of the scope of his work to demonstrate repeatedly how national politics were mapped onto local disputes. For example, he draws on recent works on the shifting religious attitudes of the sixteenth century to offer a nuanced examination of Cirencester's experiences, but he also uses those experiences to comment on the broader debate on the pace and direction of the Reformation. Rollison employs a wider than normal array of sources to delineate the demographic and economic trends of the town and its hundreds, illuminating both change and continuity, and the ways in which local trends correlate or contradict national trends. At times, the Seven Hundreds surrounding Cirencester come across merely as context rather than an integral part of the narrative, and the relation of town and region could be articulated more systematically, but the overall premise of town as the critical link between local and national is presented soundly.

This book exemplifies the continuing potential for local history. The genuine peculiarities of Cirencester are interesting on their own but also illustrate the complexity of national issues and trends. Rollison presents a strong, centuries-spanning evolution of social, political, and religious conflicts that shows how local and national history support and improve each other. This also demonstrates the difficulty and limitations inherent in writing local history well, in that so many subfields of knowledge are necessary to interconnect local and national. For these reasons, this book ought to be read by any student of local, regional, and urban history as a new way forward in such studies. Of course, specialists will also benefit as Rollison applies numerous scholarly

debates and tests them at the local level. Even as scholars look to new approaches and disciplines to break down the compartmentalization of English and British history, local studies such as this remain important vehicles for the integration of those histories.

PETER L. LARSON

University of Central Florida

MICHAEL HOUSEHOLDER. *Inventing Americans in the Age of Discovery: Narratives of Encounter*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2011. Pp. x, 228. \$89.95.

Michael Householder rejects the oft-rehearsed notion that English travel writing from the age of encounter served as an instrument of empire. The writings he examines—John Mandeville's fantastic tale of travel and encounter, Richard Eden's work, George Best's narration of the Frobisher voyages, and texts emerging from English efforts at Roanoke, Jamestown, and early New England through the end of the Pequot War reveal instead the colonizers' "impotence and confusion" in the New World. He argues that the actions of native peoples, in a number of settings, helped to produce the anxieties expressed in these texts.

This is an admirable and valuable task, but it has been done many times before. Householder's work, while well-intentioned and based on a close reading of a significant number of texts, ultimately raises more questions than it answers and fails to overcome some of the limitations inherent in the author's approach. The writing, like much recent work in literary studies, is unclear, difficult to follow, and tiring to read. But there are bigger problems than the author's style. For example, in his discussion of Mandeville's "quasi-fictional narrative," Householder writes that it "anticipates the narratives not only of Christopher Columbus, but also of the array of pilgrim-soldiers who traveled in his wake" (p. 21). But does it? Does Householder claim too much influence for the works he analyzes? Richard Hakluyt chose to exclude Mandeville from his *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600), after all. Householder cannot provide any evidence that the soldiers and settlers who actually engaged in the dirty and violent work of colonization knew of Mandeville or his book. Similarly, Householder's claim that Mandeville's book "offered a discursive template for the pilgrim-knight-explorer that combined spiritual fervor, martial bravery, and worldly curiosity" is difficult to prove (p. 48). Mandeville and subsequent writers may have asked similar questions, to be sure, but there is no necessary reason to believe that Thomas Harriot, the Hakluyts, or others could not have written their works if Mandeville had never existed.

Similar problems emerge in his discussion of Eden's *Decades* (1555). Householder asserts that in order to understand "how English adventurers initially imagined their encounters with the New World, it is first necessary to take into account the mixture of Iberian accounts of America and English accounts of Africa and Russia that formed the rhetorical background of the English colonial enterprise" (p. 51). Of course, and one

could fill a large shelf with books that examine these texts in detail. Householder points out that the authors wrestled with cultural differences and provided their readers with tools for understanding how people from other places could behave differently and still be recognizably human. A fair point, especially when one looks at John White's costume paintings. Still, one wishes that Householder had paid more attention to contemporary English historical writings—which unquestionably influenced Raleigh and his circle of backers at Durham House—that did very much the same thing, allowing English people to compare themselves to others distant from them in time. Certainly this historical question is explicitly present in the 1590 edition of Harriot's famous *Brief and True Report* and in many of the texts emerging from the Virginia Company of London.

There is a difficulty inherent in relying too heavily on elite English texts when drawing conclusions about episodes of "discovery" or "encounter" (Householder prefers the latter term). Indeed, Householder pays little attention to other influences on the encounter, like military, economic, religious, and strategic factors. His is very much a book about books. The importance of these texts to the people engaged in colonizing and conquest is often murky. A significant gap sometimes existed between metropolitan plans and frontier realities, and a close focus on the world of books and English print culture does not allow the historian to bridge it. The texts themselves can be analyzed so closely that other sources—archaeological, ethnohistorical, and anthropological—are omitted. Indians, whose actions Householder correctly suggests played so important a role in influencing the anxieties that appear in these colonial texts, tend to disappear from the narrative, their motivations and their history poorly understood.

Householder's work will appeal to those who wish to learn more about what English writers had to say about their experiences in America. Despite his close reading of many of the cardinal texts documenting this encounter, however, students of the early Anglo-Indian exchange will find in this book little that they have not seen before.

MICHAEL LEROY OBERG

*State University of New York,
Geneseo*

ANDREW CAMBERS. *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 304. \$99.00.

Andrew Cambers's study treats reading as an embodied, as opposed to an intellectual, experience. "Reading" is therefore regarded as a matter of physical disposition toward printed books and other works of writing (notebooks, tablets, graffiti, letters, hand-copied publications) rather than as a mode of self-development, the maintenance of a metaphysical "interior," psychic, or other mental being. Certain aspects of sit-

uation, such as the dimensions of space and time, as well as social relations, are prominently considered, while aspects of ideology, such as the formation and influence of specific values, beliefs, and knowledge, are discounted. Another sort of “power/knowledge” relation than that of Foucauldian subject-formation through the lens of Barthesian readerly authority is being tracked here. Although there remains much work to be done on early modern technologies of self, an alternative look at early modern reading with a fresh agenda is most welcome. Moreover, an extended focus on early modern reading—versus writing, which has commanded the most attention in cultural studies of early modern epistemology—is invaluable.

In Cambers’s view, instead of a trove of tropes to be interpreted in abstraction, the written text is a material object interacted with by readers in specific places and at particular moments of the day, year, and age of their lives, and also in proximity to other human bodies, individual and collective. Cambers flags this last as especially meaningful, because he sets out to “argue the case for the special importance of collective, social, and public reading to the godly, demonstrating how far reading aloud and in company was vital to the fabric of puritan piety” (p. 7). Thus “reading was not only a practical way of spreading the word [*sic*], but also . . . an outward sign of religious allegiance and identity,” a social practice that set “godly” readers apart from their “non-godly” neighbors (p. 8). To prove this point, the book identifies various “styles of piety” (p. 8) or routine association with and around the written word, which were “actively” (p. 24) performed by “godly readers” as “strategies of alienation” (p. 22) that effectively established a “distinctive culture of puritanism” (p. 23, small P intended) reliant on practical rather than doctrinal knowledge.

The payoff for historiography of this approach is said to be twofold. First, it avoids the problem of defining the religion of Protestants narrowly, by theological orthodoxy, with its choppy denominational Balkanization effect. Instead Puritanism is reconceptualized as an inclusive “plurality of godly cultures” (p. 15) distributed over space and time, bound together by practitioners’ shared but stylistically diverse inclination toward Scripture’s scripture (the material Word), rather than by strict conformity to an interpretation of its letter. Second, this liberation of godly readers from doctrinal Puritanism also liberates the history and theory of reading from its orthodoxies, of “internalized belief and of private and silent reading,” and the “master narratives” these orthodoxies warrant, of “the birth of the ‘self’ and the rise of ‘privacy’” (p. 32). I am not convinced this reward is worth the effort invested in the book. Much of the argument has been rehearsed in several essays published in prominent journals and cited repeatedly here. Further, the first point is trivial, since it solves no pressing problem for the field; the second point is hyperbolic, and lacks engagement with the theory and historiography of reading to justify its claims.

In Cambers’s telling, his focus on godly reading

“style” is subsumed by an inventory of godly reading “space.” Godly reading is shown in the closet, bedchamber, study, hall, parlor, kitchen, and *en plein air*; in the personal, parish, town, public, school, and college library; as well as in the church, coffeehouse, bookshop, and prison. The idea is strongly conveyed that godly reading could and perhaps did occur anywhere that writing could go. What is missing is a sense of priority among these many locations. The places of godly reading are all made to seem equal in the effort to stress the communal and sociable nature of the practice, wherever it occurred. But surely as a strategy of alienation, a sign of religious identity, the performance of godly reading in bed meant something different from godly reading on the scaffold? The stakes of identity in each space, and therefore the strategic method and value of reading as an act, differed from one location and time to another. This difference is partly related to the proximity of other bodies, actual and imagined, and partly to the ways reading was known to the godly as a religious practice, through representations that were interpreted. But Cambers resists differentiating sources by their kind, function, and value, let alone attending to their language. (For instance, the “relatively novel practice of browsing” said to occur in early modern bookshops [pp. 199–200] does not appear by word in the sources cited and, according to the OED, as such did not enter the written archive of the English language until the nineteenth century. Is it accurate to identify it as an early modern “practice”?) Ironically, for a study dedicated to reading that occasionally invokes the concept of “reading against the grain” to authorize its claims, *Godly Reading* displays throughout a surprising reluctance to read. This book’s literal-mindedness, while consonant with its emphasis on godly reading as an embodied activity, undermines its case for such reading’s significance.

MICHAEL MASCUCH
University of California,
Berkeley

CHRISTOPHER MARSH. *Music and Society in Early Modern England*. With CD. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 609. \$110.00.

This is a book about music directed at social and cultural historians. They certainly ought to be listening, for Christopher Marsh has a great deal of originality and important information to tell them. In the first chapter Marsh torpedoed the central thesis of Peter Burke’s influential *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978) by claiming that, in the musical world at least, there was no simple distinction between learned culture and popular culture, and there was no progressive withdrawal of the elites from the pastimes of the common people. By building a class divide into the structure of his model, Burke overlooked or undervalued cultural consensus and the manner in which those with a foot in both camps mediated between them. The model Marsh proposes is symbolized by an Elizabethan lute with six

strings, each representing a basic sociocultural polarity: gentle/common, male/female, old/young, clerical/lay, urban/rural, and native/foreign. The lute itself was certainly claimed by the gentry as their own—"Her Matter's of such High Concern,/No Common Folks can it discern:/Twas ne'er intended for the Rude/And Boisterous-Churlish Multitude," as Thomas Mace put it—but this could not be enforced.

If the common people trespassed on the musical territory of their superiors, the elites repaid the compliment. At the Stuart court, "rude musique" played with supposedly plebeian instruments such as bagpipes, kettledrums, flutes, and tabors provided some welcome roughage after the sophisticated fare of the masques. Most of the manuscript music books kept by the wealthy included rustic dances and simple ballad tunes. As Marsh comments, "the musical cross-currents were so prevalent that it is often impossible to establish whether a particular piece of music began among the aristocracy and fell through society or started towards the bottom and bubbled upwards" (p. 223). Samuel Pepys's diaries are only one of many sources confirming the popularity of street ballads among the upper classes. Dancing too was characterized by "crossover and fusion." At a New Year's Eve ball at Whitehall in 1662, for example, Charles II led his court through the elegant dances he had learned while on his travels but then turned to the more boisterous country dances, the first being "Cuckolds all a-row, the old dance of England."

Another large historiographical target punctured by Marsh's research is Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (1992). Duffy's main contribution to music of this period is to be found in the single terse index entry: "Music: silenced in 1549." In fact, song schools survived in many cathedral cities and there was more music [on] offer in secular schools than has previously been supposed. Of course the Protestant Reformation had a detrimental impact on numerous branches of church music. The abolition of the chantries removed at a stroke the singing men who had been the mainstay of most parish choirs. There was also a serious reduction in the number of organs, although a substantial minority survived until at least 1600. However, there was a sustained increase in both from the late seventeenth century, and within a century nearly all rural churches had choirs again.

Moreover, the loss of Latin plainsong performed by small numbers of priests and clerks was more than counterbalanced by the phenomenal expansion of psalm singing in the English language. Parishioners were transformed from listeners into singers. Marsh has accumulated a formidable body of evidence to demonstrate that the change was embraced with enthusiasm. It was not the sermon that appealed to new Protestants—Dudley Fenner observed "great numbers that tarrye while the service is songe but depart so soone as the Sermon beginneth." In 1560 John Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr describing how the example of congregational singing set by one small London church had

spread like wildfire. At Paul's Cross he found "six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God," and added that "this sadly annoys the mass-Priests, and the Devil." Statistical support for this claim can be found in the immediate and enduring success of the collection of psalms edited by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, which went through 482 editions and sold around a million copies between 1562 and 1640, making it the most frequently printed book of its age.

It was not only Catholics who disapproved of psalmody. The more rigorous Puritans were often hostile too. Quakers disapproved of all music apart from individual ululations inspired by the inner light. One of the main—and most revealing—themes of the book is the cultural clash between traditionalists and Puritans that raged for more than a century, only losing its edge after 1660. Yet political expediency could also suggest a more relaxed attitude before sectarian strife turned into civil war. Zealous parliamentarians might in theory view all ballads as the work of the devil, but, as royalists complained, they resorted to "scurvy songs" themselves. Marsh argues that balladry "was a dynamic cultural phenomenon that developed dramatically during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" with a very wide appeal to all classes (p. 287). Ballads dealt with "Fashions, Fictions, Fellowies, Fooleries," as a character in Thomas Middleton's *The World Tost at Tennis* (1620) put it, but they could also be highly political. Indeed, the two substantial chapters on ballads provide many original and illuminating insights into the political culture of the period.

These are only a few of the topics addressed in this consistently absorbing and very well-written book. Marsh also deals with the changing status of musicians, the ubiquity of recreational music, the rise in musical literacy, the popularity of dancing ("a national passion"), and developments in bell ringing. Along the way many previous accounts are corrected or amplified. Immensely helpful is the accompanying CD with forty-eight musical samples ranging from rough music first performed at Burton-upon-Trent in 1618 to "Plain Bob minimus" performed by the ringers and sixteenth-century bells of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. There are also many well-chosen visual illustrations. In short, this is an immensely important contribution to the history of early modern England. All previous general histories will need to be rewritten.

TIM BLANNING

University of Cambridge

JACQUELINE ROSE. *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660–1688*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 320. \$99.00.

What did the English crown's supremacy over the established church mean during the Restoration (1660–1688), and how did political writing about the suprem-

acy develop over the course of the early modern period? Jacqueline Rose's treatment of these questions reveals surprises, ambiguities, and contradictions.

The Church of England did not speak with a unified voice either before or during the Restoration, and neither did those Protestant nonconformists or dissenters who wrote about the royal supremacy over a church they had left. The power of the crown as supreme governor of the church actually proved, by the 1680s, to be as much contested as was its power within the state, largely because both Restoration monarchs—Charles II and James II—used the supremacy to set aside the persecution of Roman Catholics and dissenters under parliamentary law. If royal authority within the state tended to divide dissenters and Anglicans along Whig and Tory (or parliamentary and royalist) lines, the issue of the king's authority within the church could instead pit dissenting advocates of toleration under the crown against Anglican advocates of persecution under parliament.

Disagreement over the meaning of the supremacy was as old as the Reformation itself, argues Rose, for its definition had been developed in contrasting languages ever since Henry VIII's break from Rome. The essential questions were whether the royal supremacy was an element of the crown's regal authority only, or whether it was exercised with the involvement of parliament; and where the boundary lay between the king's power over the church and that of the archbishops and bishops. First debated in the 1530s, these questions remained relevant 150 years later. Rose's examination of arguments about the supremacy clearly places this element of the Restoration within the "long Reformation." As Restoration bishops pursued their persecution of dissenters after the civil wars and the Interregnum, the debate was also colored by a reaction against "priestcraft" that would turn Reformation suspiciousness of lordly clerics into an Enlightenment motif. Nevertheless, the language of the Restoration debate—still revolving around such matters as *praemunire*, the historical independence of national churches, and the role of godly monarchs in correcting clerical abuses—would have been quite recognizable to the originators of the English Reformation. Thomas Cranmer's views about the supremacy were still being argued about in the 1680s, and whether the modelling of James II's Ecclesiastical Commission on Tudor precedents enhanced its legality was similarly debated.

As a central matter for many seventeenth-century political thinkers, then, the royal supremacy and its contested meanings kept religious matters at the center of politics through the Revolution of 1688–89. Secularism was notable at the dawn of the Enlightenment, but according to Rose, pre-1689 secularism was creeping and not flooding. Furthermore, any notion that the Restoration was an era in which deferential bishops clung to the king's supremacy as the critical source of their authority must be shelved. Restoration Anglicans turned regularly to Anglo-Saxon, Hebrew, and patristic history to justify checks upon what they regarded as the nec-

essary but fallible royal exercise of church supremacy. Rose's most significant contribution to Restoration historiography is her demonstration that episcopal challenges to royal supremacy were as significant an issue as Whig challenges to royal prerogative. Divine right episcopacy could easily come into conflict with divine right monarchy, and the protesting Seven Bishops of 1688 had many grounds for their challenge to the crown. Rose's presentation touches on other important matters as well. She finds, for instance, that Elizabeth I's gender was a minor issue in late Tudor discussions of the supremacy. She shows that Cromwellian Congregationalists who saw the Protector as a godly prince acted consistently in seeking to persuade Charles II to employ his supremacy on behalf of toleration. Making the supremacy integral to James's toleration and to contemporary debate about it, she challenges arguments that he was influenced by French Gallicanism. She also provides a fascinating study of how Thomas Hobbes's Restoration writing employed supremacy language to subordinate the clergy to a sovereign "priestly king" (p. 204) at the head of a conflated church-state.

This able study rests upon the succinct interpretation or reinterpretation of scores of treatises in which the royal supremacy is discussed. It is largely a work of intellectual history, and it will be of interest to students of religion and political thought as well as to historians. Rose does not go as far as she might in integrating her findings with other historical work. She summarizes relevant historiographies, pointing out their deficiencies about the supremacy, but she does not always reappraise such scholarship in light of her own conclusions. She is generous in praising the work of some Restoration scholars, the present writer included; but she does not always acknowledge or consider all the recent secondary literature, especially for the reign of James II.

GARY S. DE KREY
St. Olaf College

HELEN JACOBSEN. *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 286. \$125.00.

We have long needed a new and reinvigorated history of diplomacy. Traditionally work in this field has involved close studies of relations between governments, especially involving the outbreak of wars, formation of military alliances, and peace conferences. But in addition to negotiating treaties, early modern diplomats played vital roles in cultural and intellectual history. Their ranks included seminal political thinkers (e.g., Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Baldassare Castiglione, and Jean Bodin), poets (Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir Philip Sidney), connoisseurs of art, and theorists of social manners (Castiglione). They contributed materially to the development of an international elite culture and society, in which international politics was embedded.

Helen Jacobsen's book is an example of the kinds of insights that a more imaginative approach to the social and cultural history of diplomacy can provide. Her specific concern is the luxurious material culture of late Stuart diplomats and the ways in which that culture both reflected and contributed to broader shifts in elite taste. She begins by pointing out that "as honorary members of foreign courts . . . diplomats abroad were exposed to the very apogee of elite consumption," which meant that they were well positioned to serve as expert advisors on material culture to royal and aristocratic patrons back home (p. 1). In addition, as representatives of English monarchs they had to maintain very high standards of display in their own residences. Jacobsen provides a detailed picture of what that meant in terms of the material objects diplomats assembled while abroad, the strategies they developed to promote themselves through material culture, and the positions they occupied within English society.

Several early chapters give an overview of the subject, beginning with a discussion of the importance of specific luxury items, such as collections of plate and state coaches, in diplomatic life. Early in the Restoration diplomats were issued plate from the stockpile possessed by the crown, but by the eighteenth century they were usually able to order custom-made collections, which they generally retained after their missions had concluded. Elaborately decorated ambassadorial coaches functioned not only as vehicles but "moving works of art" (p. 31), while the quality of furnishings in an ambassador's house and Anglican chapel also reflected on his and his royal patron's prestige. The ambassador's wife and extended "family"—especially his chaplain, secretaries, and translators—also had important functions in the establishment and operation of an embassy. Perhaps surprisingly, no particular effort seems to have been made in this period to showcase English craftsmanship through embassies; instead ambassadors conformed to international tastes and did not hesitate to patronize foreign craftsmen.

Jacobsen next discusses how ambassadors collected paintings and other luxury objects and served as purchasing agents and conduits of information about cultural fashions. She points out that a series of late Stuart lord chamberlains, who had overall responsibility for the décor and furnishing of royal palaces, were former diplomats with direct experience of foreign courts. During this period French fashions became steadily more predominant at the English court, despite nearly twenty years of war between England and France around the turn of the century.

Five final chapters provide detailed case studies of the uses of luxury material culture by individual diplomats and court politicians: Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington; Ralph Montagu, created duke of Montagu; Charles Montagu, earl and later duke of Manchester; Matthew Prior; and Thomas Wentworth, third earl of Strafford. Arlington and Montagu were important patrons and trend setters, whereas Prior bankrupted himself trying to maintain a style of life beyond his means

and Strafford simply followed fashions set by others. But the different experiences of these figures illustrate the range of possibilities open to diplomats of the period.

A brief review can provide no more than a cursory synopsis of the wealth of information in Jacobsen's book, which should be required reading for anyone seriously interested in the elite society and culture of the period it covers. One can point to a number of ways in which future work might build upon and extend her analysis. It would be valuable to have similar studies of earlier and later periods. Although Jacobsen does discuss collections of books and libraries, along with Prior's literary career, more might have been said about diplomats' contributions to intellectual culture. Jacobsen mentions but does not analyze in detail discourses concerning concepts of "the perfect ambassador" and "*homme du monde*." A more systematic study of this topic, including attention to the emergence in precisely this period of the concept of good taste would be well worth undertaking. As a study of diplomacy and material culture from roughly 1660 to 1720, however, Jacobsen's book is exemplary.

MALCOLM SMUTS,
Emeritus
University of Massachusetts Boston

CARL WENNERLIND. *Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution, 1620–1720*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 348. \$39.95.

A politically correct postmodern effort to discredit the English financial revolution had to emerge sometime, and here it is. Rather than deal with the fundamental issues of finance, trade, and the fiscal and monetary policy that bedeviled successive regimes over the century from 1620 to 1720, Carl Wennerlind focuses on three successive episodes of "discourse regarding credit." His choice of episodes and therefore of literature are disconcerting for an economic historian, although they may suggest additional avenues of research.

In the first period, 1620–1660, Wennerlind highlights the writings of individuals around Samuel Hartlib, the so-called Hartlib Circle. Much of their correspondence dealt with various rumors of alchemists' attempts to create gold from base metals and thereby solve the existing shortage of money. Some of the Hartlibian documents suggested that paper money could be a viable substitute for the philosopher's stone so ardently sought by alchemists. Were the advocates of such substitutes perhaps charlatans on par with the alchemists? The interplay of innovations in war finance that occurred on the continent during the course of the Thirty Years' War, and those attempted by parliament during the Civil War and by Oliver Cromwell during the Protectorate, should receive more attention from economic historians, however. Perhaps the extensive correspondence of Hartlib with leading mercantilist and scientific thinkers throughout northern Europe could

yield insights into the financial interactions that occurred if read for that purpose.

Not bothering with the actual fiscal innovations made by the Long Parliament and subsequently by Cromwell, Wennerlind moves on to his second episode, the period roughly from 1660 to 1700. Rather than deal with the origins of the financial revolution as explored by scholars such as Peter Dickson, John Brewer, Anne Murphy, and myself, he focuses on the recoinage of 1696. In the famous dispute over whether the recoinage of clipped and defaced coins should restore the original weights (John Locke) or remain twenty percent less to stabilize the existing price level (William Lowndes), Wennerlind favors Locke's position. While Locke foresaw a sharp deflation and stoppage of trade with his proposal, he thought it would be short-lived. On the contrary, argues Wennerlind without giving any evidence, the new banknotes issued by the Bank of England compensated for the shortage of new coins, but only because they promised to be redeemed in full-weight coins. To make credible the backing of the paper money foreseen by the Hartlibians, however, savage penalties were imposed on counterfeiters. The success of Isaac Newton in carrying out the recoinage, according to Wennerlind, lay less in Newton's efforts to increase the capacity of the mints and more on his assiduous pursuit of the death penalty for counterfeiters. Newton as mass murderer, therefore, created the first "casualties of credit." While Wennerlind is correct to chide economic historians for largely ignoring the economic complementarity between the recoinage of 1696 and the chartering of the Bank of England in 1694, handing out severe penalties for counterfeiting, or even for writing bad checks today, hardly began with Newton.

Wennerlind's third and final episode covers the period 1700–1720, where the new casualties turn out to be African slaves transported by the South Sea Company in carrying out their monopoly of the slave trade with Spanish America. The legitimization of the financial revolution by Tory Robert Harley in 1710, when he initiated the chartering of the South Sea Company as an alternative to expanding the capital of either the Bank of England or the East India Company, may also be underplayed by economic historians as a critical event in the development of public credit. But Wennerlind's focus is on the unfortunate slaves brought from Africa to Spanish America who became the next casualties of credit. Never mind that the South Sea Company took a couple of years to exercise the trade it was granted in 1713 and that ended in 1718, and that in those few years it never accounted for more than one quarter of the entire Atlantic slave trade. According to Wennerlind, the South Sea Bubble occurred when the company tried to recover from the loss of its despicable trade. The dire consequences of the collapse of the South Sea Bubble—consequences that persist in the subprime mortgage crisis of the twenty-first century—constitute the continued casualties of credit, concludes Wennerlind. Perhaps skeptical readers will be stimulated to read some of the contrasting studies by economic historians based on pri-

mary-source materials left by financial institutions, bankers, and stock brokers. Their work substantiates the long-term benefits of financial innovations.

LARRY NEAL

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

MARK FREEMAN, ROBIN PEARSON, and JAMES TAYLOR. *Shareholder Democracies? Corporate Governance in Britain and Ireland before 1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 339. \$65.00.

The classic industrial revolution period in Britain, from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, witnessed not only a huge increase in the number of businesses in mining, manufacturing, and services but also a bewildering variety of governance forms. This has been well documented in the business history literature but with only vague indications of orders of magnitude: what proportion of companies were incorporated or had transferable shares, limited liability, detailed constitutions, one share/one vote franchises, dividend caps, shareholder power over directors, and so on? This book fills the gap admirably. Based on research financed by the United Kingdom's Economic and Social Research Council, it analyzes the governance provisions in the constitutions and bylaws of 514 joint-stock companies founded in Britain and Ireland between the Bubble Act of 1720 and the Companies Act of 1844.

The study area is a legal minefield not only because English common law sat alongside provisions laid down in the legal specification of incorporation, and not only because of differing systems in Scotland and Ireland, but because the precise legal attributes of companies were not always clear. The joint-stock companies in the sample were limited to those with thirteen or more partners and transferable shares. These could be incorporated—by Royal Charter, or increasingly by an Act of Parliament—or they could be unincorporated, which in eighteenth-century England meant that the business had no legal existence separate from the identity of the partners. Incorporation conferred a separate legal identity and thereby gave royal or parliamentary security to investors. In Scotland, however, the legal status of unincorporated businesses was not clear. They were "competent to maintain legal relations with a third party by their separate firm or name" and yet could not sue or be sued in the company name (p. 26). The authors present us with examples of such legal nuances throughout the book, and in general they are clearly explained. I would have preferred some explanation early on about letters of patent and common seal (neither of which are explained), and readers not familiar with this field of study would benefit from guidance on the practical implications of incorporation as expressed in a public document (rather than private contract) for a business with a public purpose and public accountability. The threads of this distinction can be picked up only over several chapters.

Although manufacturing does not appear in the quoted examples and case studies of firms as much as

canals, railways, insurance, shipping, gas, and water supply, the sample data do provide good coverage of the whole economy. What do we learn? The clauses in the 1720 Bubble Act were designed to suppress “dangerous and mischievous undertakings,” but although the growth of joint stock companies was modest from 1720 to 1760, this was probably more a reflection of the state of the sluggish economy. Nor was Britain dominated by small family firms. Although forty-four percent of the sample and forty percent of all companies founded between 1720 and 1850 were unincorporated, this included big firms in shipping, insurance, and banking. Many were joint-stock companies whose numbers accelerated strongly between 1780 and 1800 as well as between 1820 and 1840. As companies grew in size the early investor, often a customer or supplier, came to be outnumbered by shareholders driven by dividend. Constitutions became more detailed but were drawn up by directors rather than shareholders, and the size of share denominations fell as the lower middle classes were wooed. Electoral procedures often followed the pattern of local government, and, over time, power was transferred to the executive from the shareholders. Less democratic franchises later developed, away from one vote per shareholder if not wholly to one vote per share. A further decline in shareholder participation followed the spread of proxy voting, “stock splitting” (dividing stock across individual friends and family to maximize voting power), and Scottish “faggot votes” (dividing up estates into small units). The book also outlines how limited liability, often seen as the key development of the nineteenth century, was pervasive in the eighteenth even though it was not always mentioned in constitutions. It was sometimes surrounded by qualifications that prompted more explicit advertisement of its unqualified availability in nineteenth-century prospectuses.

These and many other issues are discussed in great detail in what is a very rich analysis of business governance. Some mention is made in the introduction of its relevance for agency theory and other areas of institutional economic history. For example, how did Britain differ from the United States and continental Europe in the way companies were regulated and the scope for corruption? Did profitability or economic efficiency vary across governance types? But this is work for the future. Mark Freeman, Robin Pearson, and James Taylor have crafted a well-written piece of research, providing much useful new data and windows of opportunity for further study. This thorough book will be an authoritative source for years to come.

ROBERT MILLWARD
University of Manchester

SAMANTHA WILLIAMS. *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760–1834*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series.) London: Royal Historical Society, with Boydell Press, Rochester, N.Y. 2011. Pp. xiii, 190. \$90.00.

This scholarly monograph provides a meticulous appraisal of English poor-relief strategies in Campton and Shefford in the East Midlands from 1760 to 1834. Situated in the county of Bedfordshire, Campton and Shefford had distinctive profiles (Shefford was a small town, Campton was a more rural settlement), yet both were located within the same parish. To explore the intricacies of poor relief in these two locations Samantha Williams has adopted the methodology of “pauper biographies,” painstakingly linking names in parish overseer accounts with those appearing in family reconstitution surveys. It is a strategy that enables Williams to construct an intricate micro-study of the dynamics of poor relief in these two communities.

Such a tightly focused study raises questions of typicality and of the broader significance of this research that are not fully aired in the book. Nonetheless, Williams’s findings are particularly effective in demonstrating the biting impact of poverty during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The soaring costs of poor relief during these years have been well documented, but Williams provides detailed and telling insights into how poverty became woven into the fabric of parochial life. In the “crisis” year of 1801 almost half the population of Campton could be classified as paupers. Even those not so categorized might live perilously close to subsistence. Half of the pauper burials financed by the parish were for those whose families were not in regular receipt of poor relief, but for whom this extra expense was simply one burden too many. It is equally illuminating to discover the extent of “ratepayer-paupers”—those who received poor relief even while paying the rates themselves. Meanwhile ratepayers also had to carry the burden of increasing payments to nonresident paupers, a category that accounted for some twenty-nine percent of poor-relief costs by the 1810s. In this fraught economic environment parish welfare provided much needed economic opportunities for the wider community too. This included fostering children, carrying out maintenance for the local poorhouse, or acting as paid carers—the last a job that was performed by both women and men.

Williams dismisses notions of a “pauperised underclass,” finding no evidence of “inherited poverty.” Instead, she insists that exigencies of the life cycle were most significant in determining people’s recourse to parish relief. It was not couple-headed households or single men who most benefited from the system, but rather the elderly and lone mothers. This may not be a surprising finding; however it does, as Williams is at pains to underline, problematize the assumptions of many contemporary theorists who rail against laborers for losing all sense of “manly independence” due to the “perceived generosity” of the system toward them.

Williams’s work might have been further enriched by engagement with recent scholarship in the field. For a book that has “gender” in the title, it is noticeably cautious in elaborating upon the concept in the substantive analysis. As the work of historians such as Sarah Lloyd, Patricia Lin, Anna Clark, Matthew McCormack, and

Deborah Valenze has amply demonstrated, class-specific discourses of gendered behavior and attributes were integral to contemporary welfare debates. In this sense, Williams misses an opportunity to explore further the significance of her material. Nonetheless, her careful research does provide a number of suggestive lines for future inquiry. In particular, while much recent social and cultural history on the life cycle has focused on female experiences, Williams demonstrates the salience of the concept for men too. For example, the overstocked postwar labor market rendered elderly men particularly vulnerable to under- or unemployment, necessitating increasing reliance on parish support.

Williams is at her best when probing the minute details of her data. Certainly she appears to position her work for a fairly small and specialist audience of welfare historians. Undergraduate readers especially might wish that the book's key themes had been highlighted more forcefully at times, or that the author had occasionally adopted a more expansive approach, engaging with wider literatures and questions. Nonetheless, this remains a prudent micro-study of one English parish during a crucial transition period in British welfare history.

KATHRYN GLEADLE
University of Oxford

CATHERINE MOLINEUX. *Faces of Perfect Ebony: Encountering Atlantic Slavery in Imperial Britain*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 175.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 341. \$49.95.

In *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, Catherine Molineux explores the imagery and discussions surrounding Africans and slavery in early modern Britain. Although at times she pushes her examination into the early part of the nineteenth century, when abolitionists dominated the public discourse, her primary contribution is to our understanding of pre-abolitionist representations. Central to her argument is that abolitionists wrongly rewrote British history through their assertions that the British had ignored slavery until the 1770s and that British soil was free. Rather, she argues, "Britons [prior to the abolitionist movement] were not blind to slavery; they were actively involved in imagining it into a system that confined preconceptions about their own role within the Atlantic world" (p. 257). It is this world that Molineux uncovers.

In pursuit of her goal, Molineux considers a wide range of literary and visual evidence, including performed plays, shop signs, and portraiture. The result is a visually impressive book that includes over eighty illustrations—many of which have not been previously published and some of which are presented in full color. While the title of the book claims a British engagement, the book focuses almost exclusively on what Molineux labels "metropolitan Britons," who essentially were the London commercial, social, and political elites and the upper echelons of the middling ranks. She justifies the

London focus on the grounds that "it was the production center for print and visual materials in the Isles" (p. 7). Following a short introduction Molineux offers a series of thematic chapters that detail the presence of Africans, and representations of them, in Britain. The chapters sometimes focus on a particular argument, such as chapter three's assertion that the inalterable color of their skin made Africans difficult targets for cultural assimilation, or on a genre of sources, such as chapter five's examination of images of Africans in tobacco-shop advertisements. The result is a book that recovers a rich and diverse aspect of British culture that has largely been overshadowed by the much more assertive and prolific abolitionist discourse of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Clearly, as Molineux demonstrates, Africans and images of them abounded in London, where they played roles ranging from a mistress's fashion statement to critics of contemporary English society.

While scholars will find much to like here, they will also find plenty over which to quibble. Molineux's argument that not enough attention has been paid to the "relationship between imperial center and colonial periphery" (p. 5) is a straw man, given the substantial scholarship produced by what has been dubbed the "new" British imperial history over the past two decades (some of which is cited in the book). Her assertion that "the empire was a frontier of Britain, but Britain was also a frontier of the emerging Atlantic world" (p. 5) would not find much disagreement from historians today. A more important concern is the narrowness of Molineux's focus. Certainly London was the center of the empire, but emerging cities such as Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow were increasingly more connected to the Atlantic portion of the British Empire than London, whose direction was oriented more east than west. These provincial centers had active presses, theaters, and, most important, audiences for the production and consumption of the sorts of images Molineux discusses. Equally important, such places were engines of reform and radicalism—including abolitionism—during the long eighteenth century.

Along these lines of context, one is left wondering how images of Africans fit into Britons' ongoing engagement with race and imperialism. Molineux's observation that "[images of] blacks were always pointing out something about Britain" applied to the host of racial Others, such as American Indians, Asians, and South Pacific Islanders, who also walked the streets of London during the eighteenth century and appeared in the same private and public spaces she examines. After all, a London reference to a "black" during this period could just as easily be referring to a South Asian as an African. Molineux is at her best when examining the subtleties of a particularly portrait, but at least some of the greater significance of her impressive interrogations is lost without more big-picture questions. Such criticisms aside, *Faces of Perfect Ebony* will be of interest to scholars of Britain and the Atlantic world, and it makes a

solid contribution to our understanding of the culture of the early modern British Empire.

TROY BICKHAM
Texas A&M University

KATHRIN LEVITAN. *A Cultural History of the British Census: Envisioning the Multitude in the Nineteenth Century*. (Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. xii, 272. \$85.00.

The census was not just a building block of British state formation in the nineteenth century; it has also provided some of the most familiar sources for the discipline of social history. Kathrin Levitan is hardly the first historian to think seriously about using it. However, in her important new study, she provides an original approach, and the result will need to be engaged with by all historians working on modern Britain.

Levitan is concerned with the way the census (launched in 1801) framed social problems but also helped produce the modern notion of “the social” itself. The figures, tables, and statistics the census threw up assisted people in visualizing “the national economy as well as the social body” (p. 204). The author offers a double-edged argument. There is, on the one hand, a soft Foucauldian thesis that the census offered forms of classification, which proved useful for the state in identifying and controlling the poor, in particular. On the other hand, the census was also an enabler. Movements for social reform were frequently propelled by information taken from the census (especially after the press began to report on census results in the 1820s). Levitan demonstrates that census information caught the public imagination, stoking controversy but also action: “If the census helped create a surveillance state, it also helped people to assert their identity and power” (p. 6). In this way, the census became central to the whole notion of progress and also to the movement for democracy. It helped shift notions of political representation away from the balance of “interests” toward the force of numbers. “People realized that they needed the census in order to be ‘represented,’” Levitan argues (p. 74). The census also played a vital role in contemporary thinking about the city. It showed how mortality rates were higher in towns than in rural areas, providing impetus for sanitary reform. The morality as well as the mortality of the people was an issue. The one-off education and religion census in 1851 were products of this anxiety.

Rather than placing people in homogeneous categories, the census also showed that identity was fluid and ambiguous. The different boxes on the census form revealed that people were complex, belonging to many different identity groups. The census therefore helped construct people as social groups within the nation but allowed individuals to differentiate themselves from others. The early census moved from constructing people simply as members of a community to viewing them as individuals (it was only in 1841 that the census began

to list people by name rather than just counting them as part of a parish). I found this aspect of Levitan’s approach the most refreshing.

The census created notions of the national aggregate but also of “surplus.” During its first fifty years, it made rising population an object of fear (in contrast to the idea that a large population indicated economic vitality). The woman question was framed by the census because of the revelation that there was an “excess” of females in the population (prompting William Greg to write his 1862 article “Why Are Women Redundant?” and fueling not only campaigns for female emigration but, to some extent, the feminist movement itself). At an even deeper level, the census helped to entrench modern conceptions of the family.

Not everyone supported the census. Some found it an invasion of privacy. Thomas Carlyle considered statistics to be useless, and others wondered whether people could really be defined by the census enumerator’s little boxes. Charles Dickens noted that not everyone was recorded in the census (including the homeless and some of the poorest). Britain was, of course, not alone in adopting the census. Levitan makes important comparisons with other countries, finding room to discuss census taking in Ireland and throughout the British Empire. This gives her book resonance beyond the confines of British history.

The book is well researched and clearly written, and scholars of literature as well as history will find important material here. Indeed, Levitan builds on the work of people such as Mary Poovey who have examined the statistical imagination and the way it constructed social information (although I was surprised that she does not engage with Patrick Joyce’s work on the way “freedom,” “the self,” and “the social” were constructed in Victorian Britain). The issues she deals with—class, family, religion, urbanization, and national identity, for example—have all been explored by social historians. Levitan, however, provides stimulating insights into these themes by making the census central.

ROHAN MCWILLIAM
Anglia Ruskin University

ELIZABETH T. HURREN. *Dying for Victorian Medicine: English Anatomy and Its Trade in the Dead Poor, c. 1834–1929*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xviii, 380. \$95.00.

Although slightly mistitled given the chronology specified, *Dying for Victorian Medicine* is a valuable contribution to the social-humanist and economic history of death and dissection. Informed by, and in many ways a sequel to, Ruth Richardson’s *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* (2000), it recovers in exacting detail the trade in corpses and body parts performed for English anatomy schools, especially after the passage of the Medical Act of 1858 (which greatly increased the educational demand for body parts) up to the end of the Poor Law in 1929 (which severed the main supply line). The period is one that historians have assumed was marked by

a leveling off of the trade in dead bodies and an easing of the outcry against the 1832 Anatomy Act by its most vulnerable victims. Elizabeth Hurren's micro-investigation into the vagaries of the trade in London, Cambridge, Oxford, and Manchester proves otherwise. Her study is as tantalizing for its sensitive restoration of the poor souls who ended up on dissectors' slabs (a staggering 125,000 in all, she estimates [p. 303]) as for the detective work involved in order to arrive at its facts and figures.

Utilizing dissection registers, burial records, and other remains of the Victorian information state, Hurren exposes the extent to which the traffic in dead bodies and body parts was disguised in the official returns of the Anatomy Inspectorate. What she calls her new correlative method or "lateral thinking" between official and hitherto neglected sources (p. 305) permits her to lift a veil on commerce literally hidden from history. Her four case studies reveal how the chain of supply in cadavers and body parts was linked, and how fragile and precarious it was, involving a complex and shady network of procurers and porters whose palms had continually to be greased. Light is cast on an underworld of seedy, tight-lipped undertakers, railway companies, Poor Law officials, midwives, and others liaising with the agents of the increasingly body-hungry anatomy schools. Hurren also illuminates how costs, together with competition between the schools for students and hence for anatomical specimens, drove new technologies for corpse preservation in an era before widespread refrigeration. Court records, coroner's reports, newspapers, and, above all, the hitherto untapped private papers of reformers of anatomy in Cambridge and Oxford help her to bring all this out.

Hurren's revelations—not least her many tables and graphs on the age, gender, and diseases of the dissected, the geographies of supply, the number of "street deals," anatomy-school expenditures, and so on—speak primarily to a historical cognoscenti. Perhaps most historically significant is her evidence for the increasing dependence of the Anatomy Act on the operation of the Poor Law. In particular, she shows how the parsimony of ratepayers in denying poor relief toward the end of the century forced more and more of the destitute into the poor house, thereby enhancing not only the potential cadaver sales to anatomy schools but also the desire of Poor Law officials to do so in order to offset their expenses.

Dying for Victorian Medicine marks the most detailed scholarly dissection to date of one particular set of traffics in dead bodies, as well as perhaps the most eloquent literary effort to capture the lives of the dissected (from the vantage of the slab looking up, not upon). But there is an odd and unresolved tension between these different modes of analysis, the quantitative and the literary, just as there is between the different historiographical orientations to which they refer. Hurren claims to "build upon" the existing literature (p. xvii), but the building refers more to empirical bricks than conceptual mortars. Unlike Michael Sappol's *A Traffic of Dead*

Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America (2002), a cultural history that did indeed think laterally in seeking to apply the insights of the literary turn to the facts and figures of the anatomy trade, Hurren's text (although it pays lip service to Sappol's) remains wedded to the social history pioneered by Richardson, albeit minus Richardson's animating activist politics. Despite Hurren's efforts to grasp the subjectivities of the dissected, she remains committed to the epistemology of objectivity with all its essentialisms and its scientific investment in assumed-to-be nonemotionally laden and ideologically neutral "facts" derived from disinterested research. This is evident in the oft-repeated claims she makes for the novelty and importance of her empirical findings and the ability of her research methods to get at the "real truth." Overall, therefore, her book aligns with the kind of history-writing that balks at Sappol's approach, to say nothing of Richardson's social-justice motivations. Yet, at the same time, Hurren plies an emotional attachment to her dissected subjects, seeking to draw the reader in through an empathy that she assumes to be universal and historically transcendent. Indeed, through "our common humanity" (p. xvi), she directs attention to today's global economy of supply in corporeal parts, suggesting in the process historical continuity between past and present, as well as the contemporary relevance of her study. The tensions between these two approaches remain unaddressed. To this reviewer, they suggest that perhaps less attention should be paid to those who suffered dissection than to the ideologies, politics, and epistemologies that facilitate such history-writing and continue to render it so appealing.

ROGER COOTER

University College London

ELIZABETH A. PERGAM. *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs, and the Public*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2011. Pp. xvi, 368. \$124.95.

Much can be said for the historical turn in fields such as literature and art history, which have been distinguished by close reading and formal internal analysis, and for the cross-pollination that now regularly creates hybrid cultural histories. Many of these are informed by similar bibliographies and by complementary goals: trying to understand the social, economic, political, and wider cultural lives of works of art and literature. However, there are occasions, as in this historian's reading of the art historical work under review, which seem to highlight the difficulties rather than the benefits of interdisciplinary work. The long-overlooked Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 has found an avid researcher in Elizabeth A. Pergam, who has done much detailed investigative work in reconstructing the planning, layout, and organization of the exhibition, and in tracing the fates of the exhibition's paintings that subsequently entered public collections.

Curator Pergam's prose seems most animated when

discussing questions of provenance and attribution, and the book will be a useful guide for future researchers: she provides seven appendices of primary sources as well as a listing of where the Exhibition paintings ended up. Yet other than insisting on the importance of the Art Treasures Exhibition, the book does not offer a sustained argument about its meaning in a wider sense, and because Pergam does not follow the museum movement, art critical, or art historical debates beyond the immediate exhibition, there is not much evidence here that the Art Treasures Exhibition was the kind of “watershed” (p. 217) moment she claims. There is frustratingly little analysis of the Manchester Exhibition’s meaning in the context of the role of art in industrial capitalist society, or why the French modernist canon continues to dominate our understanding of nineteenth-century art and culture.

Pergam explicitly challenges that latter tendency to judge Victorian art and art institutions in terms of the French avant-garde (p. 2). Her book is therefore part of a larger reconsideration of Victorian art over the last fifteen to twenty years by scholars such as Timothy Barringer and Elizabeth Prettejohn. Rather than focusing on nineteenth-century British art, however, Pergam is most interested in how the innovative chronological hang of the Art Treasures Exhibition opened up lines of inquiry and comparative analysis that became essential to the emerging practice of art history (p. 151). This is a fascinating question, but the resulting study highlights the difficulty of encompassing an undertaking as enormous as the Art Treasures Exhibition in Pergam’s essentially curatorial terms—in terms, that is, of individual objects and their histories instead of their wider context.

I was often left wondering about the ultimate meaning and import of Pergam’s findings. She tends to read documents closely for tone and syntax, but outside of any larger argument. For example, she writes that the critic for the *Athenaeum* described William Holman Hunt’s artistic potential in “organic” terms (p. 182), and that the *Art-Journal* used a “military simile” to describe the exhibition (p. 205). Her book is a converted dissertation, and it still has many of the features of that format, combining impressive research with rather simplistic historical statements—for example, that “the organization of a monumental art exhibition inevitably raised knotty issues of the relationship between art and economics” (p. 38)—while largely ignoring the trickier problems of *class*.

Pergam notes that the Manchester men who organized the exhibition provided a potent model for later wealthy industrialists and capitalists to harness “the rehabilitative power of making their prized possessions accessible to the public” (p. 227). However, she seems to miss the wider cultural import of Manchester industrialists taking on High Culture, and of the organized and industrious spirit in which they enacted their plans. The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition is the epitome of what Thomas Carlyle called in 1829 the “Mechanical Age,” its organizers deliberately and busily

converting both old and new wealth into a mechanism for the Liberal argument: that the active, capitalist class deserved to rule through their energy, innovation, and pursuit of the wider public good. If the exhibition was such an important moment for the study of art, what does this origin say about the practice of art history? What is the relationship between the need for the wealthy to justify their wealth by amassing collections for the public and the role of connoisseurs developing the new discipline of art history in a “scientific” way? More consideration of these topics, seemingly promised in the book’s subtitle, would have invigorated Pergam’s detailed research.

Ultimately, this book offers a very good account of the planning, layout, and organization of the exhibition, and art historians working on particular Old Masters might find some useful reception history, but the work does not make a convincing, sustained argument connecting the Art Treasures Exhibition to its wider historical context.

AMY WOODSON-BOULTON
Loyola Marymount University

AMY MILNE-SMITH. *London Clubland: A Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late Victorian Britain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. xi, 296. \$85.00.

Amy Milne-Smith’s book on gentlemen’s clubs in late Victorian London is a useful addition to the literature on British elites. The governing class in Britain was not a narrowly aristocratic caste but a broader coalition of the well-educated and propertied, and it was in institutions like these clubs that aristocrats, leading professionals, and businessmen forged a sense of corporate identity as “gentlemen.” In this way, consciousness of class took on a particularly gendered form. In a series of thematic chapters Milne-Smith examines the efforts of club members to create a community of shared sensibility, starting with the processes by which clubs sought to exclude (“black ball”) those men whose status, character, manners, or politics did not pass scrutiny. Those accepted were “less defined by any formal sense of class than by a commonality of activities, lifestyle, and taste” (p. 37).

Highlights of the book are the colorful accounts of the various transgressions of respectable masculinity that endangered club membership, ranging from Percy Douglas’s public fistfight with his father to the member of the Savage Club who smuggled in his wife disguised as a man. Using bad language, treating servants poorly, drinking excessively, and incurring bad gambling debts were all deemed incompatible with gentlemanliness and merited disciplinary action. But the creation of a cohesive governing class rested on more than conforming to normative ideals, which leads Milne-Smith to an important argument. She claims that historians of men ought to be as sensitive to the importance of gossip as historians of women have been, because clubs were places where men shared rumors, stories, and jokes in a way that created and strengthened social networks. In

order for these gossip networks to operate as mechanisms of social closure, however, their knowledge had to be kept secret, and so revealing to the public or the press what was heard in club conversation was considered a grave social offense. As a contribution to the history of privacy, this is timely.

The clubs were, until the early twentieth century, uniformly homosocial environments that “encouraged married men to behave as bachelors” (p. 164). This meant that club members were regularly criticized in the final decades of the nineteenth century for engaging in what John Tosh has termed a “flight from domesticity.” Milne-Smith makes the provocative argument that men did not flee domesticity but rather constructed an alternative domestic life in clubs that were free from some of the contradictions and demands of the Victorian home. This argument needs to be heavily qualified, not least because the book offers little evidence that men used the language of domesticity to describe their clubs (most of it drawn from satire, which is telling). Instead Milne-Smith bases her argument on the fact that clubs provided amenities that allowed men to exist comfortably away from their homes. This, however, requires one to think about the uses to which men put their clubs. Certainly there were some men who effectively lived in their clubs, but there were others, like Matthew Arnold, who used their clubs as places of work. Many clubs were at the heart of political intrigue (a subject that Milne-Smith deliberately avoids), or were used as meeting places where business or network-building was conducted informally. Such activities were scarcely compatible with Victorian conceptions of domesticity. Indeed, one might suggest that what we see here is men using clubs to conduct public affairs precisely *because* they wanted to keep such activities out of the home.

Its subtitle identifies this book as a cultural history, but readers might wonder whether the methods of cultural history are always appropriate for answering the questions that the author poses about social structure and social practices. We are told that “Each club had to select members among aristocrats, new millionaires, and members of the professional classes” (p. 35), but the book gives no indication of the relative proportions of these groups, how they changed over time, or how they differed among clubs. A social analysis of the clubs’ actual members would usefully complement Milne-Smith’s analysis of the cultural “type.” The transformation of social and political structures were surely as important in precipitating the decline of the clubs as Milne-Smith’s preferred cultural explanations, like the emergence of youth culture and changes in the nature of leisure. The book is, in fact, a very good example of cultural history helping to set an agenda for a revived social history, and this is not the least valuable contribution of this helpful and engaging study.

BEN GRIFFIN
Girton College,
University of Cambridge

SUSAN R. GRAYZEL. *At Home and under Fire: Air Raids and Culture in Britain from the Great War to the Blitz*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 343. \$99.00.

Susan R. Grayzel has written an original book looking back at the long path leading to the Blitz: aerial bombardment from 1914 to 1918, followed by the evolution of thinking about the vulnerability of civilians to bombs in the interwar years, to the emergence of air-raid precautions in the 1930s, and finally to World War II itself. Its most striking contribution is showing the extent to which the two wars did form a unified whole, defined by the obliteration of the distinction between civilian and military targets evident when zeppelins and then airplanes attacked British cities in World War I. By the end of World War II everything about the Blitz was present in the popular imagination, and in the minds of planners who had lived through both wars.

This is an important conclusion, and yet I want to raise one important doubt about it. The Blitz in World War II was a prelude to invasion, and nothing in World War I foretold either that or even the remote possibility of a British defeat. Grayzel presents an extended and powerful interpretation of the World War II film *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), and rightly so. When the eponymous heroine captured a German airman shot down, she slapped him for his audacity and cruelty in saying that his comrades would be back to kill more women and children. Her outrage, as noble as it was, could not obliterate the fear that the Nazis might very well win the war, and just as they had forced Belgian, Dutch, French, and Polish civilians to submit to their rule, might do the same in Britain. Of course very few said this publicly, but everyone who watched the newsreels or read the papers from 1936 on knew the fear to be real. Winston Churchill’s swagger, as moving as it was, was the braggadocio of the besieged and the cornered, and you really did need to be clairvoyant to *know* that Britain would win the war as late as December 1942, when the Beveridge report came out long after the end of the Blitz. For this reason, I cannot accept Grayzel’s view that the history of bombing in the two wars was essentially the same.

Where I am more persuaded by her meticulous research is in the claim that aerial bombardment in 1914 set in motion a redefinition of the place of civilians in wartime and of the state as that institution mobilized civilians and tried to protect them in this new kind of war. Grayzel notes the extent to which the Munich agreement did not persuade civilians that there would be “peace for our time,” as Chamberlain foolishly hoped. They did not see the lifting of the danger facing them in their homes. This may be an interesting difference between Britain and France, a theme Grayzel does not touch, even though Paris arguably had a worse time under German bombardment in World War I than did London. A sense of relief was palpable in France; people who had left Marseille in fear of German bombardment should the Munich conference fail went

home on October 1, 1938. The veterans' press heaved a collective sigh of relief. But how attempts to protect the civilian population of France differed from those undertaken in Britain is unfortunately not explored in this book.

At Home and under Fire is a major contribution to women's history too. In a series of interesting explorations of Virginia Woolf's writings alongside much other documentation, Grayzel makes the point that the evident and urgent task of defending the home under aerial bombardment re-gendered national defense. She tells the probably fictional story of a man trying to enlist in the army being given a white feather for cowardice: he could not stand the stress on the home front. The newsreels were critical carriers of this new message, and from the time of *Guernica* on, if not before, made it clear that families in Britain would be in the front line in a new war.

Grayzel stops at 1941, but the significance of her research for later World War II history is apparent. There are interesting lines pointing directly to the work of D. W. Winnicott and John Bowlby on mothering and child development, a field Denise Riley explored some years ago. We do not find out in this book whether British women reacted differently to the rocket war of 1943–1944, or indeed to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. By then Virginia Woolf was dead, but most of the other veterans of the bombing of Britain in the two world wars were still alive. It is to be hoped that Grayzel will turn her shrewd historian's eyes to this subject, and perhaps as well to the links extending her story to that of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp.

JAY WINTER
Yale University

JANE SHAW. *Octavia, Daughter of God: The Story of a Female Messiah and Her Followers*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 398. \$35.00.

Jane Shaw's book explores the history of the Panacea Society, founded in 1919 by Mabel Bartrop, a curate's widow and a mother of four children. As Shaw outlines in her preface, some seventy members of the society lived together in Bedford in the 1920s and 1930s, and membership peaked in 1923 at 130,000 in Britain and throughout the world. Bartrop was renamed Octavia by her followers, who believed she was a female messiah.

The book is organized into three sections. Part one successfully contextualizes Bartrop, a woman of vulnerable mental health, as a "seeker" disillusioned with the limitations (for women) of the Church of England and for whom the prophecies of Joanna Southcott, the nineteenth-century Devonian servant who still had 10,000 followers in the 1910s, had great appeal. This section also charts the development of Bartrop's circle and the emergent belief that she was Shiloh, Southcott's spiritual child. Shaw discusses the popularity of Bartrop's woman-centric theology among the growing group of women who gathered around her. Middle class and pro-

suffrage, many of Bartrop's followers were inclined toward movements like vegetarianism, Theosophy, and spiritualism, and all were critical of the failure of the Church of England to meet their spiritual needs and allow women to develop meaningful roles.

Part two focuses on Albany Road, Bedford, where Bartrop established her community in 1919. The chapters in this section detail the appointment of twelve female apostles and the development of rituals including self-examination, confession, and "over-coming": "religious practices which would enable them to achieve immortal life on earth (not merely in heaven) with the next coming of Christ" (p. 121). Shaw reveals the gradual movement toward a more autocratic structure and rigid membership guidelines and discusses the remarkable interest in Octavia's healing ministry in Australia, New Zealand, and India. She also discusses Bartrop's response to frank letters from members discussing sexual desire and birth control; her advice combined advocacy of the laws of Leviticus with her own preference for celibacy.

The book's final section, "The World," makes explicit Bartrop's middle-class conservatism, evident in her suspicion of American culture, her lamentations over Britain's declining imperial power, and her opposition to Bolshevism, trade unionism, and socialism. Shaw also explores the complexity of Octavia's relationship to the Church of England, as the Panaceans required the cooperation of bishops in the opening of Southcott's box of prophecies.

There is some potential for hilarity in this book, not least in Bartrop's letters promoting Bedford as ideal for her community because "it is a most lovely place and is going up leaps and bounds. Selfridges [department store] is coming" (p. 71). There is more than an undercurrent of humor in Bartrop's obsessive instructions on how to eat toast and other matters of bourgeois domestic etiquette, in Wella Baum's affair with her Mormon dentist, and in the discovery of Southcott's box of prophecies under a bed in a Morecambe bungalow. Nonetheless, this is a serious study: it is based on extensive research and is well contextualized in terms of the history of middle-class, Christian, pro-feminist women in interwar Britain.

While it certainly opens a window onto "people's lives, hopes and fears" (p. 331), and in so doing raises some fascinating issues, the book is less satisfying as an academic work. Greater engagement with the historiography on female prophets, and especially women and heterodox religion, is necessary in order to assess how the Panacea Society adds to our understanding of female religiosity in relation to the Church of England, or of feminism, spinsterhood, sexuality, or madness. I would have liked to see more of Shaw's own reflections on the society and its members. Jane Shaw is the first female dean at Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, and issues of gender and the church are undoubtedly central to her experience and close to her heart. Either a more historiographically engaged academic history, or a com-

bination of history and memoir, would have made for a more compelling read.

ALISON TWELLS
Sheffield Hallam University

BILL WILLIAMS. *"Jews and Other Foreigners": Manchester and the Rescue of the Victims of European Fascism, 1933–1940*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 420. \$120.00.

STEPHAN E. C. WENDEHORST. *British Jewry, Zionism, and the Jewish State, 1936–1956*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 422. \$110.00.

The 1930s were, of course, years of heightening crisis for the Jews of Europe. But this was not only true for those directly living under Nazi rule. Jews who lived on the peripheries of the Third Reich often watched helplessly as their coreligionists were stripped of their civil rights, and persecution became a daily endurance. In the early years following the Nazi seizure of power (*machtergreifung*), some pondered economic boycotts and international appeals, but by the late 1930s the priority was rescue. Even in the USSR, where Jews faced problems not entirely dissimilar to those in the Nazi realm, attempts were made to facilitate the escape of German, Austrian, and Czech Jews. Freedom, of a kind, was assured by transference to Birobidzhan, in the Jewish Autonomous Region, located in the far east of the Soviet Union. But it was largely upon the shoulders of Western European Jews, in Britain and France, that the burdens of expectation fell.

Both studies under review here highlight the extent to which Nazi-inspired crises affected British Jews. As both Bill Williams and Stephan E. C. Wendehorst demonstrate, the impact of Nazi cruelty extended way beyond those within its immediate reach. Initially, the resources—financial and otherwise—of Anglo-Jewish philanthropy were drawn upon as individuals and groups were brought to the United Kingdom. But the longer term heralded a more meaningful impact, which, as Wendehorst argues, entailed “a loss in orientation” for British Jews as they struggled to grasp the reality of the Holocaust, and their government’s failure to prevent or halt its progress (p. 1). For British Jews, the enduring effect of Nazism was a realignment of their sense of Jewishness. This meant different things to different Jews, but in Wendehorst’s view, it primarily meant embracing the Zionist project and actively supporting the creation of the state of Israel.

Williams’s *"Jews and Other Foreigners"* examines in detail the rescue of Jewish and other victims of fascism in the 1930s. Essentially a microstudy of Manchester, it examines how this self-designated “liberal city,” and in particular its Jews, reached out and provided succor. This is not an unfamiliar story, as acknowledged in Williams’s all-too-brief introduction. Historians such as Marian Malet and Anthony Grenville (*Changing Countries: The Experience and Achievement of German-*

Speaking Exiles from Hitler in Britain from 1933 to Today [2002]) have examined the plight of Jewish refugees, from intellectuals and academics to the children of the *kindertransports*. In his book, Williams discusses additional victims of fascism, such as Basque children caught in the crossfire of the Spanish Civil War. Collectively, various Jewish and non-Jewish Manchester institutions facilitated the rescue of around eight thousand people, representing around ten percent of the total brought to the United Kingdom.

In the matter of specifically Jewish rescue schemes, Williams depicts an essentially fractured, inconsistent, and sometimes belabored response, motivated by a variety of impulses ranging from the genuinely humanitarian to “native self-interest” (p. 65). This was the case with a handful of Jewish industrialists brought to the northwest of England to aid the revival of local industry lately devastated by the Great Depression. The Jewish establishment, as embodied by Manchester-based Neville Laski, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, was somewhat hesitant and cautious in its approach. The Board of Deputies was wary, especially in the initial years after 1933, of attracting too much attention to refugees as “Jewish” rather than “Hitler’s victims,” for fear that they might prompt an antisemitic reaction in their adopted city.

At the same time, others sought to save Jewish lives and Jewishness via an active and discernible maintenance of religious orthodoxy. As one observer put it, the “answer to antisemitism” was “more semitism,” and to anti-Judaism “more Judaism” (p. 25). Thus, in welcoming individual Jewish refugees to Britain a wider purpose was intended: the preservation not only of Jewish life but of Jewish identity in the face of unprecedented hostility.

There are many interesting and thought-provoking stories in *"Jews and Other Foreigners,"* and Williams’s examination is comprehensive and wide ranging, including input from several ideological standpoints, such as Zionism and communism. The problem is the absence of wider context. How Manchester’s response stands in relation to other British cities is insufficiently explored. This contributes, in the final analysis, to the author’s somewhat half-hearted attempt to point out the “liberalism” of the city’s actions.

A similar contextual concern is detectable in *British Jewry, Zionism and the Jewish State*. It shares several themes with Williams’s book, although chronologically Wendehorst’s study stretches to the 1956 Suez Crisis. Here, matters of identity are also explored, in particular the role of the Zionist project in shaping Jewish attitudes in Britain. This was evidenced by the myriad of Zionist organizations that grew in the late 1930s and 1940s, ranging from general, socialist, and Marxist to religious and revisionist, each a mirror of Zionist movements in continental Europe and elsewhere. Some groups were small and lacking in influence, while others ensured that Zionism became a “permanent feature of the British-Jewish landscape” in this period (p. 318). Practical activities in promoting Zionism ranged from

fund-raising and engaging (in limited fashion) in the dissemination of Hebrew-language and culture to making *aliyah*. Wendehorst estimates that until 1959, around six thousand British Jews moved to Israel, although he fails to indicate the starting point for this emigration (p. 257).

Divided into four parts, *British Jewry, Zionism and the Jewish State* is assiduous in its research and utilizes many sources hitherto underused or overlooked. In particular, part one, which considers the mechanics of British Zionism, explores the many divisions and conflicts the ideology inspired, as well as the personalities it attracted. Part two, devoted to more practical concerns such as lobbying the British government and engaging in various propaganda activities, is similarly impressive in scope.

The final section, however, which looks at Zionism's impact on "modes of Jewish integration into British state and society," is less convincing. In part this is due to the book's overarching thesis, which concludes that in the three decades under examination, British Jews collectively experienced a paradigmatic shift in their worldview and sense of self. Wendehorst suggests several times that their embrace of Zionism was universal. But if this was the case, the extent to which Jews felt more or less integrated into British society requires further scrutiny than is afforded here.

For example, while it is correct to assert that British Zionism was more significant in this period than it had been in the first two decades of the twentieth century, it was clearly not universal. Indeed, some of Wendehorst's own comments and revelations undermine his thesis. As he indicates, in 1946, out of twenty-six Jewish members of parliament, just six were "prepared to speak out in favour of Zionism" during a key debate on the future of Palestine (p. 318). As Wendehorst indicates, British Jews were attracted to other political ideologies as well. For Jewish members of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Zionism was an imperialist ideology to be opposed, one that agreed "with antisemites that the Jew is a 'foreigner' in the country of his birth" (p. 240). Likewise, Wendehorst's suggestion that British Jewry experienced wholesale embourgeoisement, which facilitated the embrace of Zionism, is debatable. Adherence to communism and socialism, such as that of the Labour Party, characterized many working-class Jews.

Here, too, the wider context is tentative. In particular, the extent to which British Zionism was important to the international Zionist movement is insufficiently explored. One wonders whether the shift in adherence to Zionism had any real impact in Palestine and Israel? Was there any real and lasting contribution to Israel in the 1950s and beyond? These key questions go unanswered. The notion, therefore, that British Zionism was truly as transformative as Wendehorst suggests remains contestable.

SAM JOHNSON

Manchester Metropolitan University

BILL SCHWARZ. *Memories of Empire*. Volume 1, *The White Man's World*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 584. \$65.00.

To mark Queen Elizabeth II's Diamond Jubilee in 2012, the BBC created sixty profiles on its web site under the rubric "The New Elizabethans." These short audio stories feature "men and women whose actions during the reign of Elizabeth II have had a significant impact on lives in these islands and given the age its character, for better or worse." Alongside David Bowie, Rupert Murdoch, Stuart Hall, and the Queen herself is Enoch Powell (1912–1998), conservative MP and arguably the public face of the New Right in postwar Britain. His now-infamous 1968 "Rivers of Blood" speech, wherein he raised the specter of racial violence against ex-colonial immigrants in Britain by invoking both Virgil's sanguineous Tiber and the "horror" of U.S. race relations, sealed his fate as the embodiment of white supremacy in British metropolitan politics. Nor was Powell alone in his sentiments. The speech provoked an outpouring of support, evidence of which can be found in the tens of thousands of letters he received expressing admiration for his stand against the influx of aliens and foreigners, as well as in the cries of trade unionists who flooded the post-speech streets shouting "we want Enoch." Yet the impression left by the "New Elizabethans" clip is that of a supreme loner. At odds with his party and preferring the contrarian stance to all others, Powell emerges as a singular figure, unloved even by conservatives and unmoored from the mainstream even during the heyday of his popularity.

It is this presumptive exceptionality that Bill Schwarz's provocative book seeks to challenge. He opens with the improbable account of his interview with Powell in 1988 and ends, four hundred pages later, with Ian Smith and the bloody birth of the Republic of Rhodesia in 1970. In between Schwarz tracks the chain of association and connection between Powell's search for "a lost time of whiteness" (p. 19) and the emergence of white-settler colonialism—with its correlative ethnic/racial populism—on the threshold of the twentieth century. It is hard to do justice to this magisterial piece of work in the space allotted. Among other things, the book attempts to explain Powell's eruption onto the public stage not only as a harbinger of late twentieth-century British racism but also as the outcropping of decades of thought and policy that consolidated the white man as the sign of the modern, of Englishness, of social and sexual order—in short, of civilization under siege.

Schwarz's method is semibiographical. The book features lengthy accounts of figures like Charles Dilke and John Buchan, Henry Parkes and Jan Smuts, and J. R. Seeley and Winston Churchill, whose words and deeds Schwarz plumbs for what is, even now, frankly stunning evidence of the Victorian fantasy of white-male power. But Schwarz is also interested in the syntax and psychic structure of the speech through which the aspirations of white men were articulated. He analyzes its cadences

for homeliness and heroism; he mines it for contrapuntal tempos and out-of-jointness. For what all these men, Powell included, had in common was their defensive posture in the face of historical change; a sense of crisis about the future of the white man's imperial and then postimperial hegemony that led to outrageous claims about race and nation but was shadowed by doubt about its permanence, if not its very possibility. To see Powell as the inheritor of these doubts is a radical take on the man and his time, not least because it allows us to appreciate what a rearguard action his 1968 speech was. We also see with particular vividness that for him and his predecessors, home and empire were utterly inextricable, in ways they routinely elaborated well before the exigencies of postcolonial critique.

Readers who have followed the struggle over the proper place of imperialism in British history these last three decades will know that Schwarz throws open many doors which have long been ajar but which, even now, await those willing to walk boldly yet thoughtfully through them. He remarks upon the crude empiricism of historians like Bernard Porter who have denied the impact of empire on the domestic scene because they "give . . . no credence to the efficacy of narrative, or to the power of the symbolic world" (p. 16). Schwarz has done his time in the archives, and the book is overflowing with data that make his case for the history of imperial Britain as a protracted unwinnable battle for the security of the domesticated white man and his family. Indeed, what Powell and Smith shared, along with generations of "overseas" settlers before them, was a deep anxiety about where white men and their blood relations would live in a world where the threat of "out-sized" black and Asian populations appeared constantly on the horizon, and where empire was visible only in the rearview mirror. The luxuriously long form of Schwarz's narrative is utterly inseparable from the force of his argument. Evidently, *The White Man's World* is the first of a trilogy; future volumes should be eagerly anticipated.

ANTOINETTE BURTON

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

LAURA MANZANO BAENA. *Conflicting Words: The Peace Treaty of Münster (1648) and the Political Culture of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Monarchy*. (Avisos de Flandes, number 13.) Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, distributed by Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. 282. \$49.00.

Gerard ter Borch's magnificent painting in London's National Gallery, *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification for the Treaty of Munster in 1648*, records the moment when the Dutch and Spanish officially ended a long-running conflict that effectively began in 1566 and was escalated in 1581 when the rebellious Dutch abjured Philip II as their sovereign. Appropriately, the painting acts as the frontispiece to Laura Manzano Baena's engaging study of the tortuous process by which the Dutch and Spanish came to settle their differences. In

reality the image of six Dutch delegates raising their hands to ratify the peace, with their Spanish counterparts to the right, was not entirely accurate. Rather than acting in unity, the seven Dutch provinces were divided over making peace, as were the Spanish. In short, the peace process proved immensely difficult for both sides to accept given their profound political, religious, and cultural differences. It is on the difficulties of making peace that Baena's book focuses.

In her introductory sections, Baena purposely places her work in an ambitious methodological framework, not just of political debate and normative literature but also of plays and the visual arts. The intention is clearly to present a more holistic approach to understanding the processes that went into political decision-making, using different types of evidence that are treated equally. Nevertheless, the book focuses principally on Spanish reactions to making peace with the Dutch. Furthermore, the source material points to the fact that this study is grounded principally in Spanish political thought, though the author has also used some archival material, principally from Spanish archives. To a degree this Spanish perspective is balanced with Dutch viewpoints taken from pamphlet literature, and Baena has indeed performed a considerable task in treating material in a number of languages. Still, the reader might wish that the author had devoted more attention to cultural products as evidence, such as plays and paintings, as discussed in the introduction.

The issues dealt with in the course of the book are important. The Dutch Revolt and the drawn-out peace process crystallized several complex and seemingly insoluble paradoxes of international politics in an age that was still coming to grips with the confessional divisions of the Reformation. At what point did the Dutch Republic become a legitimate and fully sovereign state (whatever this meant)? How could the Spanish square the seemingly irreconcilable problems of settling with rebels who were also seen as heretics? Would the peace be permanent and could a sovereign prince, like the Spanish ruler, permanently alienate patrimonial territories? In themselves, these questions are not entirely new to historians of early modern Europe, although the treatment here, certainly from Spain's position, is full and rewarding. It is perhaps surprising that, from the perspective of Catholic Europe, Baena focuses almost entirely on Spanish reactions. Famously, the papal nuncio at the peace negotiations, Fabio Chigi (the future Pope Alexander VII), refused to meet with the Dutch plenipotentiaries, and the papacy issued a proclamation denouncing the peace talks. This episode is mentioned in passing but might have been explored more fully; the conceptual difficulties of coming to terms with the Dutch Republic were evidently not the preserve of Spain alone. There are wider issues that are raised in the book about how Catholics more generally came to terms with the consequences of the Reformation for international relations.

While Baena might have put some of the methodological claims outlined in the introduction more fully

into practice, and while the balance of the work is Spanish, this is nevertheless a satisfying and valuable study. It reminds us that the creation of the Dutch Republic was not an entirely foregone conclusion, and that issues of principle and religion remained important components of policymaking in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rather than incidental matters sacrificed to *realpolitik*. The book deepens our understanding of the moral dilemmas faced by the Spanish in particular as they came to terms with the changing confessional and political landscapes of European power politics.

TOBY OSBORNE
University of Durham

ERIN KATHLEEN ROWE. *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 264. \$74.95.

Erin Kathleen Rowe focuses on the bitter controversy that spanned the period 1617–1630 prompted by attempts by the Castilian Cortes, supported by Philip IV and his first minister, the Count-Duke of Olivares, as well as the Carmelite order, to proclaim Saint Teresa of Avila the co-patron saint of Spain alongside its traditional patron Saint James the Greater (Santiago). The conflict, which reached its zenith when Pope Urban VIII ratified Teresa's patronage status in 1627, gave rise to an intense debate that was disseminated through the wide circulation of sermons, pamphlets, and treatises, which the author meticulously examines. This debate, which boiled over into a violent polemic, revealed deep-seated concerns about the concept of national identity and its expression at local, regional, and central levels of the monarchy. The contest over dual patronage has commonly been seen by historians as indicative of the struggle between traditionalists (*santiaguistas*) and reformists (*teresianos*) over the future direction of Spain at a time of acute political and economic crisis. Rowe departs from this narrow interpretation and examines the phenomenon of "the battle between the saints" in the broader context of court politics, gender roles, sacred geography, and nation-building, shedding important light on the plurality of cultural, historical, and spiritual imperatives that shaped Spain's development in the early seventeenth century.

Supporters of the sole patronage of Saint James, headed by the archbishop and chapter of Santiago de Compostela, emphasized his symbolic role in defending Spain's Christian tradition against the Moorish enemy in medieval times (Saint James was known as the "Moor slayer") and stressed that his patronage had sustained the nation for 800 years. Devotees of the recently canonized Saint Teresa argued for her status as co-patron on the basis of her greater effectiveness in protecting against Protestant heresy, her pious dedication to Catholic reform in the Counter-Reformation era, and her capacity to safeguard Spain through spiritual intercession. Furthermore, Teresa's advocates argued that her native origins placed her in a more favorable position

than James, a foreign apostle, to truly represent Spain during a period of increasing national consciousness.

Rowe demonstrates how the co-patronage campaign was used as a tool to reinvigorate the power of the monarchy by associating Teresa's protective powers with Philip IV's recovery from a grave illness in 1627. Meanwhile, supporters of Santiago, including the writer Francisco de Quevedo, contested the right of the king and his first minister to challenge the apostle's status as sole patron and pointed to the threat this posed to ecclesiastical immunity. The issue of gender was also invoked by both parties to favor their chosen candidate. *Teresianos* portrayed her symbolically in sermons and images as the warrior goddess Minerva, complemented by Santiago in the guise of Mars. *Santiaguistas* rejected female patron sainthood, claiming it was a form of effeminate humiliation that would weaken the reputation of the monarchy and lead to an undermining of its authority on the international stage. Rowe's study reveals how the issue of national patron sainthood was simultaneously local and national, secular and ecclesiastical; the debate was mapped onto the civic and sacred geography of Spain. While devotion to Saint James—hailed as the universal patron of Spain—tied the cities and regions of Old Castile together, Teresa—an exclusively Castilian patron—found most favor in areas where the Carmelites had a strong presence, including Ávila, Salamanca, and Valladolid. At the same time, the debate over which saint best encapsulated a universal vision of Spanish identity and nationhood raised tensions between cathedral chapters, members of the religious orders, and bishops, highlighting the strained relations between the body of clergy and the monarchy they served. The final decision taken by Pope Urban VIII in 1629 to nullify Teresa's co-patronage and restore Saint James to his former status represented an assertion of papal jurisdiction over national patron sainthood and thus a rebuke to Philip IV for overstepping his powers and invoking the cult of saints for his own secular purposes. Rowe successfully illustrates how the co-patronage debate reflected the diversity of cultural, religious, and political identities in early modern Spain. In doing so, she highlights the often delicate balance of power between the church and state, the center and periphery, the monarch and the people, and shows how it shaped Spain's development at a particularly critical moment in its history. This is a work of sound scholarship and far-reaching insights that deserves wide dissemination among students of religion and politics.

HELEN RAWLINGS
University of Leicester

SUSAN BOYNTON. *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain*. (Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xxii, 208. \$39.95.

Historians usually agree that the Bourbon dynasty's accession to the Spanish throne at the beginning of the

eighteenth century began a distinctive period in the construction of Spain's national identity. While foundational legends grounded in fictitious accounts of the past remained largely uncontested, the impact of the Enlightenment concept of truth, as well as the influence of French and Italian historiography, led some Spanish intellectuals to believe that they could overcome the strictures of traditional historiography by grounding their work in the critical assessment and increased use of primary sources.

In her short study, Susan Boynton focuses on specific methods and procedures of inventorying, copying, and transcribing original manuscripts of the Old Hispanic rite from the archives at the Cathedral of Saint Mary of Toledo. She focuses on the work of the Jesuit scholar Andrés Marcos Burriel (1719–1762) and the calligrapher Francisco Xavier de Santiago y Palomares (1728–1796). Because the medieval manuscripts of the Old Hispanic rite (also referred to as the Visigothic or Mozarabic rite) not only predated but also differed from the early modern editions of the rite, they came to be viewed as an “authentic” part of Spain's religious cultural legacy.

The enterprise of copying liturgical manuscripts became, unintentionally, part of the work of the Commission on the Archives, established in 1749 to obtain archival evidence of the Spanish crown's previous prerogative to appoint bishops to Spanish bishoprics, and to provide arguments to discontinue papal control of benefices in Spain. The commission lost its *raison d'être* in 1753, when the Concordat gave the Spanish crown the right of ecclesiastical appointments, and it ceased to exist in 1756. It was apparently Burriel's initiative to make copying of Old Hispanic liturgical texts part of the commission's mandate. This project was made possible when the Spanish secretary of state informed the canons of the Cathedral of Toledo that the commission's task was to write a new ecclesiastical history of Spain. Burriel never published the results of his research, and they went unnoticed until the twentieth century.

The content and purpose of the book are not explicitly stated. Boynton claims that “the results of [Burriel's and Palomares's] labors constitute a significant yet unpublished body of evidence on the historical construction of the Middle Ages in the age of absolutism . . . For Burriel and Palomares sacred music was an essential component of a Spanish national identity that persisted from the early Middle Ages to the present. The particular notion of transhistorical ‘Spanishness’ they espoused is best understood against the background of shifting cultural influences in Bourbon Spain during the first half of the eighteenth century” (p. xiv). Elsewhere she argues that “studying Burriel's methods yields new insight into the practice of history in the eighteenth century and shows the importance of liturgy and music in the construction of national identity” (p. 16).

Most of the book consists of descriptions and analysis of the methods Burriel and Palomares used to copy and transcribe medieval manuscripts (Burriel's compara-

tive method apparently was a novelty in the eighteenth century). And while Boynton successfully shows how medieval liturgical manuscripts became objects of research and subject to political use in eighteenth-century Spain, her broader claims about the cultural meaning of Burriel's and Palomares's work are largely unsubstantiated.

The decision of the Spanish government to terminate their work once the Commission on the Archives ceased to exist suggests that the study of liturgy and music in the Cathedral of Toledo's archive was not viewed as serving a significant cultural and political purpose for the monarchy. And while liturgy was the subject of research, there was not much study of music. Music (or rather musical notation) was of interest to Burriel and Palomares only insofar as it was part of liturgical manuscripts: Visigothic musical notation, incomprehensible to eighteenth-century scholars, was copied as a graphic element of liturgical texts.

A recurring flaw of the book is that Boynton equates archive-based history (of which Burriel was an advocate) with “critical” history, both representing “modern methods and projects of historical research” and a sure safeguard against notoriously unreliable historical accounts of earlier methods (p. 22). Yet, it appears that Burriel did not attempt to pursue “critical” history any more than the purveyors of historical fiction. With his research objectives predetermined—rather than subject to verification—Burriel used the “modern” approach to historical research to demonstrate the continuity of Catholicism in France and to solidify the link between the throne and the altar in Spain.

As for the editorial aspect of the book, the four-page index may have set a new low in the publishing industry: not only does it contain numerous errors and omissions, but it also has entries without page references, as in the case of “Martin of Tours, saint.”

JOLANTA T. PEKACZ
Dalhousie University

HELEN COWIE. *Conquering Nature in Spain and Its Empire, 1750–1850*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 234. \$95.00.

Those who today visit Madrid have no way of knowing that the building that now houses the Museo del Prado was originally designed to house seashells, sloth bones, anteater tongues, and Charles III's embalmed elephant. The elephant that had once grazed the gardens of the royal palace of Aranjuez was a gift from the nabob of Indonesia. The sloth bones and anteater tongues came from the Americas. Drawing on the resources of a sprawling global empire, Charles III's ministers dreamt of creating a spectacular museum of natural history. They sponsored dozens of collecting expeditions to the Caribbean, the Philippines, Australia, North America, and South America. The king's botanists created illustrated natural histories of astonishing beauty and depth. The 12,000 illustrated folio images of plants assembled by the expeditions of José Celestino Mutis in

New Granada, Martín de Sessé y Lacasta and José Mariano Mocino in New Spain, and Hipólito Ruiz López and José Pavón in Peru, to name only three expeditions, dwarfed anything the British, the Dutch, or the French ever did for Linnaean botany.

The original plans of these bureaucrats, however, soon unraveled. In the wake of Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian peninsula in 1808, the museum of natural history vacated the premises of El Prado and the writings and illustrations produced by some seventy expeditions were dispersed or archived; most were left unpublished. Helen Cowie examines the rise and fall of this revolution in natural history in the Spanish Empire's metropolis and colonies.

Cowie argues that Spain had little use for naturalists until the mid-eighteenth century. The prosperity of British, Dutch, and French colonial agriculture, however, convinced the new reforming Spanish dynasty that investing in natural history had immense economic potential. Natural history could also silence the European critics who held that Spain was the cradle of all state-sanctioned superstitious ignorance. The pursuit of natural history had the added advantage of affecting collective memory through taxonomy: new plants and animals would be named after great Spanish men. To work, this revolution in natural history required a transformation of aristocratic values, a celebration of meritocracy, manual labor, and empirical and experimental learning. It also demanded new bureaucratic priorities, as imperial officials were now charged with garnering collections and identifying samples and curiosities. Finally, the revolution pointed to new pedagogical priorities, as morality would now be instilled in the populace not solely through the Bible, but also through the revelation of God's wishes inscribed in the book of nature.

Cowie explores how these changes played out in the American colonies and describes in great detail the repeated complaints of local naturalists who claimed that they lacked sufficient equipment, books, and intellectual stimuli. She suggests that some of this was just posturing, part of a self-serving rhetoric of martyrdom, for many Spanish American cities did enjoy good libraries and a brisk trade of equipment and books.

Cowie takes issue with a historiography that presents late colonial naturalists as precursors of independence and nationhood. Colonial naturalists vociferously fought back against Europeans' patronizing views of American nature in the "Dispute of the New World" (the same dispute that inspired Thomas Jefferson to write his *Notes on the State of Virginia* [1781]) and often felt marginalized and humiliated by travelers and imperial bureaucrats. Yet all these naturalists wanted was to be part of a Spanish Empire that respected local forms of knowledge and autonomy. For all their sense of marginalization, these naturalists systematically disparaged the contributions of women, blacks, and Indians as collectors and interpreters of nature.

Cowie has given us a cogent and well-rounded account of the new imperial and colonial cultures of nat-

ural history in the Spanish Empire. Hers, however, remains a top-down account in which the initiative lies with a modernizing, secularizing state. The culture of natural history did cut deep and wide. Yet the crown was not alone in organizing expeditions and setting up museums. Merchants, artisans, religious, bishops, and lawyers drew illustrations and maps and organized cabinets of their own. A cultural history of natural history both in Spain and Spanish America requires closer attention to these myriad local initiatives that have so far been poorly understood or simply ignored. Cowie also exaggerates the novelty of the new culture she explores. Natural history was indeed marginal to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish imperial economy, yet it was central to the religious material culture of the empire. In the political economy of salvation, natural history remained a constant cultural preoccupation. Sermons, chronicles, and hagiographies as well as reliquaries, altarpieces, church decorations, coats of arms, and paintings remain silent witnesses of an empire that found in insects, birds, plants, and quadrupeds a bottomless source of exempla for use in religious, moral, and political life.

JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA
University of Texas at Austin

MICHAEL SEIDMAN. *The Victorious Counterrevolution: The Nationalist Effort in the Spanish Civil War*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 352. Paper \$29.95, e-book \$19.95.

The underlying thesis of Michael Seidman's study of the rebel war effort in Spain is that General Francisco Franco's victory depended less on his greater access to foreign military aid than on the insurgents' ability to construct a coherent state and attract social support. The most solid innovation offered is in his analysis of the many acts of support, both material and symbolic, by individuals and families who, because of their social origins and upbringing, ideological conviction, fear, or desire for a rapid return to normality, aligned themselves against the social revolution and with the anti-government forces. Although support for the counter-insurgent effort was important, the rebels also gained important benefits, both symbolic and material, from domestic and foreign finance. Seidman makes this reasonably clear, although he avoids the term finance, preferring instead to use section headings on "Currency" and "Revenues." He also points out that the decision-making process was more effective in the Nationalist zone than in the government zone, something that followed logically from a greater sense of unity. Similarly, he notes that the rebels' nascent state was more ruthless and objective-driven in its use of extreme violence than the Republicans'. There is certainly much truth in this argument, although it is not particularly new. The divisions of the Left-liberal alliance, which formed the basis of the Republican regime, were notorious and widely recognized since virtually the first moment of the war itself in 1936; they have always been central to his-

torical explanation of the conflict's outcome. Few if any historians have claimed that it was inevitable that the war would be lost by the Left, and much attention has been paid to the question of popular support for the rebels.

Seidman makes the case for a comparative approach, setting the rebel war effort in Spain alongside other counter-revolutions, especially the failed campaigns of the White forces in Russia's Civil War and of the Guomindang in China. Whether these comparisons are suitable for understanding the Spanish war is a moot point: the Greek Civil War of the 1940s was in many respects closer in type to Spain than these. Seidman justifiably points, however, to the lack of comparative perspective in historical studies of the Spanish Civil War (or, rather, to the fact that comparison has focused too often on fascism in Italy rather than on other civil wars). The approach adopted here has its limitations. The Spanish bourgeoisie was not the most dynamic in Europe, it is true, but can it be said that Spain in the 1930s was fundamentally like Russia or China in its social structure or economic and cultural development? The Francoist wartime strategy of mobilizing social support, which Seidman traces in detail, was aimed as much at the middle classes who donated their jewelry and cash to the cause (often in addition to their loved ones) as it was to the smallholding peasantry who became the cannonfodder of Franco's "crusade." But in Spain, the middle classes were split *between* contending sides; in Russia and China, they were numerically insignificant next to the masses of landless peasant farmers. Perhaps inevitably, the author focuses his analysis in fact on contending sides *within Spain*. This potentially permits greater analytical purchase on the broader relationship between state and society, particularly if the analysis goes beyond observations of political and military adeptness or fallibility, which is what Seidman concentrates on. He is particularly keen to avoid structures and ideologies, maintaining that historians must move beyond the war as an iconic event, emblematic of the clash of ideologies of the 1930s that influenced subsequent historical interpretation. As in his prior book, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (2002), Seidman's skepticism about ideologies makes him wary of politics. The aim of rescuing individuals from the condescension of history seemed at times to be motivated by reification of ideological individualism. In the end, however, the current book has to address, at some level, the struggle over organized power. By subsuming politics within ideology, Seidman misses the really significant similarities and differences between Spain, on the one hand, and Russia and China, on the other.

More mundanely, two problems detract from the book's impressively wide trawl of primary sources. The first is that the newspapers of the rebel zone are extensively cited as though the data given in them is always accurate and never presented in a particular way to curry favor with military authorities. The second is Seidman's habit of conflating in a single footnoted reference several distinct points, so that it is impossible for

a discerning reader to follow up many of the intriguing items he cites.

MICHAEL RICHARDS

University of the West of England

GARY B. MCCOLLIM. *Louis XIV's Assault on Privilege: Nicolas Desmaretz and the Tax on Wealth*. (Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 317. \$99.00.

Gary B. McCollim's minutely researched study examines the central financial administration of the French state during the last years of Louis XIV's reign, a relatively neglected period of that monarch's long rule. The book maps its complicated bureaucratic institutions and offers a detailed portrait of the personnel who staffed them. Like most studies of *louisquatorzien* absolutism written during the past several decades, it places some emphasis on the webs of patron-client relations in which bureaucratic personnel were enmeshed. More innovatively, it closely analyzes the ideas that informed their thinking and, ultimately, their decisions. Particularly impressive is the way McCollim traces the genesis of certain policies from their origins in privately circulated *mémoires*. In doing so the book brings to light an obscure, but highly influential, subculture—that of the *donneurs d'avis* (givers of opinions). Consisting of both noble and non-noble men of education and leisure who, although not employed by the government, liked to spend their time dreaming up and writing down plans for various kinds of reform, these amateur policymakers helped shape the course of government through their voluminous correspondence with the ministers. Many of their recommendations were actually implemented, especially during the last years of Louis XIV's reign when the regime's financial desperation drove it to adopt radical measures.

The book focuses on the process that ultimately led controller general Nicolas Desmaretz to institute a status-blind tax on wealth, the *dixième* (tenth), in 1710. Whereas some historians have identified the *capitation*, a nearly universal head-tax that had been instituted several years earlier, as the beginning of a new fiscal approach hostile to privilege, McCollim offers a different, convincing interpretation. Although there were no status-based exemptions from *capitation*, it was levied on a traditionally conceived hierarchy of social categories rather than wealth. McCollim astutely suggests that by revealing the gap between social status and wealth (there were poor nobles, after all), the uneven operations of the *capitation* convinced Desmaretz to design a new impost based purely on wealth: the *dixième*.

The putative opposition between legally defined social status and wealth serves as the book's conceptual framework and informs its conclusion. The final sentence reads: "the man who was most responsible for looking to wealth rather than privilege as the source of French financial strength was Nicolas Desmaretz" (p. 228). I am not entirely convinced that the opposition

between privilege and wealth was all that clear in early modern France. The Parisian-based sources on which this book is based may well lead one to draw that conclusion, but an examination of provincial sources, especially from the *pays d'états* that administered about half of France, might support a more nuanced conclusion. In many of these provinces, the *dixième* never actually struck individual wealth because it was bought off for a large lump sum by provincial authorities in a procedure known as *abonnement*, one of the more important of the many privileges the provinces enjoyed. The book makes a convincing case that Desmaretz's tax was indeed an attack on one form of privilege—personal, status-based tax exemption—but it is less clear that it was an attack on privilege in general.

Some revealing passages in the book seem to imply that Desmaretz had something else in mind when he instituted the *dixième*. In some of his extant writings, the controller general expressed his desire to devolve much fiscal power, especially the management of the state's debt, to the provinces. There he wanted financial affairs to be handled by local committees composed of members of the three estates (the clergy, nobility, and Third Estate) with two representatives from each order. Although Desmaretz never dared propose this recipe for decentralization to Louis XIV, it is significant because it shows that rather than working against privilege in general, the controller general seems to have wanted to grant power to various privileged bodies (the provinces, the three estates) in order to mobilize their credit on behalf of the state (p. 228). If this was what Desmaretz really wanted to do, perhaps it would make more sense to conclude that he, like so many of his predecessors and successors at the head of French finances, ultimately accepted that he could not escape from the framework of privilege but had to use it to raise money. Rather than planting "the seeds of the French Revolution" by "seeking to tax everyone's wealth" (p. 228), the *dixième* may have anticipated 1789 in another way, by illustrating the intractability of privilege and, thus, the limits of reform.

RAFE BLAUFARB
Florida State University

DANIEL J. SHERMAN. *French Primitivism and the Ends of Empire, 1945–1975*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 284. \$45.00.

In this well-crafted and sophisticated study Daniel J. Sherman considers the history of French decolonization after World War II from a strikingly original perspective: that of primitivism. Primitivism has played a major role in the history of French intellectual and cultural life, most notably, but by no means only, during the *tumulte noir* of the 1920s, and has been richly discussed by both historians and art historians. Trained in both fields, Sherman brings these perspectives together to consider the history of primitivism during the post-war era. This period has not traditionally loomed large in the historiography of primitivism, and Sherman does

an excellent job of showing what primitivist ideology reveals about the broader history of French colonialism and France in general during the *trente glorieuses*, the thirty years of reconstruction and prosperity after 1945.

Sherman not only considers the ways in which primitivism, empire, and French culture mutually constructed each other over a thirty year span but also argues that primitivism played an important role in concealing links between metropole and colonies, a process of concealment central to the constitution of modern French identity. Sherman approaches this process of concealment from the vantage point of four historical events: a primitive art exhibit at the Musée de l'Homme, an exhibit of "outsider art" at the Musée des Arts décoratifs, the launch of *haute couture* fashion collections featuring styles based on African art, and the visit of President Charles de Gaulle to Tahiti. This is a rather uneven and heterodox group of events, and it testifies to the skill of the author that he is able to weave them together effectively in a general portrait of French primitivism after 1945. In particular, Sherman uses them to illustrate how primitivism both articulated and masked the relationship between French culture and colonialism at a time when that relationship was being dramatically transformed. He explores how the exhibit at the Musée de l'Homme both underscored and challenged the links between folkloric studies of the French provinces and colonial ethnography, offering an interesting perspective on Eugen Weber's classic comparison of rural and imperial France. In a similar vein, Sherman shows how the outsider art exhibit organized by famed sculptor Jean Dubuffet both explicitly rejected primitivist discourse and yet inscribed it onto the work of one of its leading artists, Gaston Chaissac. In considering the primitivist fashion of Yves Saint-Laurent, Sherman argues that leading designers rejected the traditionally cluttered colonial style in favor of a more streamlined chic approach labeled "Association," replicating the contrast in colonial ideology between assimilation and association. The final chapter takes Tahiti as one of the most important symbols historically of primitivist colonialism. It explores the contrasts and contradictions between a tourist industry seeking to blend primitive culture and modern comfort, the use of Tahiti as a nuclear testing ground, and the complex negotiations between colonial power and pro-independence activism. Throughout Sherman eschews facile comparisons to underscore the dynamic role played by primitivism in the making of contemporary France.

This is a very rich and thought-provoking book, and some of the themes Sherman raises would benefit from more elaboration. A key theme in the history of primitivism is the relationship between atavism and hypermodernity, a contrast that some scholars also see as important in the history of colonialism more generally. Given that the *trente glorieuses* were years during which France famously embraced technological and social modernity, it would be interesting to learn more about how the French deployed primitivism as a means of coming to terms with the onrush of the new. Sherman

might also discuss to a greater extent what the changing nature of primitivism during the era of decolonization revealed about the French colonial project in general. He has titled his book in part *the Ends of Empire*, a clever play on words that refers both to decolonization and colonial ideology more broadly, and he might speak more to the interaction between these two levels of meaning. Sherman ends his study by noting the persistence of primitivism in French culture, observing its manifestations in the presidencies of both Jacques Chirac and Nicolas Sarkozy. Does this parallel a curious persistence of the colonial ideal in general, recognizing that the formal independence of parts of the French empire by no means foreclosed the colonial project as a whole?

French Primitivism and the Ends of Empire constitutes a valuable and very welcome addition to both art history and the historiography of twentieth-century France. It casts new light on the cultural dimensions of the relationship between empire and metropole, and the role played by the colonial imaginary in contemporary French visual culture. As the ongoing controversies surrounding the Musée du Quai Branly have made clear, to be French often means to posit a particular relationship to an Other defined as primitive, a relationship that seemingly remains a key factor in French identity.

TYLER STOVALL
University of California,
Berkeley

CATHERINE L. DOLLARD. *The Surplus Woman: Unmarried in Imperial Germany, 1871–1918*. (Monographs in German History, number 30.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2009. Pp. x, 272. \$95.00.

The “surplus woman” is a familiar figure in the historiography of nineteenth-century German (and European) women. Scholars have long noted that the growth of a group of women who either by choice or necessity failed to marry played a role in turn-of-the-century discussions about the “woman question.” The plight of these single women, who struggled to survive in a society that offered few professional opportunities, was pervasive in debates about women’s rights and industrial society. Some historians have accepted as fact the existence of the surplus woman. Others have questioned their existence but failed to back up their surmises with statistical analysis. Catherine L. Dollard has, by contrast, crunched the numbers and found that there was in fact essentially no statistical “surplus” of unwed women. The disjuncture, then, between reality and image is the starting point of Dollard’s book, which sets out to explore the figure of the surplus woman as a cultural construct that pervaded literature, popular culture, medicine, and politics. Most significantly for her argument, feminists themselves appropriated the surplus woman as a “catalyst” driving the movement for women’s rights.

The book is divided into two parts. Part one deals with the cultural, social, and medical images of the sin-

gle woman that circulated in imperial Germany. Chapter one, “The Alte Jungfer” (old spinster), examines advice manuals and fiction, including Thomas Mann’s *Buddenbrooks* (1901), to show the myriad and ambivalent tropes used to characterize the unmarried woman. Pitied, disdained, and feared, she was a marginalized, outcast figure, at best a socially useless victim unable to fulfill her prescribed roles as mother and homemaker, and living a life of emptiness and disgrace. At worst, she appeared as a lazy freeloader or a shrewish, bitter old maid. Chapter two, “Sexology and the Single Woman,” shows how the fields of psychiatry and sexology channeled old and new anxieties about unwed women into a new discourse of nerves, mental illness (hysteria), and sexual dysfunction in the form of either repressed or excessive sexuality. The effect was the “reinvention of the *alte Jungfer* as a new deviant” (p. 45), thus making science one more instrument for the marginalization and denigration of single women. Chapter three, “Imagined Demography,” argues that the aforementioned discourses were not based on a material reality. This chapter is unnecessarily convoluted and hard to follow. Dollard’s conclusion is that there was no “significant” decline in female marriage rates but a slight “increase in the female population of marriageable age” among the urban (particularly Berlin) middle class, a social group that played an outsized role in the contemporary debate (p. 88).

Chapter four surveys the surplus woman in both feminist and anti-feminist thought, emphasizing how moderate feminists in the leading national feminist organization, the Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine, appropriated the surplus woman by arguing that precisely because of a lack of marriage opportunities for many middle-class women, those women needed to be given expanded access to education and professions in order to support themselves. They made these arguments, moreover, in the language of “spiritual motherhood,” the idea that women’s inherently maternal and moral natures fitted them for far more than biological motherhood, indeed, that women’s maternalist qualities should be put to use in the public sphere for the benefit of society as a whole. This chapter serves as a bridge to the second half of the book, which turns to the question of how “the perceived plight of unwed women inspired the careers of seven” women’s rights activists (p. 117). Part two is thus organized around the biographies and writings of leading feminist figures from the moderate, radical, socialist, and religious wings of the women’s movement. Helene Lange and Alice Salomon (chapter five), representing moderate feminism, were activists for educational reform and the professionalization of social work, respectively. Their maternalist visions for single women were key to their push to expand and reform women’s education and to modernize women’s traditional charitable activities. The problems of unwed single women, in turn, prompted more radical rethinkings of family and sexuality by the likes of Helene Stöcker, Ruth Bré, and Lily Braun (chapter six). The surplus woman as victim of

bourgeois society and symbol of capitalist decline helped feed the critique of socialists August Bebel and Clara Zetkin (chapter seven). Chapter eight ends with the less well-known figure Elisabeth Gnauck-Kühne, an activist for women's education and leader of the religious women's movement who helped found both the national Protestant and the Catholic associations of women, the latter after her conversion to Catholicism. Gnauck-Kühne embraced the Catholic Church as a "model of community for single women," an institution offering sisterhood, association, and purpose outside of marriage (p. 191).

Dollard's method of examining a range of feminist and non-feminist voices around a single theme is innovative and enlightening. Her argument about the importance of the surplus woman to contemporary feminism, as symbol, inspiration, and rallying tool, is convincing. However, much of her material, which focuses on the maternalist nature of feminist thought, will be very familiar to readers. The biographical approach in part two, as well as Dollard's focus on the writings of her protagonists, has significant limitations. These chapters present a static, fragmented, and abstract view of the surplus woman question. One misses a sense of the debate as an evolving political process. A more dynamic approach, one that focused on the interaction between ideas and political activism, could have shown how the cultural tropes of the single woman played out on the ground in the give and take of public discussions that affected social policy. Indeed, social policy, how the consensus about demographic imbalance and the single woman translated (or not) into public policy, is glaringly missing from the book. A chapter that brought together discourse and practice, the ideas about the plight of the single woman with policy decisions affecting the lives of ordinary women, would have been very helpful.

ANN E. GOLDBERG
University of California,
Riverside

SARA PUGACH. *Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814–1945*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2012. Pp. x, 303. Cloth \$80.00, e-book \$65.00.

Sara Pugach's book traces the emergence of African studies in Germany. As a disciplinary history it stands in a research tradition that received particular impetus from Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). Given the nature of the field, the study also belongs to two other lines of inquiry drawing scholarly attention in the last decade. One is the study of Christian missionary history that, in contrast with missiology, aims at tracing missionaries and their organizations as historical actors in a wider context. This field's emergence was also sparked by Said's book, or more specifically by the debate that followed in its wake. Utilizing the tools provided by the "linguistic turn" and by postcolonial theory, the explo-

ration of the "colonial situation" brought historical actors into view that had hitherto been invisible, not least due to the national framing of history. This "new imperial history" was already established when the second line of inquiry shaping Pugach's study emerged: namely, German colonial history. Since the German colonial empire was relatively short-lived, from the mid-1880s until World War I, and because the Nazi period, the Holocaust, and World War II take center stage in modern German history, the history of German colonialism was as good as forgotten. When the topic finally began to attract attention in the last decade, scholars in the field could draw on the tools developed by new imperial history.

Within that framework, Pugach traces the beginnings of African-language studies undertaken by German Protestant missionaries working in Africa since the early nineteenth century. Language studies were a central missionary concern, since it was believed that a person could only fully understand the Gospel in his or her native tongue. Although there were a few German missionary societies, many German missionaries worked in non-German, especially British, organizations. Publications were mostly in English. The establishment of the German Empire in 1871 and its colonial acquisitions in the 1880s brought a reorientation. After long controversy, most German missionaries eventually came to adopt the national imperial framework. In addition, the Seminar for Oriental Languages was established in Berlin in 1887 to train interpreters and translators. When African languages came to be included in the seminar's program, African studies attained a semi-academic status. Missionaries remained prominent in the field, but they were now joined by former colonial administrators.

Pugach identifies Carl Meinhof (1857–1944) as the central figure in the history of African studies in Germany. After establishing himself as an independent scholar, Meinhof worked at the seminar in Berlin and, in 1909, moved to the newly established Colonial Institute in Hamburg that aimed at preparing officials, traders, and settlers for work and life in the colonies. Despite the practical orientation of the seminar and the institute, Meinhof focused on "mapping" and classifying African languages, a classification allegedly based on purely linguistic criteria, although he also drew on ethnography. World War I brought an end to the colonies, followed by another reorientation of the field. After the war, the Colonial Institute was reconstituted as the University of Hamburg, which meant that African studies became a proper academic discipline, an issue that Pugach does not follow up. Instead, her discussion focuses on the need of German scholars to turn outward during the 1920s in search of academic cooperation, especially with the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in London, which was established in 1926. In Pugach's assessment, because of the lack of colonies German scholars in African studies suffered from a loss of purpose and found it difficult to work in frameworks serving the colonial interests of the

“enemy,” especially Britain. She contends that their hope and expectation that the Nazi regime would regain German colonies in Africa explains the widespread support for the regime among scholars in the field, despite the fact that they usually did not adhere to a biological race concept.

Given that a prominent German scholar, Diedrich Westermann (1875–1956), served as co-director of the London Institute until World War II, the alienation from non-German frameworks may not have been as general as Pugach suggests. In light of the evidence provided, the assessment seems nevertheless correct with regard to Meinhof, who turned away from the London Institute and instead forged connections with scholars in South Africa. Pugach traces Meinhof’s influence on two of his students, Werner Eiselen (1899–1977) and N. J. van Warmelo (1904–1989), who played a central role in the establishment of the apartheid system in South Africa after World War II.

Although as a disciplinary history the study seems to rely too much on the great-men paradigm, Pugach’s book is thoroughly researched, well written, original, and highly interesting. It makes great reading.

URSULA WOKOECK

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

CHRISTIAN S. DAVIS. *Colonialism, Antisemitism, and Germans of Jewish Descent in Imperial Germany*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 281. \$70.00.

This monograph raises a number of extremely interesting and relevant questions. Christian S. Davis sets out to elucidate how “the antisemitic and colonialist movements of the *Kaiserreich* era impinged upon each other in meaningful ways” (p. 3). His principal focus is on the role prominent Germans of Jewish background played in the colonial movement and the ways in which their involvement was perceived and problematized (or not) by antisemitic activists, deputies, and publicists.

Davis seeks to contribute to the discussion surrounding the significance of both imperial German antisemitism and colonialism for explaining the Shoah. He argues that historians have tended to overestimate the role of antisemitism while the “effects that colonialism had on what was ‘possible to think’ in terms of race and racial domination . . . have been downplayed” (p. 250).

Susannah Heschel’s and Jonathan M. Hess’s utilization of postcolonial theory to examine constructions of Jewishness has indicated that an exploration of this nexus can indeed render rich conceptual fruit, as has Jay Geller’s recent discussion of “some of the more familiar associations of Jew and Chinese” in the European, and especially German, colonial imagination (*The Other Jewish Question: Identifying the Jew and Making Sense of Modernity* [2011], p. 52). The material Davis presents leaves no doubt that he has much to contribute to this debate. Turning first to the involvement of “hardened antisemites” in the colonial project and sim-

ilarities in the perception and portrayal of Jews and black Africans in racial discourse, the bulk of the book looks at the involvement of Germans of Jewish background in the colonial movement, focusing in particular on Paul Kayser, the head of the Colonial Division of the Foreign Office from 1890 to 1896, and Bernhard Dernburg, Kayser’s successor at the head of the Colonial Division, who subsequently served as Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs until 1910.

In very broad terms, Davis’s main conclusions are that racial antisemitism helped shape and was shaped by the colonial project; that there was considerable overlap between perceptions and portrayal of Jews and black Africans, which seriously challenges the notion that antisemitism was anything other than a straightforward form of racism; and that the popularity of colonial officials of Jewish background, even among organized political antisemites, raises questions about the significance of antisemitism and the seriousness of antisemites in imperial Germany.

Alas, there are serious problems with Davis’s account, both on the conceptual level and in terms of execution. To begin with the latter, Davis’s account is simply not thick enough to bear out his inferences. Is much of the material he presents tantalizing, and might it lend itself to the interpretation he offers? Absolutely. Is there enough meat on the bones to assure us that his is the most plausible and credible interpretation possible? This remains a moot point.

On the conceptual level, I have two overriding concerns. The first is Davis’s determination to “focus on the reciprocal dimensions of the relationship between colonialism and antisemitism” (p. 3). The meaning of the term “reciprocal” here can be understood in two ways: it could mean simply that interesting connections exist between colonialism and antisemitism, or it could imply that the two phenomena were more or less equal partners in a mutual relationship. Davis’s presentation of the material clearly bears out the former while his conclusions, rather more problematically, veer toward the latter.

The greatest weakness in Davis’s account, however, springs from his erratic conceptualization of antisemitism. He is to be commended for frequently qualifying the term by distinguishing “political” and “racial” antisemitism. This obviously indicates a clear awareness of some of the complications involved in deploying the concept. Yet at crucial junctures he uses these permutations more or less interchangeably.

Davis claims, for instance, that his findings “would seem to support the contention of some scholars that the success of antisemitism in imperial Germany has been overstated” (p. 247). On the following page he emphasizes “just how far most German were—*dedicated antisemites included*—from an uncompromising racial antisemitism” (p. 248; emphasis added). These are surely two very distinct statements, and the weakness of “uncompromising racial antisemitism,” such as it may have been, in and of itself tells us nothing about the “success of antisemitism” overall. Davis’s overriding in-

terest in “uncompromising racial antisemitism” doubtless results from his interest in the long-term causes of the Shoah. Yet this makes it rather difficult to explain how “uncompromising racial antisemitism” subsequently conquered hearts and minds without building on widespread forms of antisemitism that initially fell short of this threshold. He also runs the risk of making forms of antisemitism not based on race seem harmless.

Ultimately, then, this book hints at three monographs—on the involvement of antisemitic activists in the colonial project, similarities in the perception and portrayal of Jews and black Africans in German racial discourse, and the involvement of Germans of Jewish background in the colonial movement—each of which clearly has the potential to be highly interesting and relevant, but all of which have yet to be written.

LARS FISCHER

*Centre for the Study of Jewish-Christian Relations
Cambridge, United Kingdom*

ROBERT L. NELSON. *German Soldier Newspapers of the First World War*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 268. \$99.00.

In this engaging study, Robert L. Nelson asks a question that has long intrigued scholars of World War I: why did German soldiers continue to fight until 1918? He looks for the answer in German soldiers' newspapers, a curious form of wartime journalism produced for, and often by, the men in the trenches. In papers that ranged from crude pamphlets to polished regimental journals, he finds a discursive world of rich complexity, shot through with assumptions about gender, family, and Germany's “civilizing mission.” In the language and iconography of these sources, Nelson locates the underpinnings of unity and cohesion among everyday German soldiers. He argues that in the absence of coherent national traditions, the newspapers emphasized an ideal of “manly comradeship” to justify the soldiers' role as aggressive occupiers in a foreign land.

Soldiers' newspapers present a puzzle for historians. The degree to which they reflected or shaped the self-perceptions of average fighting men is difficult to determine. The papers were produced in a wide variety of circumstances, usually behind static lines by soldiers with previous experience as writers or journalists. After 1916, a military press department, the Feldpressestelle, sent directives to local papers about content and encouraged the publication of articles designed to improve morale. The historian Anne Lipp has argued that the newspapers became propaganda instruments of the high command after 1916, dedicated to spreading “patriotic instruction” and inculcating a vision of the home front as antithetical to military values. Nelson, by contrast, does not see the soldiers' newspapers as top-down propaganda tools, but rather as sources that reflected the self-understandings of men at the front. In the name of “authenticity,” editors often resisted articles presented by the Feldpressestelle. More important, sol-

diers paid for the papers, which therefore had to appeal to their audience in order to survive. Drawing on the methods of cultural history, Nelson contends that editors and writers depended on the cultural repertoire of their readers—their built-in assumptions about masculinity, race, and the “east”—when creating the content. In this sense, the authorship of the papers belonged in part to the audience. This original approach to the sources allows for new conclusions about the self-understandings of German soldiers.

One of the great strengths of this book is its comparative method. Nelson examines hundreds of British and French soldiers' newspapers in order to determine what was distinctive about the German publications. He finds evidence of cross-class national cultures in the British and French papers that centered on music hall traditions, mass entertainments, and sport, as well as a clear understanding of Allied soldiers as defenders against the German invasion. German journals, however, revealed the dilemma of a young nation divided by regional identities and lacking a shared national vocabulary on which to draw. They also differed from Allied papers in their need to represent soldiers who were conquerors, occupying wide swaths of enemy territory. To provide national cohesion and justification for the war, German papers turned to gender, emphasizing themes of loyal male comradeship. This cross-class discourse stressed manly ideals of heroic rescue, duty, and friendship, which were portrayed as particularly German traits. The newspapers even contained etiquette tips on how to be a good comrade, ranging from maintaining personal hygiene to not grumbling when someone else received a medal.

Nelson argues that the concept of comradeship also extended to the home front, where it included German women as hardworking, faithful *Kameradinnen*. Women at home were expected to remain chaste and properly “feminine,” but they also took on masculine traits of loyalty, self-sacrifice, and diligence. This finding highlights at least one way that German soldiers did not cultivate a split between home and battle front, a theme that became a later staple of the postwar “stab in the back” myth. It also shows the contradictory attempts to include women in the nation, a concept still coded as masculine. Women in occupied regions, however, were depicted not as comrades but as “womanly” women, unfaithful and unwilling to work. This terminology often overlapped with another discursive element that provided cohesion among the troops: a view of Eastern Europe and Russia as backward, “primitive” regions that would benefit from Germany's influence.

This book is impressive. Nelson offers fresh perspectives on the lives and self-perceptions of German soldiers during World War I in nearly every chapter. The sustained attention to gender in the analysis of German soldier newspapers skillfully illuminates how wartime thinking about masculinity and femininity influenced German nationalism. One drawback to Nelson's thematic approach, however, is that the reader does not gain a clear sense of how the newspapers changed over

time. The context in which the papers were produced did not remain static from 1914 to 1918, in part because the military became interested in the papers as a means of communicating with soldiers. Nelson also tends to smooth over the tremendous variety of papers, which appear almost as a monolithic block in his analysis. These points aside, however, Nelson has written a wonderful book that deserves to take its place alongside other essential works on German soldiers' experience during World War I.

ANDREW D. EVANS

State University of New York at New Paltz

PETER LONGERICH. *Heinrich Himmler*. Translated by JEREMY NOAKES and LESLEY SHARPE. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 1031. \$34.95.

Heinrich Himmler's proclaimed sense of morality clashed with his sponsorship of the worst policies of the Nazi regime. He created a massive paper trail but avoided written records of some things he considered too sensitive. Authors have claimed that Himmler secretly began to detach himself from Adolf Hitler as early as 1943, or that Himmler allowed the July 20, 1944 assassination plot against the Führer to take place in the hope of succeeding him. Only a well-researched and nuanced biography can get at the real Himmler. Peter Longerich has supplied one.

Longerich avoids the concepts of abnormal psychology in discussing Himmler's youth. Using old and newly discovered sources, he describes a sickly boy who craved and frequently received family attention. Himmler had little desire to rebel against his conservative, Catholic, and economically secure parents. He nonetheless possessed a strong will and pursued his own career interests (against his parents' preferences). When circumstances dashed his hopes of a military career, he settled for university training in agriculture and paramilitary activities connected with Ernst Röhm, who led him into the Nazi orbit. Himmler turned to politics around the time that he immersed himself in antisemitic literature. Longerich finds that Himmler's break with Catholicism represented a sharper and more difficult challenge to his own emotions. Once he had abandoned the standards of his own upbringing, he was personally vulnerable to pseudoscience, historically based conspiracy theories, and allegedly ancient Germanic rituals.

While running the SS and police, and a range of other organizations, Himmler recognized that some of his own predilections carried political risks if they became widely known. He kept them under wraps or within his trusted elite. Longerich shows effectively how Himmler regulated even the most intimate behavior of his SS men. He turned people who had failed or fallen into devoted subordinates entirely dependent upon him. Still, one would like to see more evaluation of the process by which an awkward and bumptious young man acquired enough diplomatic and political skill to outmaneuver more prominent rivals in Nazi Germany. Did

Himmler have hidden strengths, or did he simply benefit from the weaknesses of his political rivals?

Himmler's devotion to the SS was inseparable from his belief in Nazi causes. He built this elite organization to conform to his own remade identity as a warrior pursuing racial utopia and empire. Hitler found the SS to be a source of reliable support against actual or potential enemies. After the so-called Röhm Putsch in mid-1934, the SS grew steadily in size, stature, and influence, intertwining itself with the police, which Himmler also controlled from at least 1936 on. During the war Himmler acquired other positions and functions: resettlement commissar, minister of the interior, and commander of the reserve army. He often operated in loose agreement with three other major Nazi leaders: Joseph Goebbels, Martin Bormann, and Albert Speer.

The dashing Reinhard Heydrich, who in some popular biographies is incorrectly judged the dominant figure in the SS and police, is Himmler's loyal subordinate in this book. Nor does Longerich find any significant political disagreements between Hitler and Himmler until 1945, when impending military defeat became obvious even to Himmler. Himmler consulted Hitler frequently until the final months of the war.

Longerich extends into the year 1942 fundamental decisions on the mass murder of European Jewry. His dating might be plausible if Hitler's or Himmler's 1942 statements were clearer or better documented than earlier ones, but Longerich concedes that there is no record of what he regards as the key meetings between Hitler and Himmler on April 23 and May 3, 1942 (p. 564). Earlier meetings and killings brought about, according to Longerich, only partial or temporary solutions.

Hitler was convinced of the existence of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy. In the late summer and fall of 1941 Himmler personally decided to eliminate Jewish women and children in Soviet territory on the grounds that any later generation of Jews would only seek revenge against Germans. But he was prepared to let millions of Jews elsewhere live as hostages against the future behavior of the United States? Longerich's argument here seems contradictory.

Nor is there much evidence of Nazi Germany's restraint against the United States. During 1941 Hitler promised the Japanese that Germany would join them in a war against the West. Nazi propaganda during the summer of 1941 denounced Franklin D. Roosevelt as a complete tool of the Jews and as being of Jewish descent himself. If Nazi officials expected America to enter the war anyway, why would they hold millions of Jews as hostages?

No biography can resolve all the disputed issues regarding the Holocaust. Longerich has done a great favor to the scholarly world by portraying in three dimensions a most unusual organization man.

RICHARD BREITMAN
American University

GEOFFREY CAMPBELL COCKS. *The State of Health: Illness in Nazi Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 291. \$110.00.

On May 9, 1945, Adolf Hitler's successor, Karl Dönitz, urged Germans in his last public speech to preserve "the best" National Socialism had produced, "the unity of our people's community," the *Volksgemeinschaft*. The negative version of this image of a united nation was the idea that Germans were collectively guilty for Nazi crimes. Generations of historians have challenged the notion that the Nazis united Germans in a *Volksgemeinschaft*, first by putting the entire blame on the Nazi elite, then, since the 1980s, by exploring opposition and discontent within Nazi Germany. Since the mid-1990s an increasing number of innovative studies have suggested that Germans, notwithstanding substantial popular discontent, generally supported or accepted the regime's racist politics, including the Holocaust, and thus contributed to the project of creating a racially pure and ideologically united nation. The controversy about the reality of the *Volksgemeinschaft* is not finished, however. A number of senior historians of the Third Reich still hold on to the thesis that German society underwent a process of disintegration under the Nazi regime, and so does Geoffrey Campbell Cocks in his new book on illness in Nazi Germany.

Much has been written about German doctors' entanglement in racial medicine, sterilization programs, euthanasia, and the genocide of the Jews. Cocks aims to explore a topic we know much less about: health and illness among people under Nazi rule. He has identified a rarely used type of source: the annual health reports prepared by regional and local medical offices throughout Germany. Introduced in democratic Germany in the 1920s, the Nazi regime perfected them in order to monitor the state of German health. Physicians were to report on all age groups, all kinds of illnesses, and all types of health conditions including daily hygiene, mental issues, drug abuse, nervousness, cancer, tuberculosis, and abortion. As Cocks rightly states, this list was "clearly related to Nazi racial eugenics" as well as to the program of "economic recovery, rearmament, and war" (p. 64).

Cocks has collected data from about forty different archives in Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Israel, including twenty local and regional archives alone in Germany. Unfortunately, the quality of these data seems to not allow solid generalizations. The picture that emerges from Cocks's analysis is not surprising. As a result of the recovery from the Great Depression, the rearmament push from 1935 on, increasing demands on workers, simultaneous shortages of fats, meat, shoes, and clothing, the physical destruction especially under the aerial bombing since 1942, and the shortage of physicians due to their conscription into the military, the rates of illness, injuries, accidents, disabilities, and work absenteeism rose throughout the Nazi period. And these results hold even if one regards only those parts of the German population that the re-

gime wanted to see healthy; one of the strengths of the book is that it discusses Germans' health but also highlights the terrible health conditions of the victims of the Nazi terror.

What do these findings tell us about the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft*? Cocks ties his study of illness into a search for the persistence of the modern self under the collectivist pressures of the Nazi regime. In this view, illness was "embodied agency" (p. 12), through which the individual interacted with his or her environment, and the rising illness rates indicate the retreat of Germans into private spheres. Thus, these data seem to confirm what previous historians have described as the atomization or dismemberment of the national community.

There are multiple problems with this interpretation. Although the Nazi regime doubtlessly destroyed traditional structures of solidarity, the result was not an atomized society but rather a sort of tabula rasa that could be, and was, filled with a new sense of community that grew out of the regime's racism, and especially the war of annihilation that began in 1939. Did sick Germans not share antisemitism, anti-Slavism, and other glues of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, including the widespread knowledge of Germans' responsibility for the Holocaust? Questions like these are not examined in this book. To do so Cocks would have had to move beyond the official health reports which, even as locally rooted as they were, still covered the view from above, not the views of individual Germans. Unfortunately, Cocks did not use the huge collections of private diaries and letters written by ordinary Germans during the Third Reich that are now available in many archives. They would have illuminated how different individuals dealt with their own health and illness. The "self" is anything but a stable or self-explanatory category. It depends on historically, socially, and culturally varying "fillings." The Nazis filled this category in their own way, which Cocks touches upon but does not explore: by praising the "personality" (p. 14). As opposed to the liberal ideal of a sovereign self, the Nazi self fulfilled its mission as a tool of the racist *Volksgemeinschaft*, whether as its charismatic leader or as executor of its annihilationist politics. Despite these criticisms, Cocks's book certainly provides an important basis for future research into the history of health, emotions, and the body during the Third Reich.

THOMAS KÜHNE
Clark University

CHARLES B. LANSING. *From Nazism to Communism: German Schoolteachers under Two Dictatorships*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 307. \$49.95.

Politicians of all sorts pay regular lip service to the importance of education, invariably emphasizing schools', and therefore teachers', roles in sociocultural continuity as well as change. In this book Charles B. Lansing poses a compelling series of questions relating to this

abiding phenomenon: what impact does politics have on education in the classroom? What role do individual teachers as well as their organizations, such as unions, play in this process, that is, in the realization (or not) of the state's politics and policy? These are, of course, crucial questions that apply to any state. Lansing's study of Nazi Germany and the early German Democratic Republic (GDR) offers well-researched, adroitly argued, and intriguing answers.

Lansing focuses on a medium-sized town, Brandenburg an der Havel, in a specific time period, 1933 to 1953, that experienced three radical changes in its form of government. 1933 marked the Nazis' takeover, 1945 the end of World War II and the beginning of the occupation period, and 1949 the founding of East Germany and its increasing Sovietization. Amid these thoroughgoing transformations Lansing queries how state policies affected teachers and teaching, especially because both Nazis and communists held out educational reform as a crucial part of their respective programs. Both the Nazis and the communists attempted to create a committed cadre of ideologically coordinated teachers through a combination of purging and retraining/indoctrination. Lansing suggests that neither of these approaches succeeded. Although he argues that neither the Nazis nor the communists fundamentally changed teachers or their perspectives, he does allow that teachers' willingness to work in and through teacher organizations was noticeably greater in the GDR than in the Third Reich. Lansing suggests that teachers helped to stabilize the GDR at crucial moments, including leading up to and through the uprising of June 17, 1953.

Lansing bases his conclusions on oral histories and archival records of the institutions (both German and Russian) with which teachers interacted. The central example is Johannes S., who started teaching in 1912, was active throughout the Weimar and Nazi periods, and then was elected head of the postwar teachers union. He was thus a member in both the key Nazi and East German teachers' unions that Lansing analyzes. He was eventually sidelined by East German officials, at least partially for not being politically committed enough to their increasingly Soviet-steered agenda. A liberal democrat during the Weimar period, Johannes S.'s avoidance of ideological conviction while adapting to different regimes so that he could continue teaching is indicative of what Lansing uncovers generally: there was continuity in teaching personnel, and teachers made some accommodation in pedagogical content while avoiding fervent conviction.

This book's most significant contribution is the way in which it rethinks and recasts conventional periodization of twentieth-century German history. If 1945 and 1949 are the usual caesuras, Lansing shows how one cannot understand the GDR without comprehending the continuities from the Nazi era, including the early Nazi era. In this and other regards, the period from 1933 to 1953 needs to be analyzed as continuous, a perspective that will finally dispense altogether with the myth of Germany's *Stunde Null* in 1945. Although the

notion of a German *Stunde Null* is now widely rejected, the number of studies that effectively trace continuities from the Nazi era into East Germany are few (if growing), and Lansing demonstrates by example how compelling this approach can be.

Although largely convincing and productive, there are areas where Lansing's approach could have been strengthened. By focusing on material from eastern archives, there is not enough sense of how some of these educational reforms and approaches were engaged in the West; denazification was, after all, undertaken by all four occupying powers and the approaches were both contrasting and interwoven. For example, Lansing finds that the denazification of the occupation period was surprisingly ineffective in the Soviet zone (given the vehement political rhetoric), leaving the teacher corps intact. But such an assertion looks somewhat different when one compares it with the West, where denazification among teachers is generally considered to have been much less consequent. A more comparative and contextual perspective on the denazification of teachers underscores how difficult it is to reform essential social institutions when qualified personnel are not available. Such a comparative approach would illuminate other matters as well. For example, there is not enough attention paid to the culture of resistance to foreign occupiers. How much of the continuity Lansing uncovers was a function of teachers' politics, and how much was just resistance to outsiders interfering with the raising and rearing of children? In other zones of occupation there was also resistance to less overtly ideological reform, as James F. Tent has effectively shown in postwar Bavaria. Finally, there is not enough sense given of the shape of schools before 1933, even though many of the teachers Lansing follows began teaching long before then. He suggests at one point that the core of the pre-1933 system was "classical humanism," without really addressing the controversies about tracking into separate schools and how that could be regarded as ideological.

On the whole, however, the study formulates crucial questions about politics and social institutions and offers thorough research and intriguing conclusions. It is an important contribution to the history of Germany and education in a tumultuous and fascinating period.

JAIMEY FISHER

University of California,
Davis

TOMAZ JARDIM. *The Mauthausen Trial: American Military Justice in Germany*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 276. \$29.95.

In May 1947 a U.S. military court at Dachau sentenced forty-nine men to death for war crimes at the Mauthausen concentration camp. On average the court had heard one case every four hours. Tomaz Jardim's shrewd history situates this trial within American military court trials in postwar Germany and proposes that some of its methods might be integrated into contem-

porary approaches for prosecuting state-legitimated crimes. Jardim asks whether the Mauthausen trial meted out justice and shows that American efficiency was lubricated by the prosecution's "common design" concept as well as by lax rules of evidence. But in a larger context, the concept of justice itself was in dispute as some German defendants proudly acknowledged committing the acts that rendered them culpable in Allied courts.

Following the theory of common design, the American prosecutor William D. Denson established guilt merely by illustrating a defendant's participation in the camp system and his awareness that it was murderous. In theory, whether cook or executioner, each was guilty. The legal concepts of crimes against peace and humanity devised by the International Military Tribunal (IMT) played no role since the American military trial program was already functioning before the Nuremberg Charter was issued on August 8, 1945.

Denson had proven the efficacy of the common design concept for dealing with large groups of defendants at an earlier Dachau trial. But some of his methods were rejected by the IMT and raised suspicions within Germany, where public opinion became increasingly important as the Cold War developed, as well as within the United States, where petitions challenging trial methods reached the Supreme Court and led to a review by the Simpson Commission of 127 death sentences.

During the Mauthausen trial the prosecution used threats and humiliation to procure testimony. Linguistic analysis indicates that the prosecution forged statements; confessions contained similar phrases such as crimes "cannot be made the responsibility of a single leader" or "all of us participated equally in the camp leadership" (p. 165). The Cohen Report, which relied on 143 witnesses as well as documents, formed the backbone of Denson's indictments, but it was "often highly inaccurate." Still, the report's combination of survivor testimony and Nazi documents sometimes proved accurate, with testimony revealing that official documents were "often falsified on the orders of camp authorities" (pp. 72–73).

Jardim contends that the Mauthausen Trial challenges the conventional interpretation that American courts did not give voice to surviving victims. Scarce resources (e.g., properly trained military personnel) made a virtue of "hearsay evidence" and victim testimony, which formed the basis for indictments. Camp survivors were even organized into a posse on horses to comb the countryside for hidden perpetrators. Simon Wiesenthal pleaded in May 1945 to be "placed at the disposal of U.S. authorities" (p. 65).

Camp Commandant Franz Ziereis was found in the shadows of an Alpine hut, and he and others revealed larger issues in the adjudication of justice than evidence and efficiency. Ziereis boastfully exaggerated the number of camp victims but pointed out that prisoner starvation was due to Gauleiter August Eigruber, who had "held ultimate authority over the Mauthausen camp

system" (p. 83). In captivity Eigruber reiterated his opinion from 1938 that it was "a special honor and distinction" to have the Mauthausen camp in his region (p. 53). He was wholly convinced that camp atrocities were both just and sensible. Other defendants justified mass killing because it benefited society: animals "born crippled or unfit for life are killed . . . [and] the same thing should be done to humans in order to prevent disaster and misfortune" (p. 107).

One of Jardim's finest achievements is his demonstration of popular opinion's influence on national and global politics. President Franklin D. Roosevelt initially favored Henry Morgenthau's approach to treatment of Germany in the postwar era, an approach that implied collective guilt far broader than was the case in the theory of common design. Roosevelt dropped his support for outright executions and the pastoralization of Germany, however, after it was condemned by public opinion. Joseph Goebbels deployed Morgenthau's proposal to convince Germans that they must fight to the death. Following Germany's surrender, German church leaders and veteran's groups condemned Allied justice as "assembly line trials" to punish Germans "simply because they were assigned guard duty in a concentration camp" (p. 210). West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer secured popular support for the new state by demanding the release of all Germans convicted in Allied courts of war crimes. Displaying the popularity of protest against Allied justice, the German public regularly greeted those freed from Allied custody not as war criminals but as war victims.

Jardim concludes that the common design concept achieved a "measure of justice" (p. 215). Those who participated in German crimes, however, were commonly accepted by postwar German society as part of "us." War and survival had created a pervasive feeling of German community, if not the one Adolf Hitler had intended. The Allies confronted not just the challenge of getting the facts straight but of establishing a common sense of justice.

NATHAN STOLTZFUS
Florida State University

LORENZO BENADUSI. *The Enemy of the New Man: Homosexuality in Fascist Italy*. Translated by SUZANNE DINGEE and JENNIFER PUDNEY. (George L. Mosse Series in Modern European Cultural and Intellectual History.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2012. Pp. xxi, 432. Cloth \$55.00, e-book \$24.95.

This translation of Lorenzo Benadusi's landmark book, first published in Italian in 2005, is a welcome addition to the history of fascism, modern Italy, and sexual politics. When Italian criminal law was unified in 1889, lawmakers opted not to criminalize homosexual acts. Benadusi stresses that the decision did not reflect toleration or enlightenment so much as an Italian preference to avoid creating discursive channels that might promote awareness of unmentionable crimes (p. 93). The book argues that despite the absence of a specific

law, the fascist regime's preoccupation with creating a more "virile" Italian nation resulted in homosexuals being persecuted as enemies of the "new man."

A useful sense of the relative scale of the subject is provided in Emilio Gentile's foreword, which points out that while in Nazi Germany about fifty thousand people were condemned for their homosexuality, in fascist Italy, fewer than four hundred were caught in the anti-homosexual net (p. xiii). The significance of Benadusi's work lies less in its statistical weight than in the way it shows how the persecution of homosexuals reflected fascist preoccupations and figured in the regime's internecine struggles. The first three chapters contextualize the Italian case from the late nineteenth century, when medico-legal ideas about homosexuality began to take over from religious precepts. Anglophone scholars broadly familiar with the subject may find this treatment belabored, but it is useful to know that while Italy followed general Western patterns, certain aspects made it distinctive, including the influence of Roman Catholicism, the legacy of criminologist Cesare Lombroso, a preoccupation with passive versus active sex roles, and the absence of criminal sanctions against homosexual acts. Covering themes of masculinity, early ideas about homosexuality, and sodomy as both sin and crime, each chapter concludes with the fascist contribution to the issue.

As the regime's policies increasingly focused on a supposed Italian yearning for national virility, earlier scientific objectives and understandings gave way to a drive to control all aspects of citizens' lives, including their sexual attitudes. Although the new criminal code of 1930 continued the earlier version's silence on homosexual acts, the regime found other means for pursuing suspects, mainly through the use of broadly framed laws against vice. The book's second half explores the various forms taken by this persecution, focusing on fascism's two principal methods of ostracizing homosexuals: confinement to remote areas and islands (*confino*); and commitment to prison or a mental asylum. Benadusi draws on the rich documentation produced by police surveillance of private lives, as well as official records of the *confino* process, and, to a lesser extent, the testimony of those confined. He struggles somewhat to identify clear patterns and trends, but the main determinants of arrest and punishment seem to have been whether suspects were sexually active or passive, looked virile or effeminate, had social position or wealth, and whether they were regarded as potential agents of moral contagion. Not surprisingly, much depended on the subjective opinions of those administering the law.

Fascism's deification of virility meant that accusations of homosexuality became an easy way to slander political enemies, and Benadusi reveals the fascinating role of such accusations within fascist Italy's ruling hierarchies. They could be leveled at anyone, from provincial appointees to party secretaries, from Vatican officials to Crown Prince Umberto, on whom Benito Mussolini kept a personal file that he carried even as he

tried to flee to Switzerland in April 1945 (p. 227). Benadusi argues that in fascist Italy, instead of Nazism's "night of the long knives" and Joseph Stalin's summary trials, an old system of political jockeying was simply made grubbier by new opportunities for slander and blackmail resulting from the campaign against homosexuality (p. 260).

This book's great strengths are its meticulous archival research and its provision of new perspectives on the fascist regime's construction of masculinity. It has several weaknesses, however, the most obvious being an excess of detail at the expense of a leaner argument. The problem was less evident in the original Italian, a language that celebrates complexity, but the translators have carried across a ponderousness that is more noticeable in English. It is something of a surprise that the text does not appear to have been revised and updated for this edition of the book, which no longer seems as fresh as it did in 2005, and some relevant works published in the interim (for example by Alberto Mario Banti and Silvana Patriarca) are notable for their absence. Nevertheless, this is an interesting and well-researched book that makes a strong case for the intrinsic historical interest of the relationship between sexuality and the state, whether fascist or otherwise.

MARK SEYMOUR

University of Otago

MICHAEL R. EBNER. *Ordinary Violence in Mussolini's Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 288. \$90.00.

Michael R. Ebner starts with a bang in his introduction, entitled "The Fascist Archipelago," implying that Benito Mussolini's regime bore comparison with Joseph Stalin's in its repression of political opponents. Ebner asserts that "the Mussolini dictatorship ruled Italy through violence," claiming "the right to beat, torture and kill select enemies with impunity" (pp. 3–4). Its "ordinary violence profoundly affected the minutiae of every day life under Fascism" (p. 5). "Italian Fascists," he admits, "by no means ruled more violently than the National Socialists, the Bolsheviks, or even Franco's Nationalists, all of whom adopted more formalized systems of repression, more clearly defined utopias, and incalculably more brutal strategies of rule. Nevertheless, more so than any of these regimes, violence was central to the ideology and practice of Fascism" (p. 8).

In his successive chapters, Ebner, commencing with the brutal assaults by fascist squads on their Marxist and other enemies before the March on Rome, pursues his theme across two generations of fascist rule in Italy. Especially in its second decade of government, he is sure, "increased political repression, military violence, and revolutionary radicalization were all linked within the logic of Fascism" (p. 167). War and the identification and exemplary punishment of public enemies worked together in the cause of the "totalitarian" fascistization of the nation. In his conclusion, Ebner re-

turns to his comparisons with reference to Adolf Hitler and the "model of fascism" but rejects the view that fascism was a fundamentally anti-Marxist movement. Rather, "this new, modern system of police-state rule . . . served as a model for movements and regimes in other societies as they rejected liberalism in the face of interwar Europe's crisis of modernity" (p. 268).

There is plenty of value here. It is no mistake to underline the centrality of certainly the theory and perhaps the practice of violence in this regime. Yet Ebner's approach to fascist rule, as his own detail shows, scarcely offers a total understanding of the dictatorship. After all, when it came to the formal execution of his own citizens, Mussolini's toll was less than that of any governor of Texas. True, the fascists were responsible for the premature deaths of about a million people, half killed in the regime's aggressive wars. But more recent neoliberal governments have launched what they claim to be virtuous preventive wars with casualties that are numbered in the hundreds of thousands, if rarely of their own subjects given their overwhelming air power. In so doing, they indicate that imperialism is not dead. That fact is an important reminder that fascism's bloodiest killing fields were in Libya and Ethiopia. Ebner does mention "genocide" in Cyrenaica (surely an exaggeration) (p. 180), but his interest is on metropolitan matters and he avoids contemplation of parallels between Italy's admittedly belated and ostentatiously violent African adventures and those of its liberal imperial predecessors in the rest of Europe.

Then there is the question of what fascism felt like in "everyday life." Here, in the best parts of Ebner's book, there are plenty of complications, with the admission that, "in many ways, the regime failed to impose policies uniformly upon the provinces, because Fascist rule so resembled the corrupt, clientelistic, parochial government system that it intended to replace" (p. 27). So we learn that, at its peak in November 1932, the system of *confino* (being confined to a specific place, usually an "undeveloped" one in the south, often an island) held 4,518 prisoners, an increased tally but not a wholly exceptional rise on the 800 already being punished that way before Mussolini took office. Ebner is sure that, by the late 1930s, the dictatorship was eliminating regional difference in its punishment regime as part of its expanding commitment to "totality." However, he avoids analysis of the evident contradiction of a fascist rhetoric that bellowed on about national unity but utilized a prison practice that endorsed the ancient Italian assumption that "Africa" and "barbarism" began somewhere just south of where you were.

Still more significant, but not fully plumbed by Ebner, is the fact that, as he puts it, "Mussolini's strategy of political and social control relied as much on releasing detainees as it did on confining them" (p. 139). More than half the *confinati* were amnestied before they served their full term, often at the dictator's direct intervention but sometimes on appeal to the king, the local priest or bishop, or female members of the Duce's family. Almost every *confinato's* file preserved in the

archives brims with letters based on this hope that the lucky or the *furbo* will find the lever to get out of jail free.

The matter is telling. Mussolini presided over an unpleasant and, on occasion, vicious dictatorship. But a student of its ordinariness will need to explore further than Ebner does the place of ordinary violence, mercy, corruption, and contacts across a differentiated and changing archipelago of peasant, worker, bourgeois, local and regional, gender and generational, Catholic, and secular Italians.

R. J. B. BOSWORTH
Jesus College
University of Oxford

JONATHAN BOLTON. *Worlds of Dissent: Charter 77, the Plastic People of the Universe, and Czech Culture under Communism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 349. \$49.95.

Jonathan Bolton's study of dissent in post-1968 Czechoslovakia is a breath of fresh air. He has managed to dust off this tired topic and bring it out into the post-Cold War world with new vigor and a complexity that was lacking in much of the earlier literature. Czech dissidents, of whom Václav Havel was always the best known, and Charter 77, the dissidents' primary organization, have been routinely presented as beacons of integrity and moral certitude that lesser humans could only hope to emulate. More recent assessments of late communism that focus on ordinary citizens and everyday life have asked why the dissidents, while intellectual and political rock stars in the West, had limited resonance back home. Bolton responds by embracing the contradictions in the dissidents' lives and thoughts and making them the focal point through which we can begin a new and much fairer assessment of these men and women.

Bolton presents two correctives to the current dissident narrative. First, the very word dissident was largely an invention of the Western media and was viewed with great skepticism among dissidents, who finally found themselves having to take it on, even if reluctantly. Second, to understand the dissidents, the focus needs to be on the 1970s. Expanding forms of activism in the 1980s, coupled with the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and subsequent events, has cast the dissidents as overly intellectual and politically impotent talking heads. But they were not, Bolton contends. And he sets out to prove it by returning to canonical texts, reading them anew, and delving into others that have long been forgotten or else overlooked. The result is a sharp analysis and a genuinely good read.

Bolton starts by showing how people became dissidents. Many were residents of what he calls the "shadow world," a world created by the purges that followed the 1968 Soviet invasion; those purges turned politicians and philosophers into stokers and window washers. Both former communists and noncommunists (with the latter often having been victims of the former) made up

the shadow world. And it was precisely this cacophony of voices that made finding a unifying theme imperative. The Helsinki Accords took on that role and became the foundational backbone of Charter 77. But it was an awkward fit because “the philosophical roots of Czech dissent were located elsewhere—not in ‘rights talk,’ but in phenomenology and existentialism.” At the same time, their embrace of human rights is what made Charter 77 and Czech dissidents so popular abroad: as Bolton writes, “human rights” was the “Esperanto of resistance” (p. 26).

Bolton counters the consequent glorification of Czech dissidents—which has included the repeated mis-telling of Jan Patočka’s death at the hands of the secret police and the erroneous view of the cultural underground and the Plastic People as young and naïve apoliticals—by gently knocking them off the pedestal. He contrasts Havel with the writer and former communist Ludvík Vaculík. Vaculík, the author of one of the Prague Spring’s most important texts, entered the shadow world after the Soviet invasion and then founded and ran an important samizdat press. But he felt bogged down by the role of dissident and the mundane difficulties of running a surreptitious publishing outfit. He developed writing block. He finally broke free of it with *The Czech Dream Book* (1980), part novel, part diary, and what Bolton considers a major work of post-war Czech literature. *The Czech Dream Book* was a raw, contradictory, and highly personal account of Vaculík’s life in 1979, in which he recounted both the big and small: doing the dishes, watching the autumn leaves fall, going to his police interrogations, getting irritated by fellow dissidents and friends, and keeping up his relationship with his wife and his two lovers. Always the enfant terrible, he passed around his manuscript to all those involved, solicited their responses, and then included them, no holds barred. Bolton sees *The Dream Book* as representing the real essence and potential of Czech dissent, which was first and foremost a genuine community of people whose opinions were seldom the same. He argues that writing, and self-writing in particular—of which there was far more than the impersonal political texts—was “a crucial *practice* of dissent” (p. 272). Self-writing demonstrated and promoted the diversity of dissent, which, Bolton insists, was “as important as defending political prisoners or commenting on the state of Czechoslovak society at large” (p. 273). Political scientists might disagree, but with this book historians have a new way to consider an old story.

PAULINA BREN
Vassar College

ISA BLUMI. *Reinstating the Ottomans: Alternative Balkan Modernities, 1800–1912*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. xx, 250. \$85.00.

With this book, Isa Blumi makes a significant contribution to the rewriting of the history of the late Ottoman Balkans in particular, and of late Ottoman history in general. His work is akin to other recent studies that

go beyond ethno-national and stato-national visions created by nationalist discourses, national historiographies, or linear narratives. In particular, his focus on the local level is highly relevant. Blumi looks at the different possibilities open to local communities and individuals coping with the political, economic, and social evolutions of the “long nineteenth century” and at the different strategies they adopted. This allows him to show how the dynamics behind the actions of people had often nothing to do with nationalism or religion but rather with everyday life necessities.

Blumi’s approach is closely akin to subaltern studies. He considers alternative forms of modernity that came not from the top down, not from an elite center, but from refugees, mountaineers, and peasants who invented forms of “struggle for their parochial, individual needs” (p. 180), giving borders and reforms meanings other than those intended by policy makers. In doing this, he helps us to understand Balkan society not as nationalist discourses depict it, but with more complexity and variation overtime.

Despite the book’s strengths, I have some reservations and remarks. First, although the study concerns the “western Balkans” in general, in fact Blumi focuses almost exclusively on “Albanians.” Although legitimate, Blumi could have made his choice more explicit. He accurately assigns the Eastern Crisis (1875–1878) a pivotal role in political and social transformations, but he does not sufficiently take into account the turning point that occurred in the mid-1890s when the Ottoman Empire experienced other crises with the massacres of Armenians, the Macedonian question, and the Greek-Turkish war. In particular, Blumi does not explain how an intellectual like Sami Frashëri could change his mind and discourse and produce (anonymously) an anti-Turkish text, which led the Ottoman authorities to place him under house arrest until the end of his life.

Above all, Blumi has a strong tendency to use the infranational categories of Gegs and Tosks (northern and southern Albanians) in his analysis. This is problematic because it introduces a twofold ethnic and regional identification. In a way, this undermines Blumi’s claim that ethnicity and faith were not significant in Ottoman society at that time. It is striking to note that he sometimes makes quasi-essentialist value judgments when discussing Gegs and Tosks. The subaltern approach leads him to characterize the Gegs mainly as “brave” mountaineers (*Malësors*) locally defending their home regions “from the machinations of” “foreign interests” (p. 182), and the Tosks mainly as members of the bureaucracy who developed “visceral chauvinism” (p. 107) and “regional elitism” (p. 86). In doing this, he just reverses the discourse of some Tosks of that time and of a part of the historiography on the backward and “primitive” Gegs. It is true that scholars should consider not only intellectual discourses but also acts of ordinary people, as Blumi does with regard to alternative paths to modernity. It is also true that there were important social differences between the northern and the southern regions of the “western Balkans,” but it is

not possible simply to define them as binary oppositions, since each region was socially highly heterogeneous.

More generally, Blumi disregards the fact that in the very last years of Ottoman rule ethnicity and religion emerged in mobilization discourses, even among locals who did not belong to the state bureaucracy or to the elite. They appeared not as hardened national and religious consciousness but as resources in power struggles at the local level. Indeed, nationalism or confessionalism took on peculiar shapes and meaning when invoked in local contexts, in the same way that Ottoman reforms took other shapes and meanings through the action of locals on the ground.

Despite these remarks, this work should be of interest for all of those who work on the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, and, more generally, the notion of multiple paths to modernity.

NATHALIE CLAYER
CNRS-EHESS,
Paris

BARBARA SKINNER. *The Western Front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 295. \$42.00.

The use of a military metaphor in the title of this book is quite apt for a study of a region whose cultural identity was shaped by its borderland position between the realms of Eastern and Western Christianity, whose rivalry led to the emergence of the Uniate Church, which is Eastern in rite and Catholic in doctrine. Barbara Skinner fills a gap in the literature by focusing on the eighteenth century, the period when the Uniate Church emerged as a confessional identity shared by some four million Ruthenians.

Skinner describes the emergence of the Uniate faith following the Union of Brest in 1595–1596 as a result of the Reformation, which created new divisions not only within Western Christendom but also within the Eastern Church. The upheavals between 1648 and 1721 and the Russian presence in Right-bank Ukraine destabilized religious identities, as parishes changed their affiliation from Uniate to Orthodox and back several times. Despite their original intention to keep the Eastern rite, the Uniates eventually parted with the iconostasis, worshiped the new saints, started to use confessional booths, organs, and altar bells, and edited liturgical books to conform with the practice and doctrine of Rome. The Uniate clergy that received Catholic training promoted moral teaching that conformed with Western social values and differed from Orthodox theology. By the Synod of Zamość in 1720, the Uniate Church had managed to forge a distinct confessional identity.

Russia's advances toward the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth led to followers of the Orthodox and Uniate churches growing further apart. Catherine II's

involvement in Poland, and especially her pro-dissident policy, inflamed religious tensions and intensified religious-political loyalties, which ultimately led to violence. The bloody Haidamak uprising in Koliivshchina in 1768 sparked religious violence, resulting in the massacre of hundreds of Roman Catholics, Jews, and Uniates.

The second partition of Poland in 1793 brought about one hundred thousand Roman Catholics and about eight hundred thousand Uniates into Russia and challenged the principles of religious tolerance declared by Catherine II. Russia's religious administration had ignored the differences between Catholics "of both rites," lumping them together in the same administrative structure under two bishops and significantly limiting papal authority on the Russian territory. The second partition of Poland also brought two million Ruthenians into the Russian Empire and led to a massive campaign to convert Uniates to Orthodoxy. The confessional "fault line" moved westward with Russia's territorial gains.

The conservative shift in Catherine II's reign, caused by the French Revolution, led to the suppression of dissent within the Russian Empire. The Russian empress suppressed the Uniates as a destabilizing element, identifying the Poles—and by association the Uniates—with the French revolutionaries, heedless of the fact that French revolutionaries were no friends of the Catholic Church. After the revolution, confessional uniformity was increasingly viewed as the foundation of a stable government. The ideological myth that Ruthenians suffered under the Polish yoke and from their unnatural separation from their mother-church was incorporated into Russians' political consciousness.

The conversion campaigns carried out by clergymen and civil authorities were, as Skinner suggests, well organized and coordinated, and were supported by civil and military authorities. As a result, by 1795 over fifteen hundred Uniate priests and a million and a half parishioners had reportedly converted to Orthodoxy. These conversions continued to be resisted by the Catholic gentry and the Uniate clergy, which perpetuated confessional tensions in the area. Skinner contends that the mass conversions to Orthodoxy in Right-bank Ukraine indicate that the Uniate confession did not have deep roots in this area, as it did in the Byelorussian and Volhynian regions, where there was significant resistance to conversion. Russia's policy of pushing the confessional "fault line" further westward until it coincided with the actual border continued into the next century.

Skinner's book provides a background of Russian imperial policy and religious and ethnic tensions in Russia's western borderlands in the nineteenth century. The uneasy coexistence of confessional groups with different ecclesiastical and political loyalties led to violence and military intervention. This suggests a new perspective on the age of the Enlightenment, which has often been perceived as marking the end of religious wars in Europe. Skinner's interpretation of Catherine II's policy as being unequivocally harmful for the Uniates may not be shared by all scholars, but she mas-

terfully handles the complexity of her subject and delights the reader with balanced analysis and clarity.

IRINA PAERT
University of Tartu,
Estonia

CATHERINE EVTUHOV. *Portrait of a Russian Province: Economy, Society, and Civilization in Nineteenth-Century Nizhnii Novgorod*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 320. \$34.95.

This groundbreaking study is required reading for historians seeking to understand the prerevolutionary Russian Empire and, perhaps more important, to challenge historiographical consensus. With impressive research, Catherine Evtuhov's conceptually brilliant work brings prerevolutionary Nizhnii Novgorod province to life. It is, however, far more than a regional history, although as such it is a welcome addition to the field. Her portrayal of a provincial civilization digs beneath a historiographical tradition concerned with the state, the ideologies that contested its purview and power, and, in the Soviet era, universalist categories that flattened and chiseled away complexity, diversity, and regionalism. Adopting a provincial viewpoint, Evtuhov calls for a reimagining of Russian economy, society, governance, and culture.

Two insights are critical to this ambitious work. First, Evtuhov delineates "the idea of the province." It became widespread from mid-century onward once the full panoply of influences defining nineteenth-century European modernity swept across Nizhnii Novgorod. Produced by the interaction of lived experience and inhabited space, this provincial idea opened a world more varied and vital than the stereotype of backward and agrarian provincialism bequeathed to historians of the late imperial era. Second, she identifies a provincial intelligentsia distinct from the populist and Marxist writers who authored the stereotypical view of provincial Russia. Evtuhov calls the provincial intelligentsia "purveyors of the province," nineteenth-century intellectuals "whose goal was to depict, describe, conceptualize, present and promote the province." They "crafted their image of the province through 'boring' means—statistics, record keeping, detailed ethnographic studies—rather than radical ideological positions or quasi-religious calls to arms" (pp. 14–15). They also served Evtuhov as effective research assistants and translators. Through them she imagined the Russian province and attempted "quite simply to ask what was there, rather than what was not or what went wrong" (p. 22).

A brief review cannot do justice to the scale of this challenging history and the insights it draws from ecology, anthropology, economics, sociology, and cultural studies. An opening chapter introduces the ecology of provincial life. It details the province's environmental ecosystems and postulates how they shaped dynamic interrelationships affecting the constantly shifting diversity of human agriculture, handicrafts, manufacturing,

fishing, and commerce. The author explores the urban topographies of the provincial city, barely urban administrative district towns, and bustling rural settlements with urban marketplaces "to undermine any image of rural uniformity" and challenge traditional constructs of urbanization (p. 56). Her treatment of local economy, indicatively entitled "rhythms," produces "a world in motion": commercial exchange, property transference, seasonal labor patterns, and entrepreneurial credit harbored as mutual aid insurance among networks of orthodox Old Believer sectarians (p. 96).

Evtuhov's chapter on social space, "a voyage into the world of the lived province," confronts the legacy of social history (p. 101). Utilizing statistics, visual imagery, and biographies, it critiques "the first impression . . . of a primarily peasant society, with a very low level of urbanization, a thin layer of elite landowners and some townspeople, and virtually entirely Orthodox," and then suggests how "the classic stereotype disintegrates as it comes into contact with the local" (pp. 102–103). The result is a world of "diversity, variability, and mutability through time and space," with two dominant social strata consolidating: a variegated lower middle-class *Mittelstand*, and "a highly self-conscious and hard-working provincial bourgeoisie" (pp. 132–133). Here, Evtuhov argues, was the European *Bürgertum* come to provincial life (p. 119). That view resonates further through chapters that examine the emergence of distinctive patterns of governance and culture in provincial life. Drawing from nineteenth-century zemstvo self-administration the idea of a local or household economy (*mestnoe khoziastvo*), Evtuhov portrays a style of local governance that utilized the interdependency of ministerial, zemstvo, professional, and civic organizations to manage the demands of provincial social life, often in the face of centralized institutions of state that increasingly lacked the wherewithal to do so. Whether discussing the interpenetration of secular and religious life moments that together abetted "local consciousness," or the "provincial cultural nests" of university, provincial press, theater, music, or local science societies, Evtuhov repeatedly reveals social spaces for "the significant and steadily growing 'middling' population of Russia's regional centers and zemstvos that was becoming the backbone of Russian society" (pp. 211–212).

In her conclusion, Evtuhov anticipates critics who might snipe at one historian's love affair with a singular province. In response, she reiterates that her study is a methodology intentionally constructed to study Russia's other distinctive regions, "including provinces of the metropole as well as borderlands." This excellent book foresees a generation of provincial and regional studies that "will ultimately resolve into a picture of Russia far different from the one we are accustomed to seeing through a centralized, horizontally oriented historiography. In this sense," Evtuhov writes, "this book represents a beginning as much as an end" (p. 250).

FRANK WCISLO
Vanderbilt University

OLEG BUDNITSKII. *Russian Jews between the Reds and the Whites, 1917–1920*. Translated by TIMOTHY J. PORTICE. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. x, 508. \$79.95.

This is a faithful translation of Oleg Budnitskii's Russian-language book of the same title published in Moscow in 2005. Budnitskii provides the most comprehensive account so far of the experiences of Russia's Jews during the revolution and civil war, and he analyzes the role of the "Jewish Question" across this period. In doing so, he makes a major contribution to the study of Russia's Jews and of the Russian Revolution more generally.

Budnitskii details the immense cost of the civil war to Russia's Jewish population, estimating that pogroms directly affected up to a million Jews, killing between fifty and two hundred thousand, and harmed the economic, social, and cultural activities of hundreds of thousands more. Jews were caught between two sides, the "Red" Bolsheviks and the various anti-Bolshevik "White" forces, both of whom committed shocking atrocities. Indeed, the deeply rooted nature of antisemitism on both sides leads Budnitskii to place the roots of the violence in imperial Russia. The tsarist regime's rejection of Jewish-Christian coexistence and determination to integrate Jews into the empire as Christians accounted for its tolerance of popular antisemitism and pogroms. Popular antisemitism was exacerbated by World War I, which spread fears of Jewish conspiracies, gave greater prominence to an antisemitic military, and fostered increased savagery during pogroms. It was hardly surprising that Jews welcomed the revolution and in many cases worked to facilitate it, seeing an opportunity for equality. Budnitskii stresses, however, that 1917 was a *Russian* revolution and provides evidence to prove it, especially with regard to the minor position of Jews in the Bolshevik party. Yet contemporaries exaggerated the role of Jews and, as material conditions worsened, antisemitism re-emerged.

Initially, the Whites seemed to promise more to Jews; liberal notions of equality appeared dominant among Whites, and there were more opportunities to prosper in White-controlled territories than under the authoritarian Bolsheviks. Yet antisemitism remained pre-eminent, especially within the armies of both sides. In the absence of a clear program and unified ideology, the Whites became reliant on tapping into popular antisemitism through propaganda and failed to act decisively against pogroms committed by its forces. Its leaders, including liberals, denied the frequency of pogroms, while even those who tried to halt the violence could not. Equally violent pogroms were committed by the Reds, but Budnitskii argues that the Bolshevik leadership was more determined to eradicate and punish antisemitic violence.

The above summary does not do justice to the richness of the arguments and the range of discussion, especially given Budnitskii's attention to detail. The coverage is exhaustive, with numerous examples based on

extensive use of archives in Russia, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, and shows a firm grasp of the secondary literature in English and Russian. At times, the wealth of detail is overwhelming, with description dominating analysis, but Budnitskii does not shy away from crucial and controversial issues. He is willing, for instance, to highlight the prevalence of contradictions: Jews were present both as villains and victims; the Bolsheviks clamped down on antisemitism but feared being seen as a pro-Jewish party; Jews provided significant financial backing to the Whites despite the atrocities; liberals abandoned long-held beliefs and turned a blind eye to antisemitism in the desperate hope that the Whites could emerge victorious; and so on. More broadly, Budnitskii addresses whether the pogroms of the civil war period formed a precedent for the Holocaust. He agrees that Nazi antisemitism was unique and highlights the fact that the violence in Russia was not driven by the authorities, as it was under Nazism. Nevertheless, the scale of the violence was unprecedented at that time, and the vast majority were killed solely because they were Jewish. There may not have been a direct link between the two periods, but the civil war period demonstrated how war and antisemitism could interact with tragic consequences.

It should be noted that although he starts with chapters on imperial Russia and the revolution, Budnitskii adopts a thematic approach for his discussion of various aspects of the Bolshevik and White movements, the pogroms, and the role of the Allies. This approach allows him to trace important themes across the period and allows the chapters to be read individually, but it does lead to repetition; the decision to place a chapter on Jews in the Red Army after several chapters on the Whites is particularly curious. Nevertheless, this is a very important work and there is no doubt that this English translation will bring it to the attention of a wider audience and make it available for students.

MATTHEW RENDLE
University of Exeter

ALASTAIR KOCHO-WILLIAMS. *Russian and Soviet Diplomacy, 1900–39*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xii, 215. \$85.00.

Considering the importance of the subject, it is surprising that there have not been more studies of Russian diplomacy in the twentieth century. World War I cannot be understood without reference to late tsarist foreign policy, although one would never guess this from books that treat Russian diplomats as bit players in the drama of 1914. Soviet communism was conceived as a fundamental challenge to the world order, and yet most books on the revolution treat diplomacy as an afterthought. Alastair Kocho-Williams's new monograph is a welcome addition to this oddly neglected genre, not least because, in covering both the late tsarist and early Soviet years, it bridges the gap between two fields usually treated separately by specialists. Readers should be forewarned, however, that Kocho-Williams has little to

say about the dramatic events of the early twentieth century, or Russia's place in them. "The course of Russian foreign policy," he writes in the introduction, "is not the concern of this book" (p. 3).

The author proposes, rather, to subject the tsarist (MID) and Soviet foreign ministries (Narkomindel) to "prosopographical analysis." What interests him are sociological concepts drawn from the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Roland Barthes, such as diplomats' "symbolic" and "social capital," and how these evolved in the transition from the tsarist to the Soviet milieu (pp. 8–10). This approach yields insights, albeit mostly small ones. Nepotism and "family dynasties" certainly affected tsarist diplomatic appointments (pp. 20–21). A diplomat's dancing skills were important, because "Tsarist diplomats held, and were invited to, a great number of diplomatic functions" (pp. 26–27). Reformers wishing to shake up MID's lethargic bureaucracy, such as Alexander Izvolsky and Sergey Sazonov, were hampered by the rigid promotions timetable of the tsarist table of ranks.

There are limitations to this sociological approach, however. Major historical events pass by without comment or explanation. Far from exploring the role Russian diplomats might have played in the outbreak of war in 1914 or in notorious wartime negotiations (e.g., the London convention and the Sykes-Picot agreement) Kocho-Williams says blandly that war "greatly limits the potential to reform a bureaucracy" (p. 37).

Kocho-Williams is more animated when he reaches the Soviet period. There is much comedy in Leon Trotsky's promising to "issue a few revolutionary proclamations to the people and then shut up shop," only to discover that the Bolsheviks needed diplomats after all (p. 45). The author finds pathos in the fate of diplomats abroad who continued serving the tsarist and/or provisional governments after 1917 (in the so-called "Council of Ambassadors"): they were "servants suddenly bereft of their master" (p. 70). He notes the frustrations of foreign ministers such as Georgy Chicherin; because of close Politburo oversight, they enjoyed none of the policy leeway their tsarist predecessors had. The author's sociological eye helps illuminate the drama of Alexandra Kollontai's entry on Europe's diplomatic scene as the first woman of ambassadorial rank. Maxim Litvinov's social coarseness helps illustrate the Stalinization of Soviet diplomacy in the 1930s. Because of their contact with foreigners, Soviet diplomats were hit especially hard by Joseph Stalin's purges.

Again and again, Kocho-Williams' sociological approach falls short in the realm of explanation. Trying to account for the unwillingness of outside powers to accept the credentials of early Soviet diplomats, the author cites "paranoia and suspicion," as governments worried that they would use diplomatic immunity "for illicit purposes" (pp. 60–61). Well, Soviet diplomats *did* use it for illicit purposes: they were required to do so by the Comintern, as the author himself notes elsewhere (pp. 66–68, 89–95).

Likewise, the author argues that foreign powers re-

fused recognition to Moscow out of the "fear" that their states might be toppled by Soviet-style revolutions. Maybe so, but more fundamentally these powers denied the legitimacy of the Bolshevik regime on the reasonable grounds that it had publicly repudiated all foreign debt, loan, and treaty obligations undertaken by Russia before 1917.

Nowhere are the limitations of a purely sociological approach more obvious than in the author's discussion of the Genoa conference of April 1922. Focusing on "the symbolic capital of dress," Kocho-Williams makes Genoa out to be a coming-out party for Soviet diplomats eager to prove they could "move in diplomatic circles," thus finally sidelining the "Council of Ambassadors" (pp. 82–89). Actually, the Bolsheviks' goal at Genoa was to negotiate debt writeoffs and secure new loans, because they had exhausted Russia's gold reserves in February. So unimportant were the "bourgeois" niceties of diplomacy to them that they skipped town to sign a deal with fellow pariah Germany at Rapallo (while reportedly wearing pajamas, incidentally). Only someone obsessed with "symbolic capital" and utterly ignorant of geopolitics could dismiss Rapallo as "innocuous" and "of little significance as an alliance" (pp. 84–85).

There is surely something to be said for a sociological approach to diplomatic history. Alas, this book does not say it very well.

SEAN McMEEKIN
Koç University,
Istanbul

HUGH D. HUDSON, JR. *Peasants, Political Police, and the Early Soviet State: Surveillance and Accommodation under the New Economic Policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xiii, 177. \$80.00.

Even after the end of the Russian Civil War, the Bolsheviks could not claim outright victory in the countryside. The introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921 gave concessions to the rural market and was meant in part to win the support of a still suspicious peasantry. In this short and tightly focused volume Hugh D. Hudson, Jr. examines how the Soviet political police—first the Cheka and then the State Political Directorate (OGPU)—reported on and understood the peasantry during NEP.

Hudson argues that the political police in the early years of NEP described the peasantry sympathetically in their reports (*svodki*) to party leaders, portraying them as rational actors with justifiable grievances. The reports drive home just how disgruntled peasants were over an array of issues—high taxes, material shortages, official corruption, perceived inequalities with the urban proletariat—and how fearful they were of another war. Hudson argues that the police reports posited that peasant support could be won through the amelioration of these hardships.

This cooperative position lasted a mere four years. Even as the state carried out a series of policies called

"Face to the Village" in 1924 to build popular support for the regime, political police moved away from justifying peasant economic grievances and toward blaming peasant kulaks for the countryside's problems. Peasants did not act as the political police had hoped when they hoarded grain in the 1924 scissors crisis and again during the 1927 war scare, or when they failed to elect politically reliable poor peasants to rural soviets. Political police reports blamed the kulaks, and this shift justified the brutal collectivization of agriculture. In this way, police reports were an extension of the Soviet leadership's divisions over whether or not to continue NEP.

Why did a peaceful alternative fail in the Soviet countryside? In the book's conclusion Hudson argues that the state and the peasantry had inherently different worldviews. Soviet officials, like tsarist officials before them, tried to impose a foreign system of modern rule that would make the peasants into modern subjects. The peasantry, in Hudson's view, wanted to be left alone. State attempts to transform the peasantry were therefore bound to lead to violent tragedy. This is a thought-provoking interpretation, but the overarching portrait of a homogenous and traditional peasant worldview has been questioned recently by several scholars working in local Russian archives such as Jane Burbank, Corinne Gaudin, and Sarah Badcock. They have noted that war and revolution as well as the modernizing state and economy pushed villagers to engage the outside world and see themselves as part of a larger community.

This study is based on a broad collection of published OGPU documents. While rich, these published sources tell only part of the story, both of the OGPU and of village life. Hudson's argument would have been strengthened by archival documents that could tell the reader of the inner workings of the local political police, including who exactly was issuing the reports. Likewise the political police was just one link between peasants and the state in the 1920s. Information about other official organs, including local governments, courts, youth organizations (such as the Komsomol), and party cells, would further complicate the picture of a dynamic peasant-state relationship.

This important volume illuminates how the political police described peasant grievances in the 1920s and how a change in central political attitudes shaped these descriptions. Hudson's close reading of reports shows that the Soviet state relied on mass surveillance of its population to better understand and control them. Readers who want a broad picture of a changing peasant-state relationship on the eve of collectivization would be best served by James Heinzen's *Inventing a Soviet Countryside: State Power and the Transformation of Rural Russia, 1917–1929* (2004) or Tracy McDonald's *Face to the Village: The Riazan Countryside under Soviet Rule, 1921–1930* (2011). Taken together these works show a Soviet state that tried a multifaceted approach

to transform the peasantry into its own idealized model, an approach that had varied success in the 1920s.

AARON B. RETISH
Wayne State University

NIKOLAI KREMENTSOV. *A Martian Stranded on Earth: Alexander Bogdanov, Blood Transfusions, and Proletarian Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 175. \$35.00.

In a wonderful example of a curious mind following seemingly unrelated strands of evidence about blood, Nikolai Krementsov has written a fascinating tale of the eventful life, utopian hopes, and bizarre death of Alexander Bogdanov, a political rival to V. I. Lenin and "a revolutionary dreamer, an SF writer, and a visionary biologist" (p. 113). As fascinating as Bogdanov's life are the windows it provides into the practices and politics of medicine and science in Soviet Russia.

Bogdanov became interested in blood exchange—physically exchanging blood between an old and young couple of the same sex—to rejuvenate the older person and infuse the younger with the immunities acquired by the older person. Exchanging blood reflected Bogdanov's belief in social and biological balancing as well as a larger societal interest in rejuvenation. In 1924, Bogdanov exchanged some of his blood with a younger volunteer and reported sharply improved health. He believed in leading from the front, an inspirational attitude that led to his death a few years later. He also wrote science fiction novels that reflected his efforts to create a proletarian science for a socialist society, most notably *Red Star*, first published in 1908 and reprinted numerous times after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Bogdanov's approach to science differed from mainstream science significantly in practice and publication. He viewed himself as a practitioner and propagandist for a universal, easily understood, and hands-on proletarian science accessible to all versus specialized bourgeoisie science. His self-experimentation might have been heroic, but the lack of animal testing, control groups, and publications in medical or scientific journals clearly set him and his group apart from conventional scientists and medical researchers. And there were Soviet blood researchers. Inspired by Western work in blood transfusion to develop their own procedures and concepts during the early 1920s, a community of researchers had emerged, especially in Leningrad. But the 1926 establishment of the Institute of Blood Transfusion in Moscow with Bogdanov as its head stood well outside that community.

The creation of the institute represented not a triumph for medical research but an example of how key demonstrations in a receptive environment can generate significant benefits. A crisis of "revolutionary exhaustion and attrition" (p. 61) among high-level Bolsheviks had increased the party's interest in the health of its leaders. In 1925, Bogdanov infused prominent Bolshevik Leonid Krasin with new blood, apparently re-

juvenating him. This attracted the attention of Joseph Stalin and other leaders and resulted in the new institute, approved over the objection of the Scientific Medical Council of the People's Commissariat of Health, which housed it. It would not be the last time political leaders overruled scientific leaders.

In March 1928, a blood exchange with a young student who had inactive tuberculosis killed Bogdanov. Dying like a true proletarian scientist, felled by the fallacy of his belief, Bogdanov received a hero's burial. When he died, so did his research agenda and vision of physiological collectivism, which was based on the socialist organization of humanity and extending the human life span. The institute began shifting to the more practical promotion and diffusion of ordinary blood transfusion and became active in trying to create a system of blood transfusion centers. Not until the Red Army added its support in the early 1930s, however, did the resources and support appear for blood transfusion to become a normal and accessible medical procedure. By that time, Bogdanov and his ideas about science and blood exchanges were long buried.

JONATHAN COOPERSMITH
Texas A&M University

DAVID BRANDENBERGER. *Propaganda State in Crisis: Soviet Ideology, Indoctrination, and Terror under Stalin, 1927–1941*. (Yale-Hoover Series on Stalin, Stalinism, and the Cold War.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 357. \$55.00.

Historians of the Soviet Union have been moving toward a synthesis that overcomes the field's previous bifurcation between interpretations that emphasized totalitarian politics and institutions and those that explored the socialist experiment from below. Arguing for a renewed focus on ideology and drawing deftly from an impressive array of sources, David Brandenberger has produced an excellent book that furthers this scholarly trend by examining a critical nexus between the state and population—the regime's attempts to mobilize and build consensus through propaganda and indoctrination. He questions the image of the USSR as an effective propaganda state and suggests that historical contingencies led to an emphasis on Russocentric themes, patriotism, and the personality cult of Josef Stalin at the expense of revolutionary values.

The book focuses on propaganda, education, and mass culture as tools of indoctrination, primarily during the 1930s. Brandenberger is particularly interested in the "ideological establishment" (p. 7) and its attempts to find a usable past with which to mobilize popular support for the regime. Working chronologically within an expertly crafted narrative, he outlines the struggle to construct an official history of the Bolshevik Party, arguing that the final products of these efforts were often too complex, theoretical, and impersonal. The failure to produce an engaging history populated by recognizable heroes and villains hindered the party's educational programs among rank-and-file members, who

continued to express attitudes and understandings at odds with the official line.

Brandenberger tells a story of missed opportunities and failures. By the early 1930s writers, cinematographers, and artists outside the ideological establishment pioneered the construction of a "Soviet Olympus" (p. 56) that contained accessible heroes who embodied certain values (production, patriotism, etc.) and served as role models for the general population. These included the rescuers of the Arctic research vessel *Cheliuskin* in 1934 and characters enshrined in movies celebrating the defense of the revolution. Brandenberger cites ticket sales, diaries, memoirs, and postwar émigré interviews to argue that the average citizen responded positively to such heroic tales. However, party historians and ideologists failed to grasp the potential of these templates for fostering Soviet popular identity.

The internal dynamics that shaped Soviet propaganda during the 1930s are revealed with great clarity. The book describes the incessant squabbling among party historians, who jostled for influence as they attempted to decipher the opaque rules set down by the leadership and gain Joseph Stalin's approval. Indeed, Brandenberger reveals and characterizes the deep engagement of Stalin and his entourage with propaganda and indoctrination. Alarmed by reports about the sorry state of political education and distrustful of historians, Stalin frequently intervened in both general programs and particular projects, including the infamous *Short Course* that dominated Soviet propaganda after its publication in 1938. Stalin here comes off as an inconsistent leader, governing in an ad hoc manner, sending mixed messages, and generally frustrating the efforts of party ideologists.

Stalin's greatest blow to the propaganda state was the Great Terror. His destruction of the political and military leadership undermined a mobilizational campaign that was just starting to take root by 1935–1936. Given the emphasis on personalities in Soviet propaganda, the overnight transformation of heroes into villains produced ideological paralysis and confusion. New projects foundered, and valuable indoctrination materials were removed from circulation as fearful officials destroyed or removed items that could reference disgraced persons. As Brandenberger demonstrates, the purges depopulated the Soviet Olympus, eventually leading to a party canon filled with "stultifying theory, cultish hagiography, and dogmatic catechism" (p. 215), not to mention heroes lacking "spontaneity, subjectivity, and spark" (p. 238).

Brandenberger's argument relies on forays into the thorny question of popular reception and identity. These allow him to suggest both the mobilizational potential of Soviet mass culture and the destructive effects of the purges, with the latter fostering a formulaic brand of propaganda that bred cynicism and promoted a superficial "hurrah patriotism" (p. 239). Brandenberger is circumspect about his claims and careful with his sources, although some readers may challenge the representativeness of the materials used to explore

identity. Soviet secret police reports, for example, tended to highlight the exceptional and reveal the way that the regime viewed popular attitudes rather than the attitudes themselves. In fact, the book implies that amid a sense of crisis the leadership retained its faith in the ability to transform people, a point at odds with some of the recent historiography.

This challenging book complicates our picture of the Soviet regime's cultural shifts in the late 1930s and raises questions about the mobilizational powers of the propaganda state. It also represents an important contribution to the broader literature on mass politics and should inspire further research into the modes of integration in Soviet society and other modern states. Brandenberger has produced a study of the individuals, institutions, and products of the Soviet propaganda state that is exceptional in its detail, analysis, and exposition.

KENNETH M. PINNOW
Allegheny College

HIROAKI KUROMIYA. *Conscience on Trial: The Fate of Fourteen Pacifists in Stalin's Ukraine, 1952–1953*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2012. Pp. x, 212. \$60.00.

In November 1952, just months before Joseph Stalin's death in March 1953, police in Ukraine arrested a group of fourteen followers of a Reformed Seventh-Day Adventist sect who were living in the small town of Bila Tserkva outside of Kiev. Hiroaki Kuromiya writes that "the Adventists were not famous people, in fact, to a man (or woman) they were poor, barely literate, and living on the margin of Soviet society without steady jobs and with few personal possessions" (p. 3). But their abject standard of living belied a quiet determination to carve out an independent, spiritual space for themselves separate from the regime's policies of militant atheism.

On paper, the Kremlin recognized an official Adventist Church, whose followers, in turn, deferred to the overriding authority of the state. Meeting in 1924, the Fifth All-Union Congress of Seventh-Day Adventists voted to permit Adventists to bear arms and to serve the state "according to the rules established for all citizens." Four years later, the next Congress voted to require the Adventists to bear arms. It also warned that "anyone who teaches otherwise and incites others to avoid state duties will be regarded by the congress as a false teacher . . . breaking the unity of God's Church and placing himself outside the Seventh-Day Adventist organization" (pp. 47–48).

For the regime and these Adventists, two questions continually arose: whether fundamentalist Christians would be willing to bear arms in defense of the country, and whether they would be willing to work on Saturdays in a society that mandated a six-day work week. The official Adventist church submitted to the state's authority; the Reformed Adventists would not compromise, refusing to serve in the military, to work in an

arms factory, or to work on Saturdays. As conscientious objectors, they faced continuous surveillance and persecution.

Kuromiya has uncovered a nearly full set of police and court documents relating to this case. Based on a close and well-informed reading of the material, he provides a stark account of Stalinist justice, a thorough look at how doggedly the interrogators worked to ferret out the activities of these "dangerous subversives" whose crimes consisted of nothing more than holding prayer services in a private home, possessing books about religion, and avoiding military service and work on Saturdays. Such "silent nonconformity" was more than enough to provoke the regime's intrusive investigation (p. 8).

To prosecute them under the law, the police had to show that they "advocated disobedience" and attempted to proselytize others (p. 84). The defendants made no secret of their beliefs. Some were more defiant than others. One, a man named Vasilii Belokon', refused to cooperate at all, an unusual occurrence given what we know about the "brutal practice of Soviet justice" (p. 130). All the others pleaded guilty and readily owned up to their religious beliefs. But the police needed more in order to indict them for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (p. 136).

Based on an examination of the interrogations and the trial record, Kuromiya presents a convincing case that the police manipulated testimonies and evidence and relied on provocateurs and police informers. The defendant Gavriil Belik, for example, had once served in the military but his military service card was seized and never presented in court. Belik's repeated refusals to "render any military service . . . proved to have been police fabrications" (p. 96). Under pressure, family members incriminated defendants. Reading this account, a familiar pattern emerges "of either outright confessions of guilt or denials followed by rote confessions" (p. 106). Kuromiya contends that the coherence of the prosecution's argument was "the result of an elaborate orchestration of events by the police" (p. 107). At the outset of the two-day secret trial, all the defendants, except for Belokon', who continued to refuse to speak, surprised the court by pleading not guilty on the basis of their religious convictions. All of the defendants were convicted and faced a range of shockingly severe sentences: either twenty-five or ten years of confinement in a labor colony to be followed in each instance by an additional five years of deprivation of civil rights.

The only redeeming element of the story, aside from the stubborn dignity of the defendants, was their eventual exoneration. Kuromiya follows the document trail into the post-Stalin period when the defendants' appeals were finally heard by a sympathetic group of judges in Moscow. After many years of further review, they were all exonerated, one of the untold number of

unjust convictions that more honest judges in a more honest time succeeded in overturning.

JOSHUA RUBENSTEIN

Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University history faculty are selected by members of the Board of Editors.]

JAN PLAMPER. *The Stalin Cult: A Study in the Alchemy of Power*. (The Yale-Hoover Series on Stalin, Stalinism, and the Cold War.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. Pp. xx, 310. \$45.00.

Jan Plamper's book is likely to become the standard work on the Stalin cult. Based on broad and impressive research in archives, the press, film, and painting, it is a masterful analysis of the production of a modern political personality cult. For Plamper, such modern political cults are distinguished from their royal historical ancestors by four factors. They were the products of mass politics, used mass media, existed only in closed societies, and were products of a secular age.

This book will stimulate a discussion about modernity in general. Some might argue that Plamper's definition of a modern personality cult is a bit tautological. Mass politics, mass media, secularism, and closed societies were features of the modern age in general, so cults of that era are by definition "modern" simply because that is where we find them. Scholars might thus raise a form versus content question and wonder whether these were just modern tools to promulgate a more ancient and sacred content.

Like other outstanding scholarly works from the modernity school, Plamper's book is about how a modern elite scientifically counted, studied, and sought to mold a population from above. In fairness, Plamper does not claim to provide a complete analysis of all elements of the cult, and he clearly chose to focus on the instrumental creation at the top. Still, deeper study of Russian culture from "below" might reveal why an outlandish transcendental cult could find such fertile soil in Russia and not elsewhere. Is it possible that the Stalin cult grew not only as the result of modern tooling at the top, but also from centuries of Russian understandings of politics that had always been personal and sacred? After all, as Plamper points out, the "Bolsheviks unwittingly slipped into a century-old tradition" that replicated reciprocal relationships between tsar and people (p. 20). He also notes that "throughout its history, the Russian state was usually centered on a single person." (p. 89). Daniel Field and others have shown that Russian peasants had a personal, sacred conception of leadership long before mass politics or mass media. A look back at ancient Russian culture and the religious soil that helped create the cult might shed more light on the Bolsheviks' "unwitting" work.

One important issue about the cult was Joseph Stalin's personal relation to it; Plamper argues that Stalin "masterminded his own cult" (p. 223). Yet Stalin's relation to the cult was complicated, as Sarah Davies, Da-

vid Brandenberger, and others have argued. At the least, he tolerated it, telling Lion Feuchtwanger that it was a "foolish" thing that gave workers and peasants a unifying force. Certainly he vetted any proposed publication that mentioned him, and more than once he edited texts to inflate his historical role. But he also often responded negatively, writing "vulgar rubbish," or "nonsense," or "burn this book" when he found references to him excessive. For Plamper, this modesty was actually a form of immodesty meant to portray himself as above flattery. Yet his often angry interjections against the flattery were directed at a small circle of officials. The public never learned of this supposed immodesty. When a journalist sent Stalin a summary of his interview with the dictator's mother, Stalin scrawled across the top, "I won't get involved. Neither confirm nor deny. Not my business." This was something less than direct supervision.

Plamper takes the view that Stalin tightly controlled his archive, and quotes Oleg V. Khlevniuk's view that Stalin carefully assembled his archive to make himself look good. This may seem strange to those who have paged through the files. He scrawled "for the archive" on a vast number of documents that reflected badly on him, including his wrongheaded opinion of Adolf Hitler, his dogged defense of Ukrainian "little person" Nikolaenko, who turned out to be deranged, and his firm but idiotic opinion that veterinarians were engaged in a national conspiracy to poison livestock (which Khrushchev tells us Stalin really believed). We also know that the "Stalin archive" available to scholars was assembled not by Stalin but by successive teams of archivists whose choice of documents was based on the prevailing view of Stalin at the time they did their work, as is clear from the fond introductions they wrote. Many documents related to Stalin remain secret, so any judgment on Stalin's archival selection is premature.

The newspaper *Pravda* was the major force that publicized required beliefs and launched the cult. Plamper believes that Stalin tightly controlled the paper (pp. 30–33). Yet more than once Stalin was angered by what he read there, and not only about minor matters. He found *Pravda*'s coverage of such an important event as the 1936 Moscow show trial, meant to be an important international morality play, to be totally unacceptable: "Pravda failed with its articles about the trial." His control was episodic.

Plamper provides a masterful description of artists' dilemmas about the aesthetic of portraying the leader. He analyzes how photographs, paintings, and films about Stalin were framed, the meanings of his posture and gaze, and changes in depictions of the leader over time. This analysis is accompanied by photographs, many of them in color. It turns out that pictures of Stalin with V. I. Lenin featured Lenin on the left and Stalin on the right, suggesting linearity and succession. Sometimes the analysis goes a bit far, as when Plamper argues that the left side of an image connotes femininity and the right masculinity. Following this, Stalin's "male-

coded" composure is contrasted with Hitler's "female-coded" hysteria.

Plamper's book invites reflection on some of the main issues of Soviet history. This prodigiously researched book thoughtfully engages big problems, which is what an important book is supposed to do.

J. ARCH GETTY
University of California,
Los Angeles

NANCI ADLER. *Keeping Faith with the Party: Communist Believers Return from the Gulag*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2012. Pp. xvii, 237. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.00, e-book \$22.00.

Nanci Adler's previous monograph, *The Gulag Survivor: Beyond the Soviet System* (2002), surveyed the experiences of returnees from Stalinist prison camps after the dictator's death. Focusing on victims of political terror, she argued that most experienced a marginal and stigmatized existence in which the struggle for housing, work, and social recognition broadly construed meant that post-camp life was still one of suffering and hardship. Her new study continues this examination of Gulag returnees but now focuses on communists who, even after long periods in prison, retained their belief in socialism. A handful returned to positions of responsibility within the party, notably during the period of de-Stalinization.

This book is based on a variety of narrative sources, including oral history interviews and memoirs, published and unpublished, which provide a rich seam of personal recollection. In the course of the book, the reader meets survivors ready to articulate their own versions of Soviet history: some believed the violence of the Stalin era was a "historical necessity"; others held that Joseph Stalin had diverted the party from its revolutionary course, a position largely consistent with the line Nikita Khrushchev adopted in 1956 and 1961; a few believed that the party had gone wrong as early as V. I. Lenin. Adler also introduces us to returnees who later joined the dissident movement because of what they perceived as the party's failure to return to "Leninist norms" after Stalin's death.

The fundamental question at the heart of Adler's book is how was it possible for those who had suffered arrest, torture, and up to two decades of gruelling labor in Stalin's prison camps to continue believing? Her answer is that there might be multiple factors, but her work prioritizes two approaches. First, Adler follows a long-established tradition holding that communism acted as a substitute for religion. She suggests that communists could live with the fact that the "reality" of life in the Soviet Union did not provide evidence of socialism's success or failure, because religions celebrate the primacy of faith over empirical proof. In addition, the "religion" of communism provided a community, an anchor for those who had lost family. Second, Adler adopts an interdisciplinary approach, borrowing from cognitive psychology in particular to explore why con-

tinued faith in the party was beneficial for some Gulag survivors. She suggests that the dissonance between the rhetoric and reality of Soviet life, potentially excruciating for victims of the Great Terror, was best managed, from a psychological viewpoint, by conforming not only in external behavior but also internally: assimilation rather than accommodation (p. 51). Her argument is summed up toward the end of the book when she discusses the children of victims and their need for "safety, community and meaning": "In the absence of a protective family and an institutionalized religion, the Communist Party was often the only organization that could provide for these needs" (p. 163). For Adler, continuing to believe in the party after all its crimes was primarily a device that people adopted unconsciously to preserve their sanity.

This approach is innovative and thought-provoking, but it rests on certain assumptions that not all readers will share. While it may seem counterintuitive that people should continue to support a political system that had harmed them so deeply, one might ask whether the survivors' own explanations are not plausible. Do victims of injustice necessarily have to question the fundamental values on which their country's political system is built? And in speaking of a Stockholm syndrome, do we risk medicalizing what was essentially a coherent political position, albeit one that is surprising for the liberal scholar?

It will be interesting to see how the protagonists in Adler's account will respond. In a candid and reflective introduction, Adler discusses the reactions of one of her interviewees to her earlier work. Zoria Serebriakova, the daughter of Old Bolsheviks and herself a terror victim, acknowledged that many returnees were bitter toward the party, but she viewed this as terrible ingratitude, particularly toward Khrushchev. For her, Stalinism was a terrible digression from the path that the revolution had promised. She still considered socialism a worthwhile goal, and she thought that Adler's first book had failed to recognize her position. Adler writes that she came to realize that Serebriakova's "justification for adherence to Communism was as self-evident to her as the justification for individual freedoms was self-evident to me" (p. xii). Yet there is still a tendency in the book to suggest the unnaturalness of Serebriakova's position, or perhaps of any lasting belief in communism.

Adler is surely right to suggest that some returnees, even as they proclaimed their continued loyalty to the party, suppressed doubts, niggles, questions. There is, however, a danger in assuming this was necessarily, and inevitably, the case for everyone.

MIRIAM DOBSON
University of Sheffield

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

NANCY KHALEK. *Damascus after the Muslim Conquest: Text and Image in Early Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 204. \$74.00.

This book is an important addition to growing literature dealing with early Muslim Syria and the Umayyad dynasty (660–750), which ruled the Muslim empire from Damascus. Early Islamic Damascus, in the words of Nancy Khalek, “was a viscerally Christian place” (p. 3). Taking a broader view, she points out that “[t]he early Muslim community, always a minority in early medieval Syria, developed its initial imperial identity in a Byzantine milieu” (p. 5). Khalek’s argument and discussion is marked by a close scrutiny of Arabic texts, some well-known and some less known.

The first of the lesser known texts is *Kitāb Akhbār wa-Hikāyāt* by Muḥammad ibn al-Fayḍ al-Ghassānī. The author belonged to the Arab Christian tribe of Banū Ghassān, which lived in Byzantine Syria. Khalek notes that after conversion to Islam, members of the tribe and Ghassānid scholars played an important role in the development of early Islamic society in Syria (pp. 45–52). According to Khalek, *Kitāb Akhbār wa-Hikāyāt*, a text dedicated to the religious merits of Damascus is a valuable source for understanding the politics of early Muslim Syria and the evolution of Arab-Muslim historiography during the first two centuries of Islam.

The second text, *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā*, by the caḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Khawḷānī, enumerates the merits of towns and regions. Khalek argues for the imprint of the Syrian text in shaping the Islamic concept of piety. The text shows that companions of the Prophet, their family members, and renowned holy men (mystics and ascetics) were buried in monumental tombs, “which served as pilgrimage sites and points of efficacious supplication on the part of the weary, the barren, and the beleaguered” (p.155).

Ta’rīkh Dārayyā is classified by Khalek as belonging to the *faḍā’il* genre, texts that enumerate the merits of towns and regions. The most famous texts of this type are those devoted to Jerusalem (*faḍā’il al-Quds*), Syria (*faḍā’il al-Shām*), and Egypt (*faḍā’il Miṣr*). In a broader sense, *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* illustrates the imprint of late antiquity Syria on the Islamic concept of piety.

In contrast to these two texts, *The History of Damascus* (*Ta’rīkh Dimashq*) by Ibn ‘Asākir (1105–1176) is a well-known text. Ibn ‘Asākir’s book is in fact a biographical dictionary of people connected with the history of the town and also includes a topographical-historical description of Damascus. Khalek makes a massive and diversified use of the text, and especially valuable is her reconstruction of Damascus topography and urban history. She points out that “[t]he overall plan and dimensions of medieval Damascus were remarkably stable throughout the Middle Ages” (p. 88). She argues that a process of urban change had already begun before the Arab-Muslim conquest and was accelerated in its wake. The Cathedral of John the Baptist had been converted into the Great Mosque by the caliph al-Walīd (705–715), but the relics of John were reinterred in the mosque. By doing so, al-Walīd “acknowledged that veneration of the Baptist was an important part of the sacred landscape of Byzantine

Damascus, while asserting both political and religious authority over the landscape” (p. 93).

The book’s discussion of the urban transformation of Damascus demonstrates the cultural ambiguity of the Umayyad period, the slow formation of Muslim identity, which also involved overt borrowings of Byzantine administrative and fiscal institutions and subtler incorporation of Byzantine cult practices (p. 176). In a broader context, this book offers many insights on continuity and transformation from late antiquity to early Islam.

YAACOV LEV
Bar-Ilan University

URIEL I. SIMONSOHN. *A Common Justice: The Legal Allegiances of Christians and Jews under Early Islam*. (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 306. \$79.95.

Between the seventh and eleventh centuries, Jewish and Christian elites frequently fretted about the administration of justice by Muslims. At times, they worried about the challenge that extraconfessional appeals presented to their own legal authority, religious status, and social power. Yet their responses to this problem differed considerably as they addressed diverse circumstances. In some cases, as Uriel I. Simonsohn shows, Jewish sages found it advantageous or at least permissible for their congregants to approach Muslim authorities, because they possessed more effective mechanisms for executing and enforcing the law. Thus, for example, Rav Palṭoi Gaon (d. 858), the rector at a famous Jewish academy, Pumbedita, permitted a Jewish plaintiff to pursue a legal remedy in a Muslim court when a Jewish defendant had failed to heed a Jewish court’s summons. In other cases, however, non-Muslim judicial authorities resented cross-religious overtures; they vehemently opposed co-religionists who made a mockery of their judgments by appealing to Muslim judges for redress. West Syrian bishops reacted sharply against Christians who pleaded with “worldly rulers” to overturn their ban from the church; a synod convened in 817 even threatened to extend the scope of excommunication by punishing transgressors with total social rejection.

Simonsohn analyzes the intriguing problem of non-Muslims resorting to Muslim judges. His main argument is that, both before and after the emergence of an Islamic legal order, Jews and Christians sought arbitration from diverse authorities. As members of religious communities that enjoyed only partial legal autonomy, they freely approached extraconfessional courts of law. They ventured forth, across a fluid social frontier rather than an impermeable religious border, whenever they expected a judge from another religion to resolve a legal issue to their personal advantage. Seeking greater judicial power as well as communal autonomy, confessional elites made various efforts to stanch the flow of cases to external institutions.

Simonsohn's argument is inextricably linked to his view of human agency. He conceives of Jews and Christians in late antiquity and the early Islamic period as remarkably free individuals whose choice to visit one or another court of law—in a society where “legal pluralism” supposedly reigned—depended on their own “immediate needs” (p. 198). Simonsohn refers to various authorities, ranging from state-appointed judges to extrajudicial arbitrators, as forming a “judicial bazaar.”

This commercial metaphor underestimates the structural constraints that individuals faced when they sought external legal solutions against the advice of their own religious leaders. The evidence that Simonsohn advances does not entirely support the view that Jews and Christians readily crossed, like consumers in the marketplace, to the legal stalls of Muslims. It rather shows that some crossings happened frequently and with ease, while others presented serious risks and took place under extreme duress. There is, for example, no comparison between a Jew approaching a Muslim court to ratify a deed of sale and a Christian appealing to the caliph to resolve a dispute about the Eucharist. Whereas Geonic authorities deemed the first action perfectly acceptable, the patriarchs of Antioch considered the second action anathema. Advised by Christian and Jewish elites, laypersons understood that their community might well reject them if they petitioned for a divorce before a Muslim court, but that it would be fine for them to file a lawsuit for an unpaid debt at the same court. If this was a judicial bazaar, then it is important to recognize that Jews and Christians were not able to shop freely and openly for all legal services.

Although Simonsohn adduced multiple sources in a variety of Semitic languages, demonstrating an impressive linguistic range, he did not systematically research the relevant Muslim sources. But Muslim jurists reflected on the applicability of Islamic law to Jews or Christians. Analyzing their perspective is critical if we want to understand why Muslim courts agreed to hear or resolved to dismiss cases that did not directly involve Muslims. Jurists debated, among other things, the universality of Islamic law, with some arguing against the proposition. Abu Ḥanifa (d. 767), to give a striking example, considered it unjustifiable for a Muslim judge to marry non-Muslim subjects according to the Shariʿa. Jewish and Christian subjects had the right, if not the obligation, to follow their own laws of marriage and divorce. There was no reason, from his perspective, to execute a common justice.

What is most appealing about Simonsohn's history is that he reads geonic and ecclesiastical attempts to enforce communal autonomy against the grain. He challenges effectively an earlier generation's nationalistic exaggerations about the power and independence of “minority” (or rather, in the centuries when non-Muslims formed the majority, “subaltern”) religious institutions. In doing so, he echoes Marina Rustow's *Heresy and the Politics of Community: The Jews of the Fatimid Caliphate* (2008). To emphasize continuity in the social history of Jews and Christians before and after the rise

of Islam, Simonsohn convincingly relates geonic responsa and synodical acts from the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid periods to pre-Islamic legal discussions. By this broad, comparative framework, he makes an outstanding contribution to the history of law and society. His book, alongside David M. Freidenreich's *Foreigners and Their Food: Constructing Otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Law* (2011), makes an exciting intervention in an increasingly robust historiography devoted to the crossing of racial, sexual, and religious boundaries.

LEOR HALEVI

Vanderbilt University

TIJANA KRSTIĆ. *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 264. \$60.00.

Despite being one of the longest-lived Muslim-ruled states in world history, studies of Islam within the context of the Ottoman Empire are underrepresented in the scholarly literature, and tend to restrict their attention to a limited range of topics. Tijana Krstić's remarkable book is therefore a welcome addition. Krstić takes on the ambitious task of tracking the phenomenon of conversion to Islam in various regions of the Ottoman Empire from its formative period through the end of the seventeenth century. That being said, it should be noted that the study focuses most closely on regions of the Ottoman Empire where non-Muslims were demographically significant, encompassing Ottoman-ruled southeastern Europe and western Asia Minor rather than the empire as a whole (p. 6). However, since the Ottoman Empire was to a great extent established and developed by converts to Islam via the emergence of the janissary corps, that attention is hardly misplaced.

What makes Krstić's study all the more engaging is the provocative challenge it issues to our historiographical understanding of the Ottoman Empire. Following the work of Talal Asad, she wisely refuses the schematic models of religious understanding that are dependent on such terms as orthodoxy, heterodoxy, and folk religion in favor of viewing it as a constantly evolving process of debate among multiple groups and viewpoints in Ottoman society (p. 19). The book thus sidesteps the various nationalist traps that have historically presented conversion to Islam as a form of oppression, or perfidy, or as marginal to a Turkish Ottoman project.

Krstić's introduction is followed by six chapters, organized roughly in chronological order, that examine how conversion evolved between the fourteenth and eighteenth century. The first two chapters demonstrate the fluid nature of religious life and confessional boundaries during the early Ottoman centuries. This took place in an environment where Muslims were much more steeped in the teachings of Islamic mysticism (Sufism), or informed by religious texts having both oral and written components and aimed at winning over the allegiance of unlettered frontiersmen (*gazis*). The recruitment of non-Muslim youths for training in

the janissary corps further established contexts for conversion, but also engendered tensions between this growing leadership cadre and more established Muslim groups within Ottoman state and society.

The middle chapters of Krstić's study follow Cornell Fleischer in positing the rise of universalist monarchies across Europe and the Middle East. She argues for the importance of converts as actors who moved between the rival religious traditions of empires and carved out a more universalist space that could allow for the ultimate victory of one empire over another. Despite the ultimate failure of these universalist aspirations, there was a corresponding rise in the number of what Krstić calls "self-narratives of conversion to Islam," many of which were tinged with millenarian prophecy. Here, various former Christians or Jews produced works aimed at not only an imperial but also an international audience, judging from the widespread appearance of these works in libraries across Europe (pp. 119–120).

The process of conversion to Islam in Ottoman dominions reached its height in the seventeenth century before dwindling in later eras. The final chapters of the work highlight the interesting conjunctions between a little-used group of Orthodox Christian sources called neomartyrologies and Ottoman court records. In so doing, Krstić highlights a number of themes that illustrate the complexity of Ottoman religious communities and their confessional boundaries. Perhaps Krstić's most interesting find is that the neomartyrologies, despite their formulaic and ideological aspects, actually found corroboration in some of the Ottoman court records and official documents. Ultimately, Krstić argues that the sources sent a mixed message. On the one hand, these stories of conversion and martyrdom occurred precisely because there were close relationships between Christians and Muslims. This is underscored by the fact that people of both faiths appear in the sources as part of single, extended family units, or are found working together in various professions. On the other hand, this reality raised difficult questions about religious issues among Ottoman subjects, such as the rights of women and children to choose their religious orientation if a spouse or parent passed away. The very proximity of religious communities led to tensions that caused both communities to harden their confessional boundaries and to police them more firmly. Ironically, for Muslims this sometimes came at the expense of proper adherence to Qur'anic sanctions against compulsion in religion.

The book's concluding chapter is modest. Krstić claims that she has only scratched the surface and that many gaps in the literature still remain to be filled. Nevertheless, this book raises valuable and important questions about the role of syncretism and tolerance in Ottoman (and indeed, other) religious experiences. Krstić demonstrates that anti-syncretic and intolerant behaviors were a part of Ottoman narratives, and were often bound up with syncretic situations (pp. 16–18). Furthermore, Krstić rightly interrogates and rejects contemporary perspectives on Ottoman Islamic culture, which of-

ten posit Ottomans as heterodox Muslims who embraced deficient forms of Islam. Finally, and perhaps most important, Krstić's conclusions will force historians to question whether the history of the Ottoman Empire should, or even can be, decoupled from that of the West.

One might quibble with Krstić's assessment of the field, as studies of Ottoman Sufism have made striking advances in the past ten years that are not reflected here. The discussion of Ottoman puritanical movements like the Kadızadelis should make reference to Katip Çelebi's extensive descriptions in *The Balance of Truth* (easily accessible via Geoffrey Lewis's 1957 translation) and Semiramis Çavuşoğlu's pioneering dissertation (1990) on the subject. But this book is too important a contribution to dwell on its tangential shortcomings. I hope that not only scholars of the Islamic world but also Europeanists and historians of religion will seriously engage with the ideas and issues raised here.

JOHN J. CURRY
University of Nevada,
Las Vegas

BAKİ TEZCAN. *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 284. \$95.00.

Not so long ago, historians viewed the Ottoman Empire in terms of an illustrious "classical" period followed by a tarnished "post-classical" period. The former began with Mehmed the Conqueror (d. 1481), and reached its apogee during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566). The empire consisted of a centralized patrimonial regime that provided security for, and extracted taxes from, a population of merchants, manufacturers, and peasants, of mixed ethnicities and religions. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a period of decline ensued as internal conflicts and institutional breakdowns led to military defeats and territorial losses. Eventually, the post-classical empire came to an end as Sultan Mahmud II (d. 1839) initiated reforms under the pressure, if not the tutelage, of Western powers.

Baki Tezcan draws on the innovative research of the last two decades and on his own impressive knowledge of primary sources to devise a far more interesting optic. Focusing on six years (1617–1622) of crises, he examines the details of unprecedented successions and depositions that contravened absolutist traditions. A radical transformation of Ottoman institutions comes into view in the course of his account. He demonstrates how the Ottoman sultan was forced to bow to newly powerful juristic and military authorities backed by popular support. As constitutionalists triumphed over absolutists, a "Second Empire" took shape, one that was politically, socially, and economically different from its predecessor.

Tezcan's rereading and analysis of a short period of

court history is driven by a larger theoretical vision that relies on two major sensibilities of the modern era. The first is quasi-Hegelian. Any kind of institutional formation, by its very success, unleashes countervailing forces of change. The earlier Ottoman Empire, a centralized, patrimonial regime that had displaced a welter of competing feudal lords, sowed the seeds of its own transformation by laying the foundations for a market economy throughout its vast domains. The second is quasi-Marxian. A monetized market economy enabled new kinds of wealth and led to the multiplication of power centers, patronage networks, and social formations. The later empire featured new elites from outside the inner imperial court who mounted challenges to sultanic authority. Officials accumulated colossal fortunes and assembled swarms of clients, not to mention private armies. Jurists challenged the autonomy of the imperial court in favor of a reading of the sacred law of Islam. In doing so, they established the legal framework for social hierarchies and formations that participated in, rather than submitted to, Ottoman rule. As this occurred, a "political nation" progressively replaced such medieval devices of sultanic absolutism as the levy of recruits among Christian boys and the military competition of royal sons for succession.

For Tezcan, the Second Empire may have featured qualities of decline, but it is better understood as a move toward the modern era in which political authority was linked with mechanisms of popular support. Revision after revision of influential viewpoints among Ottomanist historians appears in the course of this stimulating analysis. And yet, in the final pages of the book, the author seems to betray his own analytical principles. Eager to rehabilitate the Second Empire as more than a muddled sequel to a golden age, Tezcan claims that the regime achieved a new level of stability and a century of peace (in the imperial capital).

Based on the author's insights, we might well suppose that the struggles among sultans, viziers, jurists, and soldiers near the ruling center also reverberated among their provincial representatives. Given the expansion of the political nation, some provincial elements were newly able to participate in the regime, while others became subjects in a new sense, not simply of the distant sultan but also of their all too near neighbors. A struggle for power and status would have surely ensued, dividing and transforming some provincial populations. Indeed, armed conflicts, executions, expulsions, conversions, and revolts did occur in some provinces during the Second Empire, and for a far longer period than six years.

Tezcan justifiably rejects generic notions of sultanic rule, Shari'a law, and Islamic society but inappropriately boasts that his argument is free of any "cultural" explanation. On the contrary, his conclusions move the cultural question into the foreground. For example, Tezcan observes that the political nation expanded as the imperial military was increasingly populated by social actors, such as merchants, shopkeepers, and arti-

sans. However, the "civilizing" of the military, as he styles it, also implies the "militarizing" of civility.

All nations are not the same. Even if formed by similar processes, their specific histories, institutions, and cultures are different. So just what kind of Ottoman political nation was coming into being? And what would be its future, given the ethnic and religious make-up of the Ottoman Empire? One hopes that Tezcan will be addressing these complex questions in the future.

MICHAEL E. MEEKER
University of California,
San Diego

LIAT KOZMA. *Policing Egyptian Women: Sex, Law, and Medicine in Khedival Egypt*. (Gender and Globalization.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2011. Pp. xxvii, 174. \$29.95.

In the quarter century since the publication of Judith Tucker's *Women in Nineteenth Century Egypt* (1985), a mere handful of books have appeared that examine the lives of nineteenth-century Egyptian women. Liat Kozma's *Policing Egyptian Women* is a welcome and important addition to this genre and will be necessary reading for students of women and gender in Egyptian and Middle Eastern history generally. Kozma discusses the new forms of surveillance and control of women that were instituted during the pre-colonial Tanzimat era of governmental reorganization in Egypt, but not only that. She is also concerned with showing how the power of the (then-) modern state as well as individual subjectivities were constituted through the interaction of ordinary Egyptians with government officials and institutions. This interaction took place at numerous sites, including Shari'a courts, judicial councils that applied criminal and administrative law, and police stations, to name those included in Kozma's archive. The police and councils were new, part of the project of rationalizing and centralizing government institutions, while the pre-existing Shari'a courts were restructured to work in concert with them. Numerous cases demonstrate how these three institutions worked together, contrary to the old view that "modern, secular" institutions eclipsed "traditional, religious" ones during the nineteenth century.

The councils accepted circumstantial and forensic evidence, and police called on a new cadre of "doctors" or *hakimas*, trained in a school for women physicians (another reform institution), to examine women's bodies in cases of extramarital defloration, rape, and murder, or to determine a young bride's suitability for sexual intercourse. The author points out that in these and other issues such as the control of prostitution, the policing of women's behavior in public spaces, the protection of freed slave women, and the prosecution of homicide (including "honor crimes"), state institutions and officials intruded into areas previously dealt with according to custom or religious norms by families and communities. Although the purpose of this discussion is more than descriptive, there

is rich material on the lives of non-elite women, especially those on the social margins, in the many micro-historical vignettes drawn from the legal records and police files.

To the extent that the police, the *hakimas*, the courts, and the councils were effective, it was not a simple matter of the state imposing control over a resistant population, nor of the creation of Foucauldian disciplined selves. The state had coercive power, of course, but ordinary Egyptians invested the new laws, officials, and institutions with authority, participating in the constitution of their power. This point comes across clearly in the successive chapters, which examine the legal reforms, the role of forensic medicine in the investigation of cases, the treatment of freed slaves and prostitutes, and cases involving virginity, honor, and premarital defloration. State officials and institutions were also influenced by the society with which they interacted. The *hakimas* performed virginity examinations to establish the chastity of some young women, a procedure that reflected social norms and was contrary to legal and medical opinion, which held that a broken hymen was not necessarily due to sexual intercourse. Other young women known to be deflowered were presumed to have had consensual sex, reflecting prevailing notions of women's unruly sexuality; the burden of proof was on women to show they had been assaulted.

This book sets a new standard for studies of women, gender, and state formation in nineteenth-century Egypt, and its approach is certainly applicable to other periods. As someone who has researched Sharia^c court records and other legal sources from the eighteenth through the early twentieth century, I perceive the constitution of legal-administrative power at the site of the court to have been an ongoing process, which occurred even before the Tanzimat era, though state institutions loomed larger in people's lives in the nineteenth century. Pre-modern social institutions and networks interacted with political power, and were shaped by that interaction. The myth of "autonomous" pre-modern communities dies hard in Egyptian historiography. That quibble aside, Kozma makes a convincing case that in the mid-nineteenth century the khedival state took a greater role in policing women than its predecessors had.

KENNETH M. CUNO

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

DAVIDE RODOGNO. *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914; The Emergence of a European Concept and International Practice*. (Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 391. Cloth \$39.50, e-book \$39.50.

For the majority of international relations and legal scholars, the emergence of armed humanitarian intervention is one of the hallmarks of the post-Cold War international system. In the wake of concerns over the legality and legitimacy of the North Atlantic Treaty Or-

ganization's (NATO) intervention in Kosovo in 1999, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) issued its landmark report "The Responsibility to Protect," which further reinforced the notion that recent changes in the international system and the consolidation of human rights and humanitarian norms have created not just a right but a duty on the part of the international community to intervene (sometimes forcibly) to protect civilians from gross and systematic violations of humanitarian law.

In *Against Massacre*, Davide Rodogno wants to disabuse us of the notion that humanitarian intervention as we now think of it emerged only after the end of the Cold War. This richly researched study of European interventions in the Ottoman Empire between 1815 and 1914 demonstrates quite clearly that the thresholds and modalities of armed interventions during that time hew quite closely to what we have witnessed in recent decades, and that our contemporary system of legitimization through legal practices (humanitarian legal doctrine and human rights law) and institutions (Security Council authorizations of the use of force; establishment of peace-building operations) have significant genealogical roots in the nineteenth century.

Rodogno makes it patently clear that nineteenth-century Europe did not share our understanding of humanitarian law or human rights. In the first substantive chapter, Rodogno establishes the currency of humanitarianism during the period of his study—to end or prevent the repetition of "massacre, atrocity, and extermination" (rather than genocide, ethnic cleansing, or crimes against humanity). He points out that it was not until the latter third of the nineteenth century that an international legal discourse surrounding humanitarian intervention really emerged, and that those emerging doctrines were significantly informed by precedent embedded in state practice. Rodogno's work is a political history of humanitarian intervention in the nineteenth century, which he defines as "a coercive diplomatic and/or armed (re)action against massacre undertaken by a state or a group of states inside the territory of the target state"—in this case, the Ottoman Empire (p. 2). Coercive interventions were ex-post-facto events whose objective it was to protect civilian populations mistreated and unprotected by the Ottoman authorities: they were acts of "saving strangers" (p. 2).

Rodogno makes it clear that he does not intend to "set the record straight" on any particular massacre, atrocity, or extermination (as many were based on faulty information and exaggerated accounts). Instead, he focuses our attention on how these events were perceived by European (especially British and French) statesmen and publics, and how those actions fueled the European image of the Ottoman "other" as despotic, backward, barbaric, corrupt, and politically inauthentic. These images, which Rodogno explores in rich detail in chapter two, established the moral rationale for interventions in Greece (1821–1833), Lebanon and Syria (1860–1861), Crete (1866–1869, and again in

1896–1900), and Macedonia (1903–1908). Rodogno reminds us that these justifications did not originate in legal doctrines (those came later) but rather in a “standard of civilization” that Europeans alone defined and judged.

Against Massacre casts a novel spotlight on how Europeans’ humanitarian concerns within the Ottoman Empire were deeply intertwined with the broader geopolitical and geostrategic factors surrounding the “place” of the Ottoman Empire in nineteenth-century international relations, many of which are already familiar to us. In addition to the examples mentioned above, Rodogno also explores cases of non-intervention, especially during the extraordinarily crucial Balkan (Eastern) crisis of 1875–1878. By that time, the European Concert system was in a state of entropy as the emergence of the German Empire in 1871 signaled the return of balance-of-power politics in Europe. Disagreements between the European powers over thresholds and modalities of a coercive intervention in the Balkans were deeply colored by fears over its potential to generate a system-wide war. As Rodogno explains in his “Intermezzo” chapter, the demise of the Concert system in the late nineteenth century significantly compromised the ability of the European powers to undertake interventions to end massacre, atrocity, and extermination, largely because other motivations concomitant with balance-of-power politics began to creep into the picture. This late nineteenth-century experience affords historical perspective on contemporary debates surrounding the inability of the international community to respond effectively to the ongoing tragedy in Syria today.

While this reviewer appreciates Rodogno’s exhaustive use of primary materials in his case studies, the non-historian is likely to find them too detailed. Rodogno might have made better use of the book’s epilogue to thematize the case studies in a way that highlights the contemporary relevance of his work, rather than providing an abstract summary of humanitarian interventions in the twentieth century. The extraordinary frequency of typographical errors in the book—especially one published by such a vaunted university press—will annoy readers. Despite these shortcomings, *Against Massacre* fills a significant lacuna in the vast and growing literature on humanitarian intervention and will find readers among international relations historians and scholars.

DANIEL J. WHELAN
Hendrix College

ABIGAIL JACOBSON. *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule*. (Space, Place, and Society.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 262. \$34.95.

In 2012, the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) organized a seminar devoted to the history of World War I in the Middle East. According to the seminar’s organizers, the history of the war and its impor-

tance in the region has been “misunderstood and underappreciated.” Numerous works published in the last five years have examined the final years of Ottoman rule or the first years of the post–World War I period in greater detail and from fresh critical perspectives, but the war years are largely absent from this new scholarship. Abigail Jacobson’s book is, therefore, a necessary and timely contribution to the literature, providing an important bridging of the period between Ottoman and British rule as well as offering a fascinating snapshot of Jerusalem as a “city at war.”

Jacobson argues that the abrupt rupture in periodization that dominates literature about Palestine (or indeed, any “Ottoman” or “post-Ottoman” region) obscures important processes of transition and continuities between the two imperial systems, silencing the experiences of residents who were faced with accommodating changing political, social, and economic realities. On one end, the years 1912–1920 are marked by the Balkan wars that transformed intercommunal relations in the Ottoman Empire as a whole as well as the declining relevance of the imperial ideology of Ottomanism. On the other end, the establishment of British civilian rule over Palestine represented, according to Jacobson, “almost the last chance for . . . fluid categories [of identity] to exist and be negotiated before they were fixated by foreign powers and interests” (p. 116).

Jacobson’s central arguments are well-supported by extensive research in several languages and countries, and she is attuned to and fruitfully draws from the broader scholarship on war, colonial cities, and urban space. Her work shines most, however, when she analyzes the memoirs and writings of Jerusalem’s various residents—for example the Muslim soldier Ihsan Salih Turjeman (transliterated as Tourjman in the text), and his Christian mentor and friend, Khalil al-Sakakini. The text is notable as the first known diary in Arabic of an Ottoman soldier and one of only a handful in any language; Jacobson was instrumental in locating Turjeman’s diary in the National Library of Israel, and an abridged version has been translated into English recently by Salim Tamari.

Both Turjeman’s and Sakakini’s very specific complaints about wartime Ottoman rule and its local repercussions along with the broader sense of privation, oppression, and despair that was shared across greater Syria are encapsulated by the term *safarbarlik*, exile. Even before al-Sakakini was expelled to Damascus, the war led both men to become alienated politically from their empire and to proclaim support for Arab nationalism and the British-sponsored revolt in the Hejaz. In this regard, Jacobson could have been clearer about her historiographic contribution to understanding the relationship between Ottomanism and Arabism in the years before the war, much as she did on the relationship between Ottomanism and Sephardi Zionism.

Jacobson also provides an interesting introduction to war-time relief efforts in Jerusalem. She analyzes changes in the urban landscape, which included the

massive expulsion of enemy foreign nationals, the expropriation of foreign-owned properties, as well as the use of public spaces in Jerusalem for demonstrations of patriotism and official acts of public discipline, most notoriously the public hangings of defectors and those charged with treason.

Writ large, this book contributes much to the history of Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine. Jacobson adopts a relational analytical framework to interrogate not only inter-communal relations side by side, but also to break down the broad categories of “Jew” and “Arab” in order to explore intra-communal relations. She pays particular attention to internal Jewish schisms as well as to the establishment of the Muslim-Christian associations and the articulation of a shared Palestinian Arab identity. Again, Jacobson’s work is most compelling when she allows her subjects’ voices to echo clearly. She describes the importance of “inclusive Zionism” among various Jewish intellectuals and journalists who supported the Zionist project but who also saw a role for their Arab neighbors. For example, Haim Margalit Kalvarisky, a Zionist land functionary, attempted to secure Arab cooperation with the Zionist project before and after the war. Jacobson cares deeply about her historical subjects and their dilemmas, and her empathy for their contradictory, confused, and painful negotiations of identity resists facile judgments and categorization.

MICHELLE CAMPOS
University of Florida

ABDELMAJID HANNOUM. *Violent Modernity: France in Algeria*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, number 42.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Center For Middle Eastern Studies. 2010. Pp. xii, 257. \$19.95.

Taking the horror of the Algerian Civil War of the 1990s as his starting point, Abdelmajid Hannoum explores the process of French knowledge creation about Algeria over the first forty years of its conquest of that territory. He argues that conquest was a violent process that produced the “modernity” of which recent upheavals are one component.

Drawing on postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said and Bernard S. Cohn, this book explores modernity in its colonial and postcolonial manifestations. The historical chapters of the book largely (but not exclusively) rely on published transcripts, ranging from ethnographies, reports by officers of the *Bureaux arabes*, and a colonial-era translation of Ibn Khaldun to expose how the French created an Algeria that was at once comprehensible and governable. He bookends these historical sections with illustrations of how problematic colonial binaries such as the opposition of modernity and violence have endured. In so doing, Hannoum effectively dismantles current narratives that rest on a notion of modernity that is at once benign, opposed to Islam, and geographically situated. Given that Hannoum is less interested in composing a historical narrative than exploring colonial and postcolonial dis-

course, readers already familiar with colonial Algerian history will benefit the most from this book.

Five chapters, an introduction, and an epilogue all richly saturated with theoretical citations, use the prism of colonial transcripts to explain the creation of a violent, colonial modernity. The first chapter uses writings by officers of the French *Bureaux arabes* to describe “how the foundations of French knowledge of Algeria (and by extension North Africa) were set in place” (pp. 21–22). This knowledge changed over the decades to fit various administrations’ agendas, but by 1871 when the *bureaux* were practically dismantled, the ethnographic knowledge they had produced remained a principle source of knowledge for the French. The second chapter smartly explains how William de Slane’s 1847 translation of Ibn Khaldun’s Arabic text, the *Muqaddima* (1377), served to produce a version of North Africa’s precolonial past that was essentially a war of races, conforming to France’s colonial vision.

This vision, however, was unstable. Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault and Ranajit Guha, the third chapter turns to the prose of the military archives to reveal the crisis of the ethnography-based understanding of Algeria sparked by the 1871 Kabyle revolt. Insisting that an “ethnography of . . . archives” is needed to expose their political character, Hannoum shows French and Algerian observers offering discordant accounts of the revolt’s meaning (p. 105). Ethnography’s “failure” to account for the Kabyle insurrection, as explained in the fourth chapter, led to the rise of a “historiographic state” (p. 137). State institutions assumed a vital role in creating the “what to be” of colonial Algeria, using history as their primary model. The final chapter illustrates how “the culture of modernity . . . continues to operate in the present” (p. 171). Notably, the Ramadan massacres of 1997–1998, for which neither Islamists nor the state claimed responsibility, are read as examples of “extreme transgression” against the state’s “constitutive system of symbols and beliefs” (p. 175). Hannoum suggests that this anonymous violence against innocents, committed with knives despite the availability of machine guns, has been explained locally as a “sacrifice,” the killers imagining their victims as martyrs for the Islamic community.

Even as the book insists on the term’s instability, its conception of “modernity,” both created in the nineteenth century and currently existing, is confusingly immutable. Hannoum sees modernity being “imported from France to Algeria” where it “transformed local cultures” (p. 175). Even if the reader agrees that recent violence (including Islamist violence) must be counted as part of the “modernity” that colonialism played a key role in producing, France remains the sole source of this enduring “gift.” Hannoum claims that Algerians who “consume [presumably the same, unchanged] French modernity uncritically” (p. 220) are implicitly denied a role creating it.

Hannoum’s suspicion of archives leads him to neglect them. When he does turn to French officers’ (and several Algerians’) accounts of the 1871 revolt, he engages

in only limited “reading between the lines” of colonial transcripts that might produce an alternative rendering of the period. He remains far more interested in the contradictions of French colonial discourse. Furthermore, by rooting current violence in an original nineteenth-century French “import,” the role of contemporary Algerian conditions is (inadvertently) brushed aside.

This should not obscure the book’s helpful underlining of continuities between colonial texts and current experts’ assertions that modernity “is not within [Algerians’] reach” (p. 221). Algeria’s problems, it is convincingly argued, are not rooted in national symbols that glorify violence, nor do they stem from the “premature cessation of the civilizing mission” (pp. 219–220). Rather, Algeria’s tragic recent history is one result of its encounter with modernity.

JOSHUA SCHREIER
Vassar College

DIANA K. DAVIS and EDMUND BURKE III, editors. *Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa*. Afterword by TIMOTHY MITCHELL. (Ohio University Press Series in Ecology and History.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 286. \$59.95.

Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa offers an original and at times intriguing contribution to the small but growing field of Middle East environmental history. Rather than analyze environmental change or environmental influences per se, the volume delves into the myths and prejudices about the region’s landscape that have shaped imperialist and nationalist policies—or as Edmund Burke III puts it in the preface, the “modernist fables that underlie the developmentalist states of the Middle East and North Africa” (p. ix). As such, the collection contributes as much to research on orientalism, imperialism, and nationalism as to environmental studies. Nevertheless, it is the focus on the natural world that keeps the work grounded and takes it into new terrains, literally and metaphorically. The project has not entirely succeeded, and given how little we still know about the region’s environmental history, some of the conclusions may be premature. Yet on the whole, it provides a valuable perspective on a previously neglected aspect of modern Middle East history.

The volume brings together nine contributors, mainly historians but including geographers, sociologists, and political theorists. Following a clear introduction by Diana K. Davis, three essays deal with Egypt, two each with Algeria and Israel/Palestine, and one each on Iraq and Turkey. The editors have done an admirable job arranging chapters that can build on each other, and on the central theme of “imaginaries,” without much overlap or repetition. Most contributions serve equally as stand-alone pieces and as part of the larger project. The three essays on Egypt, in particular, present some interesting contrasts and continuities among Ottoman, British, and nationalist regimes (although some of the

ideas will already be familiar to those who have read Timothy Mitchell’s earlier work). Unfortunately, the volume does suffer at times from a lack of chronological depth and comparison with countries outside the Middle East. Most chapters deal with the twentieth century, and only one reaches back before the 1800s. Nor do the authors build much on similar work about environmental imaginaries in other regions, or place the Middle East within wider imperial perspectives, particularly India. While this shortcoming hardly undermines the book’s original research and ideas, it can leave a sense of Middle East exceptionalism and modern declensionism—exactly the sort of misimpressions that the authors otherwise seem at pains to avoid. For the sake of a wider audience, the volume might have benefitted from reference to the already considerable work on environmental perceptions and practices in the arid American West, for instance, or the excellent literature on colonial misreadings of the sub-Saharan African environment. In short, even the strongest conclusions here might still invite the question: “compared to what?”

The collection is at its best where the authors clearly demonstrate how official representations or misrepresentations of the landscape led to specific policies and environmental consequences. In “Restoring Roman Nature,” for instance, Davis explains how nineteenth-century French officials came to Algeria armed with the notion of a once flourishing landscape degraded by centuries of Arab neglect, and how they sometimes used that myth to justify colonial rule and expropriation of land. Likewise, Jeannie Sowers’s “Remapping the Nation” illustrates how a pervasive “demographic-ecological crisis narrative” (p. 161) in contemporary Egypt drove grand but ineffective top-down agricultural development initiatives that have failed to attract serious private investment. By contrast, Alan Mikhail uses eighteenth-century court records to explore how Ottoman officials once envisioned and enacted a conservative, cooperative rural order in Egypt, by working with local villagers in distributing Nile water.

The two pieces on Israel/Palestine usefully illustrate another dynamic: the subjection of environmental imperatives to nationalist politics. Samer Alatout’s chapter on “Hydro-Imaginaries” explains how the ostensibly neutral Johnston Plan for distributing water from the Yarmuk in the 1950s met conflicting claims from Israelis and Arabs, who tried to reimagine the region’s hydrological map to suit nationalist claims. Shaul Cohen makes a case that, despite some common commitment to environmental protection, Israelis and Palestinians have trapped themselves into competing zero-sum environmental narratives, the one stressing Zionist technological triumphs and the other a defiled pastoral paradise.

Other essays, although interesting and informative in places, do not succeed as skillfully in demonstrating environmental imaginaries or their consequences. Priya Satia’s “A Rebellion of Technology,” for example, argues that a romanticized British vision of an unspoiled

Mesopotamia gave way to a domineering technocratic approach during the World War I invasion and subsequent airpower control strategy for Iraq. However, the essay may unfairly downplay the considerable divisions and competing interests among British officers and administrators before and during the occupation, and it may succumb to a temptation to cherry-pick from among the colorful quotes so common among late Victorians and Edwardians abroad. Jennifer L. Derr's essay, "Drafting a Map of Colonial Egypt," encounters similar problems when arguing that the British authors of the 1902 Aswan Dam employed a static, even Biblical environmental framing of Egypt. George R. Trumbull IV's contribution on French colonial understandings of the Sahara raises important questions about the desert as both a physical environment and an imagined space, yet the author's language and analysis prove frustratingly indirect and abstract. In some cases, the field may simply need more basic research on environmental policies and conditions before we can usefully analyze the workings and implications of the region's environmental imaginaries. Recent works such as Alan Mikhail's new edited volume, *Water on Sand* (2012), may help to close this gap.

This volume should prove of interest to modern Middle East historians in general and to many global environmental historians as well. In particular, it should serve as a useful corrective to uncritical declensionist accounts of the region still occasionally found in world environmental histories. Some of the essays are densely written or suppose prior knowledge, and these would be more suited to specialists. However, others including Davis's, Sower's, and Cohen's, are pitched to a more general audience and might even prove useful in upper-level undergraduate instruction. There are occasional maps to orient the reader, but not always as many or as detailed as one would like. The current hardcover price seems more suited to libraries (and I suspect, selective photocopying of chapters), so we can only hope that the Ohio University Press Series in Ecology and History will continue with its excellent affordable paperback editions.

SAM WHITE
Oberlin College

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MOHAMMED BASHIR SALAU. *The West African Slave Plantation: A Case Study*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. xii, 196. \$80.00.

This revised dissertation examines the slave plantation of Fanisau in the Kano emirate from the time of its establishment in the early 1800s under the new Islamic Caliphate of Sokoto until the early 1900s when it became a part of British colonial Nigeria. Mohammed Bashir Salau's case study is based principally on oral interviews with local residents conducted in the 1970s by Paul E. Lovejoy (Salau's mentor) and by Yusuf Yunusa. In 2008 Salau and Yunusa conducted two addi-

tional interviews at Fanisau. Accounts by nineteenth-century European explorers and colonial records are also used.

The author is to be congratulated for producing this sharply focused and clearly written case study. At the same time, the study's precision and validity is limited by its sources of information. Having no plantation records or hard statistical data, Salau is dependent on the imprecise dating, unverifiable generalizations, and fallible memories of informants born well after the events they are describing. Lacking other sources, the author has no choice but to take the oral evidence at face value. As a result, the study is suggestive of what probably took place but not conclusive.

Fanisau was an agricultural settlement founded for defensive purposes in 1819 by Ibrahim Dabo, the emir of Kano, who ruled from 1819 to 1846. Initially most of the slaves were captives from local wars, Muslims as well as non-Muslims. Slaves were also purchased from dealers in Kano, which was a major slave market. Slaves at Fanisau engaged primarily in food production but might also be called upon to defend the emirate against raids. Some slaves were used for other purposes, especially women who became concubines or men who served as plantation overseers and managers, all of whom enjoyed privileges. The slaves produced most of their own food on individual plots, and the plantation crops were largely consumed by the local free populations. Only from 1913–1914 were the plantations converted to producing groundnuts for export. Slaves were subject to harsh punishments and engaged in various forms of resistance. Manumission might be purchased or given as a reward for service.

In an effort to strengthen his interpretations of Fanisau and broaden his study's appeal, Salau makes comparisons with other slave societies in the Americas and in Islamic Africa. For the most part the comparisons are informative, even if some seem superficial. According to Salau, his work makes a major contribution by reversing the interpretation of Hausa slavery presented by Jamaican anthropologist M. G. Smith sixty years ago. While Lovejoy and others have refined Smith's dramatic comparisons, Salau yields to the temptation to exaggerate his interpretation, claiming he has stood Smith's analysis "on its head" (p. 133). In fact, Salau's discussion supports, rather than refutes, Smith's argument that Hausa systems offered slaves a greater range of opportunities and protections than were available to slaves in Jamaica. At one point, Salau states that slaves at Fanisau "did not face as hard or as continuous a work schedule as slaves . . . on sugar plantations in the Caribbean" (p. 85). One does not need to claim Hausa slavery was mild to suggest that it was milder than the brutal and deadly system in Jamaica, which was driven by radically different economic circumstances.

On the whole, this study might have benefitted from more careful comparisons. In contrast to Jamaica, Fanisau's world was more circumscribed, founded "to defend the state against rebels/enemies" (p. 49) and for most of its existence it produced grain for the local pop-

ulation, rather than global markets. Unlike those transported across the Atlantic to Jamaica, Kano's slaves came from local communities, and some even returned to their homes as slavery slowly eroded under British rule. Even so, Salau tries to emphasize the importance of external forces, linking the rise of slavery at Fanisau and elsewhere in Africa to the fall in prices for slaves due to the decline of the transatlantic and trans-Saharan slave trades (p. 50). He makes no effort to tie this external linkage to any specific chronology and fails to consider whether the Sokoto Caliphate was responsive to prevailing prices for slaves, ignoring the studies that

cast doubt on such a linkage. Indeed, he notes that people continued to be enslaved in Kano long after external slave trades were over. His argument might have benefited from comparison with the late A. E. Afigbo's *The Abolition of the Slave Trade in Southeastern Nigeria, 1885–1950* (2006).

Thus, for all the useful details Salau has marshaled, he is certainly correct in concluding that his study "raises more questions than answers" (p. 134).

DAVID NORTHRUP,
Emeritus
Boston College

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JOSHUA B. STEIN and SARGON G. DONABED. *Religion and the State: Europe and North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2012. Pp. xxii, 177. \$65.00.

JAMES HITCHCOCK, Church and State in Early Modern Europe. SARA C. KITZINGER, The Reformed Theologian—The Forgotten Political Theorist? Change and Contest in Theology and Ecclesiology in Late-Sixteenth and Early-Seventeenth-Century Reformed England. BRENT S. SIROTA, “The Leviathan Is Not Safely to Be Angered”: The Convocation Controversy, Country Ideology, and Anglican High Churchmanship, 1689–1702. NOAH SHUSTERMAN, The French Revolution and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy: The Unintentional Turning Point. REBECA VÁZQUEZ GÓMEZ, The Spanish Legal Solution to the Presence of Religious Symbols in the Public Sphere: A Cautious Evolution from a Catholic Denominational Past to an Effective Secularism. LAWRENCE B. GOODHEART, Church, State, and Capital Punishment in Seventeenth-Century Connecticut. HOLLY SNYDER, Roger Williams, English Law, and Religious Tolerance: The Jewish Experience in the Southern New England Colonies, 1677–1798. TARA THOMPSON STRAUCH, Oaths and Christian Belief in the New Nation: 1776–1789. KEITH PACHOLL, Education, Religion, and the State in Post-revolutionary America. MATT MCCOOK, Fighting over the Founders: Reflections on the Historiography of the Founders’ Faiths.

SANKAR MUTHU, editor. *Empire and Modern Political Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 407. \$99.00.

MIKAEL HÖRNQVIST, Machiavelli’s Three Desires: Florentine Republicans on Liberty, Empire, and Justice. ANTHONY PAGDEN, Conquest and the Just War: The “School of Salamanca” and the “Affair of the Indies.” RICHARD TUCK, Alliances with Infidels in the European Imperial Expansion. DAVID ARMITAGE, John Locke: Theorist of Empire? MICHAEL MOSHER, Montesquieu on Empire and Enlightenment. UDAY S. MEHTA, Edmund Burke on Empire, Self-Understanding, and Sympathy. EMMA ROTHSCHILD, Adam Smith in the British Empire. SANKAR MUTHU, Conquest, Commerce, and Cosmo-

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bei-Dresden, Germany, between Company Town and Model Town. LIMIN TEH, From Colonial Company Town to Industrial City: The South Manchuria Railway Company in Fushun, China. JEREMY BALL, “Little Storybook Town”: Space and Labor in a Company Town in Colonial Angola. SUSANA B. TORRES and MARCELO J. BORGES, Labor Resistance and Accommodation among Immigrant Workers in the Oil Company Towns of Patagonia, Argentina. KATHARINE ROLLWAGEN, When Ghosts Hovered: Community and Crisis in the Company Town of Britannia Beach, British Columbia, Canada. FRANK MEYER, Company Towns in a Transnational Commodity Chain: Social and Environmental Dimensions of Aluminum Production in Porto Trombetas, Brazil, and Årdal, Norway. KUNTALA LAHIRI-DUTT, Race and Gender in Peripheral Resource Town: Boundaries and Boundary-Crossings in Tanjung Bara Mining Camp in Kalimantan, Indonesia. LISA PERRY, Reflections on an Appalachian Camelot: Place, Memory, and Identity in the Former Company Town of Wheelwright, Kentucky, USA.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

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VIVIAN M. MAY, Historicizing Intersectionality as a Critical Lens: Returning to the Work of Anna Julia Cooper. RASHAUNA JOHNSON, “Laissez les bons temps rouler!” and Other Concealments: Households, Taverns, and Irregular Intimacies in Antebellum New Orleans. HÉLÈNE QUANQUIN, “There Are Two

Great Oceans": The Slavery Metaphor in the Antebellum Women's Rights Discourse as Redescription of Race and Gender. KENDRA TAIRA FIELD, "Grandpa Brown Didn't Have No Land": Race, Gender, and an Intruder of Color in Indian Territory. MICHELLE KUHL, Countable Bodies, Uncountable Crimes: Sexual Assault and the Antilynching Movement. MEREDITH CLARK-WILTZ, Persecuting Black Men and Gendering Jury Service: The Interplay between Race and Gender in the NAACP Jury Service Cases of the 1930s. MICHELE MITCHELL, A "Corrupting Influence": Idleness and Sexuality during the Great Depression. DEBORAH GRAY WHITE, What Women Want: The Paradoxes of Postmodernity as Seen through Promise Keeper and Million Man March Women.

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JAMES C. COBB, Therapist of the Public Mind: Woodward and the Most Burdensome Burden. LEIGH ANNE DUCK, Woodward's Southerner: History, Literature, and the Question of Identity. WAYNE PARENT, A Lighter Burden? Southern Political Identity in the Shrinking South. ROBERT C. McMATH, The History of the Present. PATRICK G. WILLIAMS, Woodward's Losers: Disappearing Democrats in Southern Political History. CHARLES S. BULLOCK III, The End of Woodward's Second Re-

construction? African American Political Participation in the South. HANES WALTON, JR., JOSEPHINE A. V. ALLEN, SHERMAN C. PUCKETT, and DONALD R. DESKINS, JR., Woodward's New Intellectual Stream: The Enfranchisement of the Freed Slave Population.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

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Documents and Bibliographies

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ASIA

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KAUTALYA. *The Arthaśātra: Selections from the Classic Indian Work on Statecraft*. Edited by MARK MCCLISH and PATRICK OLIVELLE. Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. 2012. Pp. lxxxiii, 169. Cloth \$52.00, paper \$16.95.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

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DARROW, CLARENCE. *Attorney for the Damned: Clarence Darrow in the Courtroom*. Edited by ARTHUR WEINBERG. Foreword by WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS. Reprint. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xxiii, 552. \$22.50.

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VIZENOR, GERALD, and JILL DOERFLER. *The White Earth Nation: Ratification of a Native Democratic Constitution*. Introduction by DAVID E. WILKINS. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2012. Pp. 100. \$16.00.

WASHBURN, ELIHU. *Elihu Washburne: The Diary and Letters of America's Minister to France during the Siege and Commune of Paris*. Edited by MICHAEL HILL. Foreword by DAVID McCULLOUGH. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2012. Pp. xxi, 263. \$26.00.

WINTER, CARRIE PRUDENCE. *An American Girl in the Hawaiian Islands: Letters of Carrie Prudence Winter, 1890–1893*. Edited by SANDRA BONURA and DEBORAH DAY. Foreword by C. KALANI BEYER. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2012. Pp. xxxv, 417. \$39.00.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

AGUILAR RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO, editor. *Liberty in Mexico: Writings on Liberalism from the Early Republican Period to the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*. Translated by JANET M. BURKE and TED HUMPHREY. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund. 2012. Pp. xxix, 582. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$14.50.

APARICIO, MANUEL CIGES. *On Captivity: A Spanish Soldier's Experience in a Havana Prison, 1896–1898*. Edited and translated by D. J. WALKER. Foreword by CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT-NOWARA. (Atlantic Crossings.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 246. Cloth \$39.95, e-book \$39.95.

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- MAYER, THOMAS F., editor. *The Trial of Galileo, 1612–1633*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 210. \$24.95.
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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- BANERJEE, SUKANYA, AIMS MCGUINNESS, and STEVEN C. MCKAY, editors. *New Routes for Diaspora Studies*. (21st Century Studies, number 5.) 2012. Pp. 241. Cloth \$85.00, e-book \$25.99.
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- CHAPLIN, JOYCE E. *Round About the Earth: Circumnavigation from Magellan to Orbit*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2012. Pp. xxi, 535. \$35.00.
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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

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NO LETTERS WERE RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION IN THIS ISSUE.

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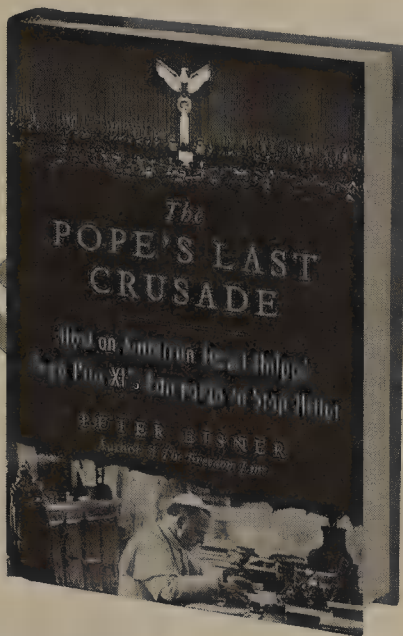
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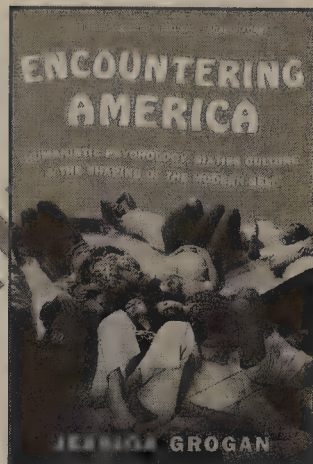
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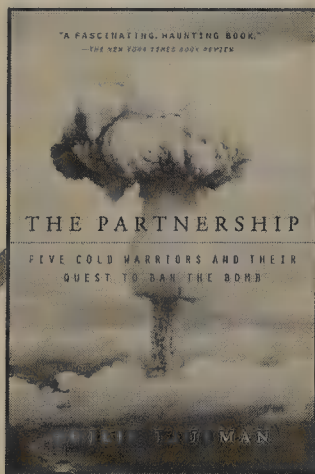
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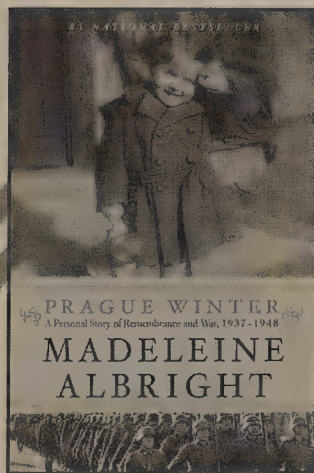
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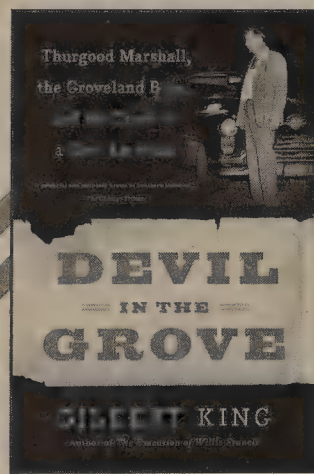
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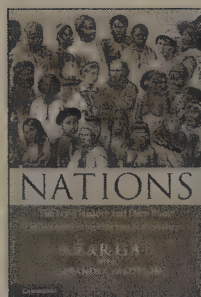
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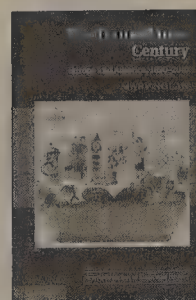
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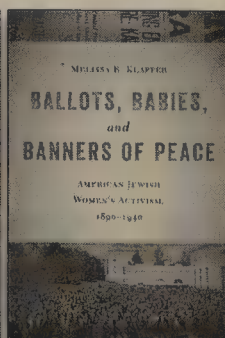
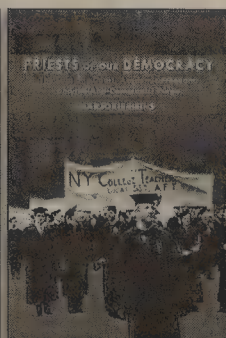
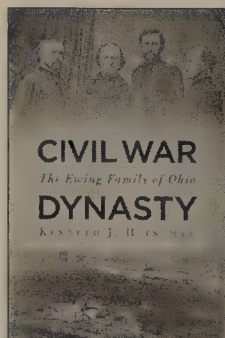
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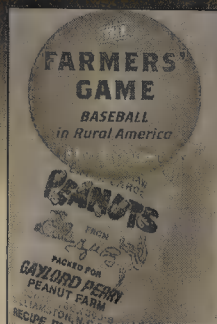
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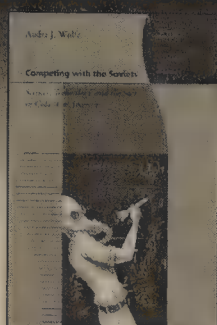
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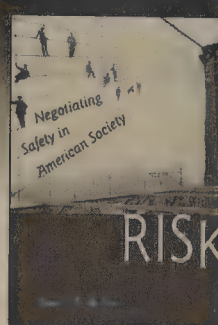
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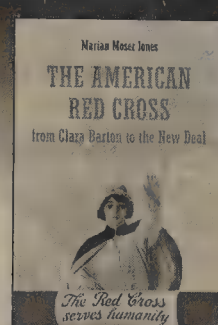
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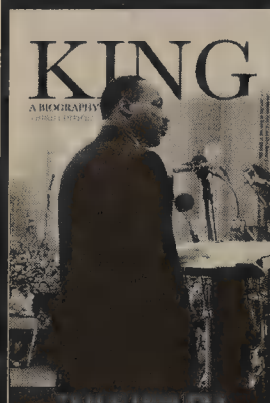


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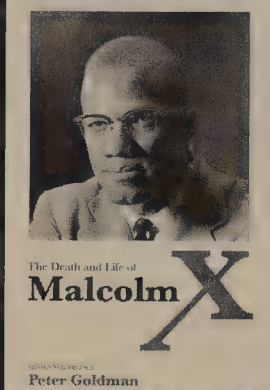
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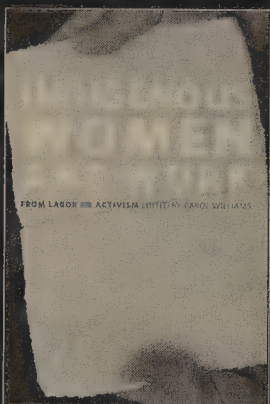
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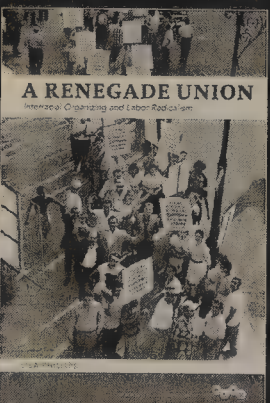
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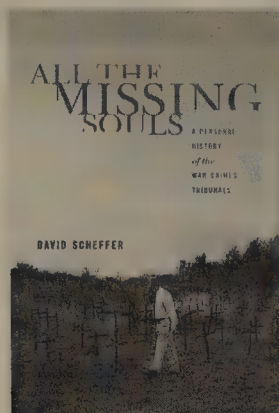
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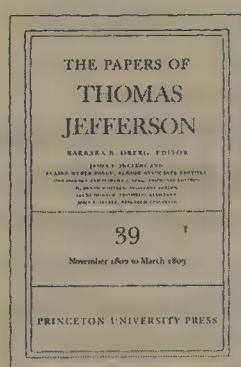
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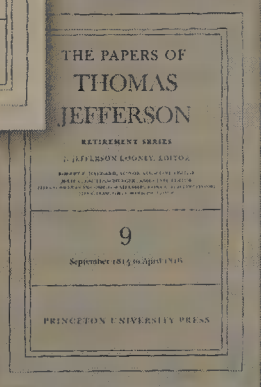
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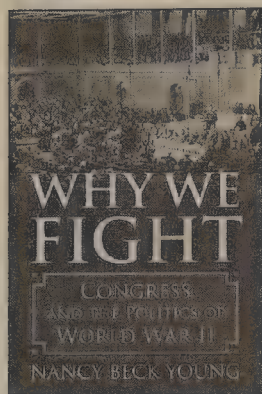
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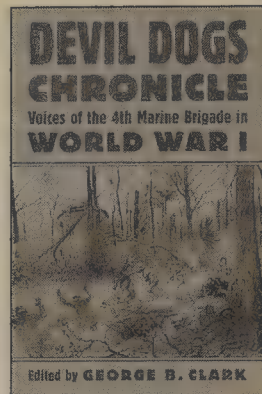
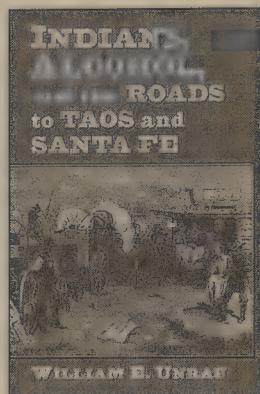
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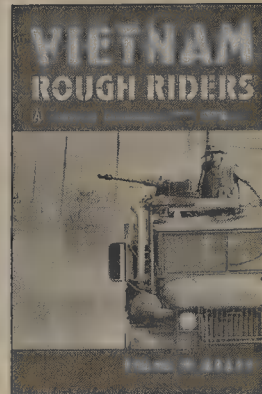
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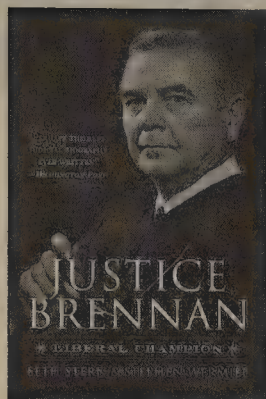
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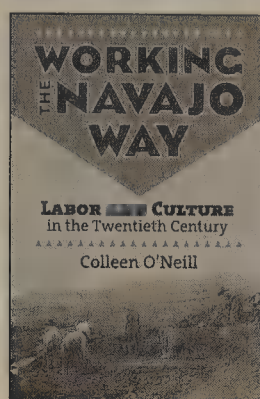
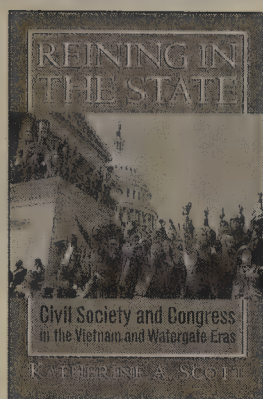
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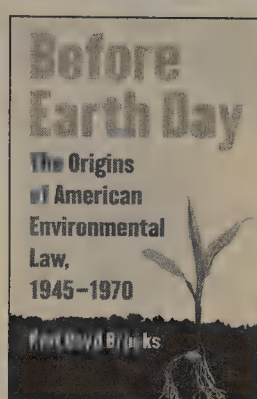
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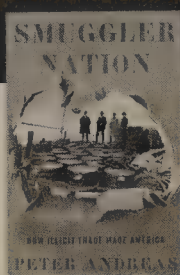
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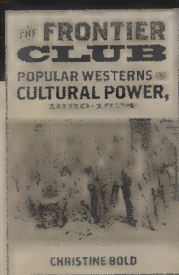


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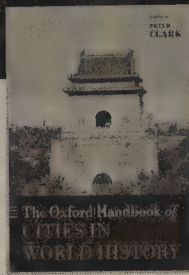


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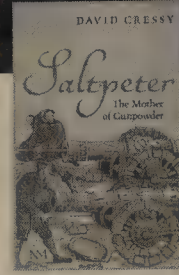


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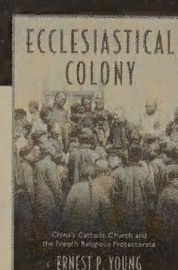
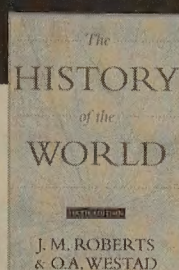
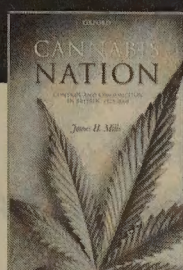
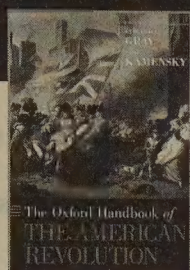
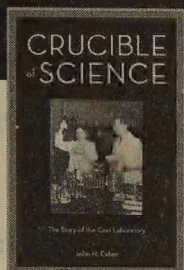
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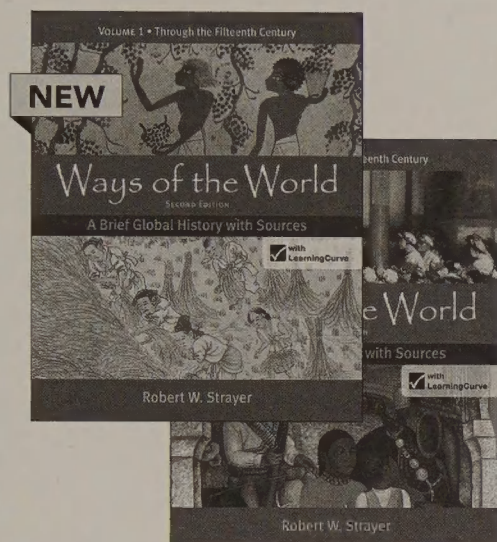
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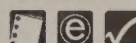
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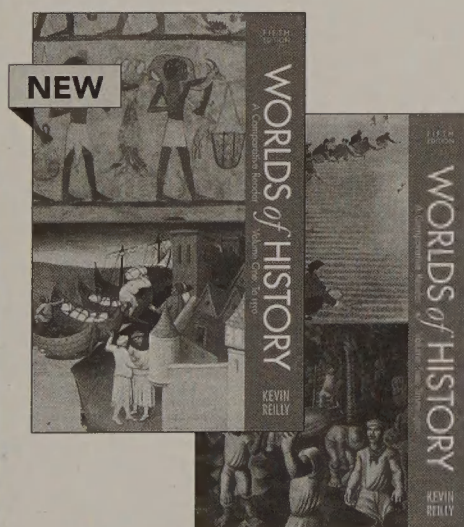
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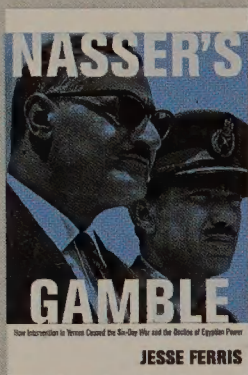


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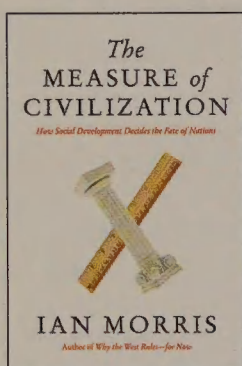
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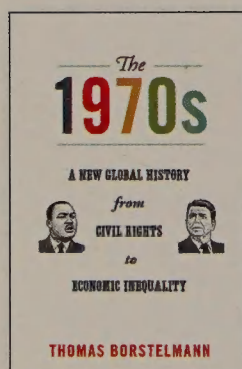
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